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THE
HISTORY OF RUSSIA

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1877

BY

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TRANSLATED BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS



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PREFACE.

THIS Translation of M. Alfred Rambaud's "Historie de la Russie" (Paris, 1878) contains a number of emendations by the Author. M. Rambaud has also written many additional pages: on Russian ethnography; on the Esthonian Epic; on the early relations of England and Russia; and on the Emperor Paul's project of attacking England in India. The Translator has to express a grateful sense of M. Rambaud's constant and courteous aid. In whatever is hasty or inaccurate in these volumes, he has no share. The Translator has compiled Genealogical Tables, of which M. Rambaud has approved. The French book has no index, and an attempt has been made to supply this deficiency. The Translator regrets that, by a too close following of the French spelling of the ancient tribal names, new varieties have been introduced, where variety was already too plentiful and confusing. There seem, for example, to be about thirteen ways of spelling "Patzinak." A list of some of these names as here printed, and of the forms used by Dr. Latham ("Russian and Turk," London, 1878), is subjoined:

DR. LATHAM.

Tchouvach	-	-	-	Tshuvash.
Tcheremiss	-	-	-	Tsherimis.
Mordvians	-	-	-	Mordvins (otherwise Mordwa).
Tchoud	-	-	-	Tshud.
Dregovitch	-	-	-	Dragovitsae, Dregoviczi.
Polovtsi	-	-	-	Polovcszi.
Iatvegues	-	-	-	Yatshvings.
Patzinaks	-	-	-	Petshinegs.
Zaporogues	-	-	-	Zaporogs.

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HISTORY OF RUSSIA.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHY OF RUSSIA.

Eastern and Western Europe compared: seas, mountains, climate—The four zones—Russian rivers and history—Geographical unity of Russia.

EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE COMPARED: SEAS, MOUNTAINS, CLIMATE.

EUROPE may be roughly divided into two unequal parts. If we give 4,000,000 square miles to the whole of Europe, only 1,800,000 belong to the western, 2,200,000 to the eastern part. The former division is shared between all the monarchies and republics of Europe, Russia excepted; the latter is united under the Russian sceptre. Nature, not less than policy or religion, has established a strong opposition between the two regions, between Eastern and Western Europe.

The shores of the latter are everywhere broken up by inland seas, pierced by deep gulfs, jagged with peninsulas, isthmuses, capes, and promontories; islands and crowded archipelagos are thickly sprinkled along the coasts. Great Britain and the Greek peninsula particularly, which have a coast-line out of all proportion to their area, contrast with the impenetrable compact mass of Eastern Europe. This strongly-marked outline of the western lands is the characteristic feature of European geography, while the immense spaces of which Russia is composed seem the continuation of the plains and plateaux of Northern and Central Asia. No doubt Russia is washed by many seas: in the north by the Icy Ocean, which bites deep into the country through the great fissure of the White Sea; in the south by the Caspian, the

Sea of Azof, and the Black Sea ; in the north-west by the Baltic and the gulfs of Bothnia, Finland, and Livonia ; but, with all these seas, it has only a comparatively meagre share of seaboard. While the rest of Europe has about 15,525 miles of coast, Russia, with a much more considerable surface, possesses only 5514 miles of coast ; and of this nearly half (2680 miles) belongs to the Icy Ocean and the White Sea. Now, these two seas are only navigable during a few months of the year, from June to September, at furthest. The Baltic, in its two most northern gulfs, freezes easily ; armies have been able to cross on the ice, with all their artillery supplies ; navigation is stopped from the month of November to the end of April. The Caspian often freezes, especially in its northern half, which includes Astrakhan, its most flourishing port. The Sea of Azof, here and there, is little better than a marsh. It may be said that, with the exception of the Euxine, the Russian seas have an anti-European character ; they cannot be of the same use as our western seas. From this point of view Russia is worse endowed by nature than any other European country ; compared with the privileged lands of the West, she might be styled *continental* Europe, in opposition to *maritime* Europe.

Western Europe, so jagged in its contour, is no less broken in its surface. Without speaking of the vast central mass of the Alps, there is not one European land which does not possess, either in its length or breadth, a great mountain system forming the scaffolding or the backbone of the country. England has her chain of the Peak and her Highlands ; France has her Cevennes and her central support in Auvergne ; Spain her Pyrenees and the Sierras ; Italy her Apennines ; Germany her ranges in Suabia, Franconia, and the Hartz ; Sweden her Scandinavian Alps ; the Greco-Slav peninsula has the Balkan and Pindus. What mountains Russia possesses on the other hand, are banished, as it were, to the extremities of her territory. She is bounded on the north-west by the granitic system of Finland, on the south-east by the branches of the Carpathians, to the south by the rocky plateaux of the Crimea with the Yalïa and Tchardyr-Dagh (5183 feet), by the Caucasus, extending over 687 miles, where Elburz (18,000 feet) surpasses by more than 2000 feet the highest mountain in Europe, Mont Blanc. To the east is the Oural range, the longest chain of mountains (1531 miles) in Europe or Asia, running parallel to the meridians of longitude, with peaks 6233 feet high. In the Tatar language, the word *Oural* signifies *girdle*, but it is not only the Ourals which may be called the mountain girdle ; all the mountains of Russia deserve this name. They bound her, they confine her, but have only a slight influence on the configuration of her interior and the dis-

tribution of her waters. From the Carpathians and the Caucasus only secondary rivers flow, while the four great Russian streams take their rise in hills not 300 feet high.* We must observe also that none of these great mountains form a separate system; they are nearly all fragments of systems belonging to other countries. The empire of the Tzars is thus a huge plain, which is continued on the west by the level lands of Poland and Prussia, and on the east by the limitless steppes of Siberia and Turkestan, and is in striking contrast with the rugged and multi-form soil of the west. From this point of view, Russia may be defined as the Europe of plains, in opposition to the Europe of mountains.

Uniformity of surface is never quite complete, and Russia does present inequalities of soil, though these are far less notable than the depressions and elevations of the West. In the faintly-marked soil of Russia, we must notice, in the centre of the country, a kind of square table-land, called the central plateau, or the plateau of *Alaoune*, from the name of its northern part. The north-eastern angle is formed by the heights of the *Valdaï* plateau, where the hills are 300 feet high; the western side of the central plateau by the small hills of the Dnieper, which extend as far as the *Cataracts*; the southern side by the heights which reach from *Koursk* to *Saratof*; the eastern side by the sandy stretches which extend along the right bank of the *Volga* and the *Kama*; the northern side by the undulations of the land which separate the basin of the *Volga* from the rivers that drain into the *Icy Ocean*. The central plateau is besides divided into two unequal parts by the deep valleys of the *Upper Volga*, of the *Oka*, and their tributaries.

Considerable depressions correspond to this swelling in the centre of the Russian plateau:—1. Between the plateau of the *Valdaï* and the north-east slope of the *Carpathians* lies a deep valley, in which during the quaternary age the *Baltic* and *Euxine* mingled their waves. It is traversed on the north by the southern *Düna* or *Dwina*, and the *Niemen*; on the south by the *Dnieper*, and its affluents; it reaches its lowest level in the wide marshes of *Pinsk*. 2. Between the low rocks on the right bank of the *Volga* and the spurs of the *Oural* (*obchtchiisirt*), the soil gradually sinks throughout the whole length of the *Volga*, and reaches the level of the sea at the *Caspian*, which is 80 feet lower than the *Black Sea*: here are the steppes of *Kirghiz*, the lowest part of European Russia, formerly the bed of a great inland mere which was gradually dried up, and of which the *Caspian*, the *Lake of Aral*, and other sheets of water are only the remains.

* 1100 feet above the level of the sea.

If the Caspian could only regain the level of the Black Sea, a large part of this sterile plain, now covered with saline efflorescence, would be inundated anew. 3. The third great depression of the Russian soil is the slope of the north, covered with lakes and marshes, where the frozen *tundra* are lost amongst the ice-fields of the Polar Ocean and the White Sea. 4. The region of the lakes Saima, Onega, Ladoga, which is continued by the sandy tracts of the Baltic, and which forms a series of deep cavities, where the waters of the Baltic and the White Sea must once have found a meeting-point.

From the fact that Russia, taken as a whole, is only a vast plain, it follows that her surface is swept by Polar winds, which no mountain barrier keeps out, for the Oural chain runs in a direction parallel to their course. From the fact, again, that Russia is only washed by seas, small in proportion to the extent of the land, it results that the temperature is modified neither by sea-breezes, which in the West warm in winter and refresh in summer, nor by the aërial and marine current of the Gulf Stream, which finally expires on the coasts and on the mountains of Scandinavia, without being able to influence the shores of the Baltic. In parallel latitudes this Scandinavian mountain-chain makes a notable difference between the Norwegian and the Swedish-Russian climate.

Russia then, like the interior of Asia, Africa, or Australia, has to undergo the effects of a purely continental climate. The first of these effects is a violent contrast between the seasons. The Russian plain is subject in turn to the influences of Polar regions and to those of Central and Southern Asia, of the deserts of ice and the deserts of burning sand. "Under the latitude of Paris and of Venice," says M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, "the countries situated to the north of the Black Sea and the Caspian have the temperature of Stockholm in January, and the temperature of Madeira in July. At Astrakhan, in the latitude of Geneva, it is by no means rare for the temperature to vary from 70 to 75 degrees * in a period of six months. On the coasts of the Caspian, in the latitude of Avignon, the cold descends to 30° below freezing; in summer, on the contrary, the heat rises to upwards of 40°. In the steppes of the Kirghiz, in the latitude of the centre of France, the mercury is sometimes frozen for whole days; while in the summer the same thermometer, if not carefully watched, bursts in the sun. Near the shores of the Sea of Aral these extremes of temperature reach their maximum; there are intervals of 80°, perhaps of 90° centigrade, between the greatest cold and the greatest heat." Even at Moscow, they have had cold of 33° and heat of 28°; at St.

Petersburg, the temperature may shift between the extremes of from 30° to 35° of cold to 31° of heat.

The second consequence of the continental climate of Russia is that the winds do not reach the country till they have lost on the way part of their humidity. Russia suffers generally from dryness. At Kazan the rainfall is only half that of Paris; it is for this reason that Russia contains so many barren and unwooded plains, while this absence of forests all through the south is, in its turn, an obstacle to the formation of hills and springs and to the development of a healthy moisture.

St. Petersburg, situated on the 60th parallel of northern latitude, is the most northern capital of the whole world. The longest day in this city lasts 18 hours 45 minutes; the sun rises on that day at 20 minutes to three, and sets at 25 minutes past 9, but the twilight is prolonged to the moment of dawn. For two months there is no night. The shortest day is 5 hours 47 minutes; the sun rises at 5 minutes past 9, and sets at 8 minutes to 3. The Aurora Borealis is frequent in the north of Russia, while the mirage is often seen in the steppes of the south.

Russia being a country of plains, the geological beds of which the soil is formed are nearly always horizontal; no raising of the soil has broken them, rent the beds of stone, and driven the fragments through the layers of mould or sand. It follows that, except in the neighborhood of mountains, stone is very scarce in Russia. This fact has had much influence on the economic and artistic development of the country. The people were obliged to build with other materials than in the West. The public buildings were everywhere of oak and pine, or of brick; the old churches, the palaces of the Tzars, the ramparts of the towns, were of wood; of wood are the present houses of the citizens, and the *ishas* of the peasants. Russian villages, and most of the towns, are a collection of combustible materials: hence the fires which break out periodically, and justify the saying that Russia, as a rule, was burned every seven years. Buildings of such materials cannot assume the colossal proportions of the castles of the Isle de France, or of the Rhenish cathedrals; the old churches of Russia are small. It is only since the conquest of the Baltic and the Black Sea that the empire has had cities of stone. Peter the Great gave Russia her first stone capital. From the geological point of view, then, Russia may be defined, according to the expression of M. Solovief, as the *Europe of wood*, in opposition to the *Europe of stone*.

RUSSIAN RIVERS AND HISTORY.

In a country so extensive and so destitute of seaboard as Russia, rivers have an immense importance, and with rivers Eastern Europe is well endowed. It is her watercourses which prevent Russia from being a continent closed and sealed, like Africa or Australia. In place of arms of the sea, she has great rivers which penetrate to her centre, and have sometimes almost the proportions of seas. In the level plains they have not the impetuous current of the Rhone, they flow peacefully through great beds cut in the sand or clay. The rivers were for a long while the only means of communication. When the Russian princes wished to make a progress through their dominions, or begin a campaign, they had either to take advantage of winter, which from the Dnieper to the Oural gave them a flat surface for their sledges, or await the thaw and follow the course of the rivers. Boats in summer, sledges in winter, were the only means of conveyance; in spring, the thaw and floods, which transformed the plain into a marsh, brought the *raspoutitsa* (the season of bad roads). Commerce followed the same routes as war or government. The rivers which, in Russia especially, are "the roads that run," explain the rapidity with which we see the characters of Russian history traverse immense spaces, and go as easily from Novgorod to Kief, from Moscow to Kazan, as a French king from his good city of Paris to Rheims or Orleans. The rivers are the allies of the Russians against what they call "their great enemy"—space. Russian conquest or colonization has everywhere followed the course of the waters; it was on the banks of the Oka, the Kama, the Don, and the Volga, that the Russian element of the population chiefly gathered, the aboriginal races everywhere retreating into the thickness of the primitive forests.

The plateau of Valdaï is the dominant point in the river-system of Russia. It is near this plateau, in the lake Volgo, that the Volga, which ultimately falls into the Caspian, takes its rise. In this neighborhood also are the sources of the Dnieper (flowing to the Black Sea), the Niemen, the Dwina, which falls into the Baltic, the Velikaïa, a tributary of the Peïpus, the rivers forming lake Ilmen, and those which feed the lakes Ladoga and Onega, whence rises the Neva. The hydrographic centre of Russia being at the north-west angle of the central plateau, it follows that the slopes are turned to the south and to the east; a disposition which has had its influence on the development of the national history. This history, indeed, begins in the north-west, near the Valdaï plateau; on the Peïpus and the Ilmen the old commercial cities of Pskof and Novgorod are established.

What is their opening to the sea? Not the Narova, which falls out of lake Peipus, and of which the course is broken by cataracts, but the network of rivers and lakes which terminates in the Neva, the Thames of Russia, a river of little length but immense breadth, on which St. Petersburg, the Novgorod of the 18th century, was afterwards to be built. In primitive times Novgorod was safer in the centre of this network of rivers and lakes than she would have been on the Neva. By the Volkhof her vessels sailed from the Ilmen to the Ladoga, and by the Neva from the Ladoga to the Gulf of Finland, and the great Baltic Sea. Other small rivers put her in communication with the lake Onega and the White Lake (Biéloe-Ozéro); by the Soukhona and the northern Dwina she had relations with the White Sea, where later the port of Arkhangel arose. By the tributaries of the Dwina the Novgorod explorers penetrated deep into the northern forests, peopled by aboriginal races, on whom they imposed tribute. The watersheds between the slope to the White Sea, the basin of the Novgorod lakes, and the basin of the Volga, are scarcely marked at all. The rivers seem to hesitate at their rise between two opposite courses: some of them never make up their minds, like the sluggish Cheksna which connects the White Sea and the Volga. This interlacement of the water-system, which makes the northern Dwina, the Neva, the Niemen, and the southern Dwina mere prolongations of the Volga and the Dnieper, and puts the four Russian seas in unbroken communication, is in itself a sufficient explanation of the extent of the conquests and great commercial position of Novgorod the Great.

On the Dnieper, Russia, to rival the Russia of Novgorod, founded at a very early date the *Rouss* of Kief. She too followed the line marked out for her by the course of the Dnieper, which necessarily led her to the Black Sea and the Byzantine world.

It was by the Dnieper that the fleets of war descended against Constantinople; it was by this river too that Greek civilization and Christianity reached Kief. The Dnieper, which had made the greatness of Kief, hastened its decay. As a medium of communication it was imperfect. The celebrated cataracts below Kief formed an insurmountable barrier to navigation, and consequently the city could not remain the political and commercial capital of Russia.

The Don, notwithstanding its length of 621 miles, has had little influence on the evolution of Russian history. During the whole period of the growth of the nation it remained in the power of the Asiatic hordes. In later years it fell, with Azov, into the possession of the Turks. The sandy shallows near its

mouth would in any case have proved fatal to its commercial importance. The Dwina and the Niemen also remained till the 18th century in the hands of the native Finns and Lithuanians, or of the German conquerors.

The river, *par excellence*, of Russia is the Volga — the “mother Volga,” as the popular singers call it. If the Neva, with the great lakes which feed it, may be compared to the St. Lawrence, the Volga may be compared to the Mississippi. With a length of 2336 miles, it has a course 250 leagues longer than that of the Danube. Many of its tributaries may be reckoned among the great rivers of the world. The Oka, with its 633 miles of length, surpasses the Meuse and the Oder; the Kama, 1266 miles long, outvies all other European rivers except the Danube; for the Elbe is only 643 miles, the Loire 681, and the Rhine 812 in length. The junction of the Volga and Oka at Nijni-Novgorod is like the meeting of two arms of the sea; it is an imposing spectacle to contemplate from the hill on which the upper town is built, while the lower town or the fair, with its 100,000 fluctuating inhabitants, spreads its buildings on the banks of both rivers. The Volga, which near Iaroslavl is 2106 feet broad, has a breadth of 4593 above Kazan; towards Samara sometimes it decreases to 2446 feet; sometimes it spreads, with its tributary streams and lateral branches, over a breadth of 17 miles. At the Caspian it divides into seventy-five branches, forming numerous islands, and its delta spreads over 93 miles. This immense river, the waters of which abound with fish as large as sea-fish,—sturgeon, salmon, lampreys,—and where the sterlet sometimes weighs 1073 pounds, would be the wonder of Europe, if it was not frost-bound during many months in the year. But at the thaw the ports, the dockyards, the wharves, are full of life. Two hundred thousand workmen flock from all parts of Russia to its banks. Fifteen thousand ships and 500 steamboats plough its waters. Kostroma, Nijni-Novgorod, Kazan, Simbirsk, Samara, Saratof, Astrakhan, are filled with noise and movement. The whole life of Russia seems concentrated on the Volga.

The basin of the Volga and its tributaries embraces an extent of surface nearly treble that of France. The basin of the Oka alone has three times the extent of the basin of the Loire. In her vast domain the Volga included nearly the whole of the Russia of the 16th century, and has exercised an irresistible influence over the destiny of the land. From the day that the Grand Princes established their capital on the Moskowa, a tributary of the Oka and sub-tributary of the Volga, Russia turned to the east, and began her struggle with the Turks and Tatars. The Dnieper made Russia Byzantine,

the Volga made her Asiatic: it was for the Neva to make her European. The whole history of this country is the history of its three great rivers, and is divided into three periods: that of the Dnieper with Kief, that of the Volga with Moscow, that of the Neva with Novgorod in the 8th century, and St. Petersburg in the 18th. The greatness of this creation of Peter I. consisted in his transporting his capital to the Baltic, without abandoning the Caspian and the Volga, and in seeking for the great Eastern river a new outlet which should open a communication with Western seas. Thanks to the canals of the Tikvinka and of the Ladoga, which furnished that outlet, the Neva has become, as it were, the northern mouth, the European estuary of the Volga.

THE FOUR ZONES—THE GEOGRAPHICAL UNITY OF RUSSIA.

From the point of view of production, Russia may be divided into four unequal bands, which run from the south-west to the north-east, namely: the zone of forests, that of the *Tchernoziom* or Black Land, that of the arable steppes or prairies, and that of the barren steppes.

1. The most northerly and largest zone is the *poliessa* or Russian forest, which borders on one side on the frozen marshes and the *tundra* of the icy shore, and on the other on the wide clearings formed by the agricultural enterprise of Novgorod, Moscow, and Iaroslavl. In the north the forest begins with the larch; in the centre resinous trees, with their dark foliage, alternate with the small leaves and white bark of the birch; further south come the lime, the elm, and the sycamore, and the oak appears at the southern limit.

2. The Black Land extends from the banks of the Pruth to the Caucasus, over the widest extent of Russia; it even passes the Oural and the Caucasus, and is prolonged into Asia. It derives its name from a deep bed of black mould of inexhaustible fertility, which produces without manure the richest harvests, and may be compared to a gigantic Beauce, 375,000 miles square, a corn-field as large as the whole of France. From this alone twenty-five millions are fed, and the population increases daily. From time immemorial this soil has been the granary of Eastern Europe. It was here Herodotus placed his agricultural Scythians, and hence Athens drew her grain.

3. The zone of arable steppes lies parallel to the Black Land; to the south it descends nearly to the sea: the country is fertile, though it cannot do without manure. It formed before tillage a bare grass-grown plain, completely devoid of wood, and with its 375,000 miles square recalls the American prairie. The

vegetation of the steppe, where men and flocks can hide themselves as in a forest, is often five, six, and even eight feet high. This monotonous steppe, unbroken except by the barrows that cover the bones of early races,—this steppe, which is an ocean of verdure in spring, but russet and burnt up in the autumn, is very dear to her children. It was for long the Russia of heroes, the property of nomad horsemen, the country of the Cossack. The Black Land and the prairie, which is nearly as fertile, have a superficies of 750,000 miles square, or 300,000,000 of acres of excellent earth, a surface equal to that of France and Austrian Hungary united.

4. The fourth zone, that of the barren steppes, steppes which are sandy at the mouth of the Dnieper, clay to the north of the Crimea, saline to the north of the Caspian, only contains 1,500,000 inhabitants in its whole extent of 250,000 miles. "Unsuited to agriculture, and in a great degree to civilized life," says M. Leroy-Beaulieu, "these vast spaces, like the neighboring plains of Asia, seem only fit for the raising of cattle and the nomad existence. Of all Russia in Europe, these are the only parts which even at the present day are inhabited by the Kirghiz and the Kalmucks, nomad tribes of Asia, and up to a few years ago by the Tatars of the Crimea and the Nogais. Here the Asiatics appear as much at home as in their native country."

The productive parts of Russia are these: the *prairie*, the *Black Land*, and in the zone of forests the agriculture and industrial region of Novgorod, Moscow, Nijni-Novgorod, and Kazan. Were the sea-level to rise and drown the northern part of the *poliessa* and the barren steppes of the south, nothing would be taken from the real force and riches of Russia.

These alternations of low plains and plateaux, this diversity in the direction of the great rivers, this division into forests and barren and arable steppes, does not hinder Eastern Europe from presenting a remarkable unity. None of the parts of Russia could remain isolated from the others; the plains admit of no barrier, no frontier; those which the rivers might impose would be effaced in winter under the chariot-wheels of armies, when the land is ice-bound from the White Sea to the Euxine, and the climate is almost as severe at Kief as at Arkhangel. All these regions, which resume their different characters in spring, are kept together by economical interests and needs. The forest zone needs the corn of the Dnieper, the cattle of the Volga; the steppes of the south need the wood of the north. The commerce with Europe, which was conducted by means of the northern Dwina, the Neva and the southern Dwina, was completed by that with the south and the east, carried on by the Dnieper and the Volga.

Only the region of Moscow, where fields and woods alternate, was long sufficient for its own wants; but since Moscow has turned to industrial arts, she needs help from others. In early times she united the products of the north and the south; she thus formed the connecting link between them, and ended by becoming their ruler. Even Novgorod was forced to acknowledge her dependence on the princes established on the Oka, who had only to forbid the transportation of corn from the Upper Volga to the region of the lakes to reduce the Great Republic to obedience.

The wide plains of Russia are as evidently destined to be united as Switzerland to be divided. Between the Carpathians and the Ourals, between the Caucasus and the system of Finland, nature has marked out a vast empire of which the mountain girdle forms the framework. How this framework has been filled in is the lesson that history has to teach us.

CHAPTER II.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF RUSSIA.

Greek Colonies and the Scythia of Herodotus—The Russian Slavs of Nester—Lithuanian, Finnish, and Turkish hordes in the ninth century—Division of the Russians proper into three branches—How Russia was colonized.

GREEK COLONIES AND THE SCYTHIA OF HERODOTUS.

THE early Greeks had established factories and founded flourishing colonies on the northern shores of the Black Sea. The Milesians and Megarians built Tomi or Kustenje, near the Danube, Istros at its mouth, Tyras at that of the Dniester, Odessos at that of the Bug, Olbia at that of the Dnieper, Chersonesos or Cherson on the roadstead of Sebastopol, Palakion which afterwards became Balaclava, Theodosia which became Kaffa, Panticapea (Kertch), and Phanagoria on the two shores of the Strait of Ienikale, Tanaïs at the mouth of the Don, Apaturous in the Kuban, Phasis, Dioscurias, Pityus at the foot of the Caucasus, on the coast of ancient Colchis. Panticapea, Phanagoria and Theodosia formed, in the 4th century B.C., a confederation with a hereditary chief called the Archon of the Bosphorus at its head, whose authority was also acknowledged by some of the barbarous tribes.

Russian archæologists, and quite recently, M. Ouvarof, have brought to light many monuments of Greek civilization, funeral pillars, inscriptions, bas-reliefs, statues of gods and heroes. We know that the colonists carefully preserved the Greek civilization, cultivated the arts of their mother cities, repeated the poems of Homer as they marched to battle, loved eloquent speeches as late as the time of Dion Chrysostom, and offered a special cult to the memory of Achilles. Beyond the line of Greek colonies dwelt a whole world of tribes, whom the Greeks designated by the common name of Scythians, with whom they entered into wars and alliances, and who served them as middlemen in their trade with the countries of the north. Herodotus has handed on to us nearly all that was known of these barbarians in the 5th century B.C.

The Scythians worshipped a sword fixed in the earth as an

image of the god of war, and bedewed it with sacrifices of human gore. They drank the blood of the first enemy killed in battle, scalped their prisoners, and used their skulls as drinking-cups. They gave their kings terrible burial-rites, and celebrated the anniversaries of their death by strangling their horses and slaves, and leaving the impaled corpses to surround the royal *kourgan* with a circle of horsemen. They honored the memory of the wise Anacharsis, who travelled among the Greeks. Their nomad hordes defied the power of Darius Hystaspes.

Among the Scythians properly so called, Herodotus distinguished the *agricultural* Scythians established on the Dnieper, probably in the *tchernoziom* of the Ukraine; the *nomad* Scythians, who extended fourteen days' journey to the east; the *royal* Scythians encamped round the Sea of Azof, who regarded the other Scythians as their slaves.

The barbarism of the inland tribes became rapidly modified under the influence of the powerful cities of Olbia and Chersonesos, and the Greco-Scythian state of the Bosphorus. In the tombs of the Scythian kings of what is now the government of Ekaterinoslaf, as well as in those of the Greco-Scythian princes of the Bosphorus, works of art have been found which show the genius of the Greeks accommodating itself to the taste of the barbarians, precious vases chiselled for them by Athenian artists, and all the jewels which at present enrich the museums of Kertch, Odessa, and St. Petersburg.

The Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburg, in particular, possesses two vases of an incomparable artistic and archæologic value. They are the silver vase of Nicopol (government of Ekaterinoslaf) and the golden vase of Kertch, and date from the 4th century B.C., or about the period when Herodotus wrote his history, of which they are the lively commentary. The Scythians of the silver vase, with their long hair, their long beards, large features, tunics and trousers, reproduce very fairly the physiognomy, stature and costume of the present inhabitants of the same countries; we see them breaking-in and bridling their horses in exactly the same way as they do it to-day in those plains. The Scythians of the golden vase, notwithstanding their pointed caps, their garments embroidered and ornamented after the Asiatic taste, and their strangely-shaped bows, are of a very marked Aryan type. The former might very well have been the *agricultural* Scythians of Herodotus, perhaps the ancestors of the *agricultural* Slavs of the Dnieper; the latter, the *royal* Scythians who led a nomad and warlike life. The philological studies of M. Bergmann and M. Mullendorf tend to identify the Scythian idiom with the Indo-European family of languages. "They were then," says M. Georges Perrot, "in spite of many

apparent differences of language, customs and civilization, nearly related to the Greeks, and this kinship perhaps contributed, without the knowledge of either Greeks or barbarians, to facilitate the relations between Hellenes and Scythians."

Herodotus takes care to make an emphatic distinction between the Scythians properly so called, and certain other peoples about whom he has strange stories to tell. These peoples are the *Melanchlainai*, who wear black raiment; the *Neuri*, who, once a year, become were-wolves; the *Agathyrsi*, who array themselves in golden ornaments, and have their women in common; the *Sauromati*, sprung from the loves of the Scythians with the Amazons; the *Budini* and *Geloni*, slightly tinged with Greek culture; the *Thysagetæ*, the *Massagæ*, the *Iyrx*, who lived on the produce of the chase; the *Argippeï*, who were bald and snub-nosed from their birth; the *Issedones*, who used to devour their dead parents with great pomp and ceremony; the one-eyed *Arimaspians*; the *Gryphons*, guardians of fabled gold; the *Hyperboreans*, who dwell in a land where, summer and winter, the snow-flakes fall, like a shower of white feathers.

It seems probable that among all these peoples there may be some who have since emigrated westwards, and who may belong to the German and Gothic races. Others, again, may have continued to maintain themselves, under different names, in Eastern Europe, such as the Slavs, the Finns, and even a certain number of Turkish tribes. M. Rittich believes he can identify the *Melanchlainai* of Herodotus with the *Esthonians*, who still prefer dark raiment; the *Androphagi* with the *Samoyedes*, whose name is derived from the Finnish word *suomeadnæ*; the *Issedones* with the *Vogouls*, who may very well have dwelt on the *Isseta*, a sub-tributary of the *Obi*; the *Arimaspians* with *Votiaks*, whom the Turks now call *Ari*; the *Argippeï*, *Aorses*, and *Zyrians* of Strabo with the *Erzes* or *Zyrians*; the *Massagetes* with the *Bachkirs*. M. Vivien de Saint-Martin recognizes the *Agathyrsi* in the *Agatzirs* of Priscus (A.D. 449), and *Acatzirs* of Jornandes, who are the *Khazars*. The Finns, then, have formed the most widely-spread race of Scythia.

THE RUSSIAN SLAVS OF NESTOR THE CHRONICLER—LITHUANIAN, FINNISH, AND TURKISH CLANS IN THE NINTH CENTURY.

The great barbaric invasions in the 4th century of our era formed a period of change and terrible catastrophe in Eastern Europe. The Goths, under Hermanaric, founded a vast empire in Eastern Scythia. The Huns, under Attila, overthrew this Gothic dominion, and a cloud of Finnish peoples, *Avars* and

Bulgarians, followed later by Magyars and Khazars, hurried swiftly on the traces of the Huns. In the midst of this strife and medley of peoples, the Slavs came to the front with their own marked character, and appeared in history under their proper name. They were described by the Greek chroniclers and by the Emperors Maurice and Constantine Porphyrogenitus. They clashed against the Roman Empire of the East; they began the secular duel between the Greek and Slavonic races, a duel which is still being waged for the prize of mastery in the peninsula of the Balkans. Certain tribes formed a separate group among the others, and received the name of the Russian Slavs. Nestor, the first Russian historian, a monk of Kief, of the 12th century, has described their geographical distribution as it existed two hundred years before his time. The *Slavs*, properly so called, inhabited the basin of the Ilmen, and the west bank of Lake Peïpus; their towns, Novgorod, Pskof, Izborsk, appear in the very beginning of the history of Russia. The Kri-vitches, again, were settled on the sources of the Dwina and the Dnieper, round their city of Smolensk. The Polotchans had Polotsk, on the Upper Dwina. The Dregovitches dwelt on the west of the Dwina, and of the Upper Dnieper, and held Tourof. The Radimitches abode on the Soja, a tributary of the Dnieper, and possessed the old cities of Ouvritch and Korosthenes; the Viatitches on the Higher Oka; the Drevlians, so called from the thick forests which covered their territory, in the basin of the Pripet. Between the Desna and the Dnieper the Severians were established; their towns were Loubetch, Tchernigof, and Pereiaslavl. The Polians faced the Severians on the right bank of the Dnieper; Kief was their centre. The White Croats abode between the Dniester and the Carpathians; the Tivertses and the Loutitches on the Lower Dniester and the Pruth; the Doulebes and the Boujans on the Bug, a tributary of the Vistula.

Nestor's list of the Russian Slavs shows that, in the 9th century of our era, when their history begins, they occupied but a small part of the Russia of to-day. They were almost completely penned in the districts of the Dwina and the Upper Dnieper, of the Ilmen and the Dniester. In all the immense basin of the Caspian, their share was only the land they occupied around the sources of the Volga and the Oka.

On the west and north, the Russian Slavs bordered on other Slavonic tribes, which, about this period, acquired distinct national names. Some groups, scattered about the Upper Elbe and the two banks of the Vistula, after the invasion of the Tcheques and the Liakhs or Lechites (from the 4th to the 7th century), formed themselves into the States of Bohemia and Poland.

Other tribes on the March, or Morava, made, in the kingdom of Moravia, their first attempt to secure political existence (9th century). Certain others scattered on the Lower Danube formed the kingdom of Bulgaria, after the invasion of the Bulgarians under Asparuch (680). In a more distant land on the Adriatic, the Servian and Croatian tribes were preparing to organize themselves into the kingdoms of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Servia. On the Baltic were the Slavs of Pomerania, of Brandenburg (Havelians), and Sprevanians of the banks of the Elbe (Obotrites, Wiltzes, Lutitzes, and Sorabians or Sorbes), all one day to be absorbed by the German Conquest.

At this period there was little difference between Russian and Polish Slavs. M. Koulich thinks that conquests achieved by two different races of men; that the adoption of two irreconcilable creeds (those of Rome and of Byzantium); that the influence of two rival civilizations, the Greek and the Latin, with their separate literatures and alphabets;—that all these influences created two antagonistic peoples in the midst of a race of one blood, and stamped on the inert and unconscious material of the Slavonic kindred the impress of two hostile nationalities. The Slav, moulded by the Lechites, converted to the Church of Rome, and subject to the influences of the west, became the Pole. The Slav, moulded by the Varangians, converted to the Greek church, and subject to Byzantine influences, became the Russian. In the beginning, on the Vistula as on the Dnieper, all were Slavs alike; all practised the same heathen ritual; all were governed by the same traditions, and spoke almost the same language. Indeed, the affinities of the Russian and Polish idioms, between which the dialects of White Russia, of Red Russia, and of Little Russia serve as links, sufficiently demonstrate an original brotherhood, which the strifes of churches and of thrones have destroyed.

The Russian Slavs, before taking possession of all the domain assigned to them by history, had to struggle in the north and east against the nations belonging to three principal races, the Letto-Lithuanians, the Finns and the Turks, in whom Finnish and Tatar elements were more or less mingled. The Finns and the Turks belong to that branch of the human family which has been named, from its twofold cradle of the Oural and the Altai, Ouralo-Altaic. The first of these races belongs to the Aryan family, but is nevertheless distinct from the Germanic or Slav races, and its dialects have more resemblance to Sanscrit than any other European tongue. The Jmouds and the Lithuanians, properly so called, dwell on the Niemen, the Latvians on the Narev. On the western shore of the Gulf of Riga and on the Baltic, the Korses, who give their name to

Courland, are to be found, while the Semigalli inhabit the left bank of the Dwina; and the Letgols, from whom are descended by a mingling with the Finnish race of Livonians, the Letts or Latiches of Southern Livonia. The Livonians on the Gulfs of Livonia and Finland, and the Tchoud-Estonians, who gave their name to Peïpus, the *Lake of the Tchouds*, belong to the Finnish race. They are the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Northern Livonia and Esthonia. The three so-called German provinces of the Baltic are then Lettish in the south, Finnish in the north. The Narovians were established on the Narova, which is a territory of the Peïpus; the Votes or Vodes, between the Volkhof and the sea, in a country called by the Novgorodians, *Vodskaïa Piatina*; the Ingrians or Ijors, on the *Ijora* or *Ingra*, a tributary on the left bank of the Neva. The Tchoud-Estonians at the present day number 719,000, the Livonians 2540, the Vodes 5000, and the Ingrians 18,000.

Finland or Suomen-maa (land of the Suomi) is still inhabited by the Suomi, who were divided into three tribes, the Iames or Tavasts on the south-east, round Inamburg and Tavastehus; the Kvins or Kaïans, on the Gulf of Bothnia; the Carelians, who were more numerous than the two other nations put together, occupied the rest of Finland. These three peoples at present amount to a total of 1,450,000. The north of Finland was and is inhabited by the Laps or Laplanders, who form a special division of the Finnish race, and reckon in Russia about 4000 souls. The shores of the Icy Ocean, from the Mezen to the Yenissei, have been always occupied by the Samoyedes, a very wide-spread but far from numerous people, who amount in Europe to about 5000 souls. In the time of Nestor the Vesses dwelt on the Cheksna and the White Lake; the Mouromians (whose name is repeated in that of Mourom) on the Oka and its affluents, the Moskowa and the Kliazma; the Merians on the Upper Volga around the Lake Klechtchine and Lake Nero or Rostof. These three tribes have completely disappeared, having been absorbed or transformed by the Russian colonization, but leave behind them innumerable *kourgans* or *tumuli*. Between 1851 and 1854, M. Ouvarof and M. Savelief excavated 7729 in the Merian country alone. Besides these monuments and the remains which they contain, the only traces left of these tribes are to be found in names of places, and in certain peculiarities of the local dialects. It was around their territory that the Muscovite State and the Russian empire were formed. The Tchoud-Zavolotchians were encamped on the Lower Dwina; the Erzes, or Zyrians, inhabited the basin of the Petchora; the Permi-ans, the source of the Dwina and the Kama; the Votiaks or Ari lived on the Viatka, where the town of Viatka still preserves

their name. These races form what is called the Permian branch of the Finnish nation; their country was named by the Scandinavians, Biarmia or Biarmaland, and "Great Permia" by the Muscovites. Biarmaland was discovered in the 9th century by the Norwegian navigator Other, who not long afterwards entered the Service of Alfred the Great, king of England, and has left in Anglo-Saxon an account of his travels. This narrative proves that the Permians were then a civilized people, who traded with India and Persia. The temple of their god Ioumala was so richly ornamented with precious stones, that its brilliance illuminated all the surrounding country. The Erzes number at the present day only 80,000, the Permians 70,000, the Votiaks 234,000.

The Ougrian branch is composed first of the Ostiaks, amounting to 20,000 and of the Voguls (7000). On the east they inhabit the Ourals, and only border on Europe. Formerly they lived more to the south. The Magyars, who made Europe tremble in the 10th century, and founded the kingdom of Hungary, belonged to this race.

Between the Kama and the Oural were already to be found the Bach-Kourtes (shaven-heads) or Bachkirs of the 16th to the 17th centuries, originally a Finnish people, no doubt of the Ugrian branch, but profoundly Tatarized, with whom were mingled the Metcheraks, a tribe named by Nestor. There are at present 500,000 Bachkirs, and 100,000 Metcheraks. On the Middle Volga dwelt the Tcheremisses, the Tchouvaches, and the Mordvians; the Tcheremisses are found again to-day in the government of Kazan, Nijni-Novgorod, and Viatka; the Tchouvaches in Kazan, Nijni-Novgorod, and Simbirsk; the Mordvians in Kazan, Tambof, Pensa, Simbirsk, Samara, and Saratof, but these are now only small islets amid the Russian colonization, whereas in the time of Nestor they formed a compact mass. The Tcheremisses now only number 165,000, the Tchouvaches 430,000, and the Mordvians 500,000; all the rest have become Russians except a few who have become Tatar.

All seems strange among these ancient peoples. The type of countenance is blurred and, as it were, unfinished; the costume seems to have been adopted from some antediluvian fashion; the manners and superstitions preserve the trace of early religions beyond the date of any known paganisms; the language is sometimes so very primitive that the Tchouvaches for example do not possess more than a thousand original words.

The Tcheremiss women wear on their breasts two plates forming a cuirass, and ornamented with pieces of silver, transmitted from generation to generation. A numismatist would make wonderful discoveries in these walking museums of medals,

They drape their legs in a piece of tightly "tied back" black cloth, and think that modesty consists in never showing the legs, just as the Tatar women make a point of never unveiling the face.

The Tchouvach women cover their heads with a little peaked cap like a Saracen helmet, carry on their backs a covering of leather and metal, like the trapping of a war-horse, and wear on fête-days a stiff and rectangular mantle like a chasuble. Among this singular people, "black" and "beautiful" are synonymous, and when they wish to revenge themselves they hang themselves at their enemy's door.

In spite of three centuries of Christian missions, these tribes dwelling in the heart of Russia and on the great artery of the Volga are not even yet complete converts to Christianity.

There are still some pagan districts. It may even be said that a considerable portion of the Tcheremisses, Tchouvaches, Mordvians, and Votiaks remain attached to the worship of the ancient deities, which they sometimes mingle with the orthodox practices and the worship of St. Nicholas. Their religion consisted essentially in dualism: the good principle is called by the Tchouvaches, Thora; Iouma (the "Ioumal" of the Finns) by the Tcheremisses; Inma by the Votiaks, etc. The bad principle was named Chaïtan or Satan. Between the two is a divinity whom men had in former times cruelly offended, who is called Keremet. From the good god proceeded an infinity of gods and goddesses; from Keremet a numerous progeny of male and female Keremets, genii more mischievous and malevolent, to whom the aborigines offer pieces of money, and sacrifice horses, oxen, sheep, swans, and cocks and hens, in sanctuaries also named Keremet, built in the depths of the forests and far from Russian spies.

Human sacrifices have been talked of. The worship of the dead inspired ideas which guide the savage everywhere. Men have preserved the custom of wife-capture, or buying brides from the fathers by paying the *kalym*; they practise agricultural communism. In a word, the life of these races of the Volga in the 19th century is the living commentary of the accounts of Nestor of the Russian Slavs of the 9th century.

It is probable that Slavs and Russians then lived in an absolutely identical state of civilization, and had almost the same religious ideas and the same customs.

There remain two Finnish peoples still to be spoken of, who, mentioned by Nestor, have at present disappeared, but who were far more remarkable than any of the preceding. These are the Khazars, who, although mingled with Turkish elements, were essentially Finnish. Remarkable for their aptitude for civiliza-

tion, they had formed in the 9th century a vast empire, which embraced the regions of the Lower Dnieper, the Don, and the Lower Volga, round the Sea of Azof and the Caspian; they had built Itil on the Volga, and Sarkel or the White City on the Don; they had sometimes governors at Bosporos and Cherson in the Taurid peninsula; in the Kuban they possessed the Tamatarchia of the Greeks. They had commercial and friendly relations with Byzantium, the caliphate of Bagdad, and even the caliphate of Cordova, the only civilized states of the then known world. The Khazars had flourishing schools, and tolerated all religions besides the national paganism. Mussulman missionaries appeared in the 7th, Jewish missionaries in the 8th century, and Saint Cyril arrived about 860 at the court of their Chagan. A Jewish Chagan of the name of Joseph interchanged some curious letters with the Rabbi Hasdai of Cordova, announcing to him that the people of God, the Israel Khazar, ruled over nine nations of the nineteen of the Caucasus, and thirteen of the Black Sea, and that he did not allow the Russians to descend the Volga to ravage the territory of the Caliph of Bagdad. The Israelitish Khazars became afterwards mingled with the Kharaite Jews, and the Moslem Khazars with the Tatars of the Crimea. Among the vassal nations of the Khazars enumerated by the Chagan Joseph, were the Bourtass and the Bulgars of the Volga, the latter, kinsmen of the Bulgars who were subjected by the Danubian Slavs, and apparently nearly related to the Tchouvaches, were a mixture of Finnish, Turkish, and even Slav elements, according to an Arabian account. Sedentary, industrious, and destined to inherit the commercial splendor of the Khazars, they blended with the native superstitions the Islamism which was preached to them in 922 by missionaries from Bagdad, and possessed in the 10th century a flourishing state. Their capital was Bolgary or the "Great City," on the junction of the Volga and the Kama. They also owned the cities of Bouliar or Biliarsk, Souvar, Krementchoug, &c. Their descendants were fused with the Tatar conquerors of the 13th century.

The Finnish races, even more than the Slavs, are the real aborigines of Russia. In the 5th century B.C. Herodotus writes of them as already long possessed of the soil. Everywhere in these wide regions the traces of their occupation are visible. At different periods they extended from the Livorian Gulf to the Ourals, and from the Icy Ocean to the Black Sea. They withdrew at various times, especially from the 5th to the 9th centuries, to allow the passage of the great migrations and of the great invasions; but in the 10th century they occupied, with the

Khazars, the shores of the Sea of Azof and of the Caspian, while the Finns of Esthonia held the Lithuanians in check.

The Turkish races, on the contrary, made their appearance much later in Russia. In the 9th century the Lower Volga and the Lower Oural began to fall a prey to the Patzinaks, incorrigible brigands who marched over the bodies of the Khazars to establish themselves on the Lower Dnieper. After them appeared the Polovtsi or Koumans, the Ouzes or Torques. The invasion of the Tatars was more Turkish than Mongolian. The nomads vanished or, according to Nestor, were absorbed by new arrivals, namely the Nogaïs, formed in the 13th century of the remnants of the Polovtsi, and of the Turko-Kanglis, at present numbering 50,000; the Kirghis, who entered Europe about 1721, and to-day amount to about 82,000 souls; the Kalmucks, who are Mongols not Turks, belong to the Celeutes or Western Mongols, invaders of Russia in 1636, number 87,000 in the provinces of Astrakhan, Stavropol, and the Don, and in spite of the efforts of Christians and Mussulmans have remained Lamaists. As to the Tatars, properly so called, or sedentary Turks (more or less a mixture of Finnish and Mongol elements), who inhabit the governments of the Volga, Kazan, and Astrakhan, as well as those of Stavropol and the Crimea, they number altogether about 1,420,000 heads.

DIVISION OF THE RUSSIANS OF TO-DAY INTO THREE BRANCHES— HOW RUSSIA WAS COLONIZED.

In the time of Nestor (end of the 11th century), the Russian Slavs confined between the Lithuanians on the west, the Finns on the north, and the Turks on the east, hardly occupied one-fifth part of Russia in Europe. To-day we see the Russian race extend from Finland to the Oural, from the Icy Ocean to the Caucasus and Crimea, amounting to 56,000,000 men, besides 3,000,000 colonists in the Asiatic provinces. The Letto-Lithuanians on the contrary are reduced to 2,420,000 souls; the Finns, including the inhabitants of Finland, to less than 4,000,000; and the Turko-Tatars to less than 2,000,000. The Russians form six-sevenths of the population of Russia. The proportions are more than reversed. What a change has been wrought in ten centuries! The present Russians may be divided into three branches, deriving their names from certain historical circumstances. 1. The name of *White Russia* is given to the provinces conquered from the 13th to the 14th century by the Grand Dukes of Lithuania. These were the ancient territories of the Krivitches, Polotchans, Dregovitches,

Drevlians, Doulebes, now forming the governments of Vitepsk, Mohilef, and Minsk. The governments of Kovno, Grodno and Wilna, at present unequally Russicized, were originally Lithuanian. The Lithuanian territories of Grodno, Novogrodek and Belostok were sometimes called *Black Russia*. 2. *Little Russia* includes the country of the ancient Severians and Polians increased by colonies; that is, the governments of Kief, Tchernigof, Pultowa, Kharkof, Volhynia, and Podolia. It even extends beyond the frontiers of the empire into *Red Russia* or Old Gallicia (Galitch, Iaroslavl, Terebovl, Zvenigorod, Lemberg, or Lvof), belonging to Austria, and peopled by 3,000,000 of Ruthenians or Russians. 3. *Great Russia* grouped around the ancient Muscovy, and occupying the place held in the 9th century by many Turkish or Finnish tribes. To Great Russia belong *Northern Russia* (Arkhangel), *Eastern Russia* (the Volga, Kazan, Astrakhan), and *New Russia or South Russia* (Cherson, Ekaterinoslaf, Kharkof, Odessa, the Crimea). Great Russia as a whole, apart from Novgorod and Pskof, was won from foreign races by Russian colonization. It was a colony of Kievan Russia, and, though for a time subjugated by the Tatars, was able to shake off their yoke, while Kief still remained a Lithuanian province. It continued to extend its conquests in the East; then turning to the West in the 17th and 18th centuries, was able to recover White Russia and Little Russia.

In the empire the White Russians number 3,000,000, the Little Russians 12,000,000, and the Great Russians 41,000,000. There are dialectical differences between the idioms of these three families, which historical and literary influences easily explain. Some writers have been anxious to establish the existence of a profound difference between Great Russia and her two neighbors. They have reserved the name of Russians and the character of Slavs for the White Russians and the Little Russians, and have pretended to see in the "Muscovites" nothing but descendants of Finns, Turks and Tatars, in a word Turanians, Russian only in language. The Muscovite Empire, founded in the midst of Vesses, of Mouromians, and of Merians, extended at the expense of the Tchouvaches, the Mordvians, Tatars and Kirghiz, with its two capitals Moscow and St. Petersburg in the Tchoudic region, is not, if these writers are to be trusted, even a European state. A more careful study shows us that Muscovy was formed in the first place by the migrations of Russian colonists, in the second place by the assimilation of certain foreign races. 1. When the steppes of the south became the prey of Asiatic nomads, the Russian population flowed back in a vast wave, from the banks of the Dnieper to the Upper and Middle Volga. We see the princes of Souzdal calling to their aid the

inhabitants of the banks of the Dnieper, while in the forests of the north new cities are constantly founded by the people of Novgorod. The Russia of Kief once destroyed, a new Russia begins to form itself, almost out of the same elements, at the opposite extremity of the Oriental plain. The names given to the new towns of Souzdal and Muscovy must be noticed. There is a Vladimir on the Kliazma as there is a Vladimir in Volhynia, a Zvenigorod on the Moskowa as on the Dniester, a Galitch in Souzdal as in Gallicia, a Iaroslavl on the Volga as on the San. Souzdal and Riazan, like Kief, have their Pereiaslavl; that of the former bears the title of Zaliesski, or "beyond the forests." In a different land and under another sky the emigrants clearly tried to restore the name, if they could not find the image of their native country. Is it not thus that the English in America founded New York, and the French New Orleans? Moreover, when we have seen a population of 3,000,000 Russians gather in the Caucasus and in Siberia—when we see that the steppes of the south which were deserts in the time of Catherine II. reckon to-day their 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 inhabitants,—it is easy to understand how, at a more distant epoch, the basin of the Volga was colonized. As for saying that the inhabitants of New Russia are nothing but Finns and Russified Turks, one might as well pretend that the 30,000,000 or 40,000,000 of North America are Red-skins who have learnt English and embraced Protestantism.

We must recognize that the Russian, almost as much as the Anglo-Saxon, has the instinct which drives men to emigrate and found colonies. The Russians do in the far East of Europe what the Anglo-Saxons do in the far West of America. They belong to one of the great races of pioneers and backwoodsmen. All the history of the Russian people, from the foundation of Moscow, is that of their advance into the forest, into the Black Land, into the prairie. The Russian has his trappers and settlers in the Cossacks of the Dnieper, Don, and Terek; in the tireless fur-hunters of Siberia; in the gold-diggers of the Oural and the Altai; in the adventurous monks who ever lead the way, founding in regions always more distant, a monastery which is to be the centre of a town; lastly, in the Raskolnicks, or Dissenters, Russian Puritans or Mormons, who are persecuted by laws human and divine, and seek from forest to forest the Jerusalem of their dreams. The level plains of Russia naturally tempted men to migration. The mountain keeps her own, the mountain calls her wanderers to return; while the steppe, stretching away to the dimmest horizon, invites you to advance, to ride at adventure, to "go where the eyes glance."

The flat and monotonous soil has no hold on its inhabitants; they will find as bare a landscape anywhere. As for their hovel,

how can they care for their hovel? it is burned down so often. The Western expression, the "ancestral roof," has no meaning for the Russian peasant. The native of Great Russia, accustomed to live on little, and endure the extremes of heat and cold, was born to brave the dangers and privations of the emigrant's life. With his crucifix, his axe in his belt, and his boots slung behind his back, he will go to the end of the Eastern world. However weak may be the infusion of the Russian element in an Asiatic population, it cannot transmute itself nor disappear—it must become the dominant power.

History has helped to make this movement irresistible. When the Russian took refuge in Souzdal, he was compelled to clear and cultivate the very worst land of his future domain, for the *Tchernoziom* was then overrun by nomads. How could he escape the temptation to go and look in the south for more fertile soil which without labor or manure would yield four times as great a harvest? Villages and whole cantons in Muscovy have been known to empty themselves in a moment, the peasants marching in a body, as in the old times of the invasions, towards the "Black Soil," the "Warm Soil" of the south. Government and the landholders were obliged to use the most terrible means to stop these migrations of the husbandmen. Without these repressive measures the steppes would have been colonized two centuries earlier than they actually were. The report that the Tzar authorized the emigration—a forged ukase, a rumor—anything was enough to uproot whole peoples from the soil. The peasant's passion for wandering explains the development of Cossack life in the plains of the south; it explains the legislation which from the beginning of the 16th century chained the serf to the glebe and bound him to the soil. In the 13th century, on the other hand, the peasant was free. His prince encouraged him to emigrate, and hence came the colonization of Eastern Russia.

2. The Russian race, it is true, has the faculty of absorbing certain aboriginal stocks. The Little Russians assimilated the remnants of Turkish tribes, the Great Russians swallowed up the Finnish nations of the East. There must, however, be no religious barrier between the conquerors and the conquered, for the Tchoud, while still heathen, is easily assimilated; but once converted to Islamism, he is a refractory element that can scarcely be brought to order. A baptized Tchouvach inevitably becomes a Russian, a circumcised Tchouvach inevitably becomes a Tatar. We have seen the Vesses, the Mouromians, the Merians disappear without leaving a trace; the Tchouvaches, the Mordvians, the Tcheremisses become more Russian every day. The successive stages, and the steps which lead to the

accomplishment of this change, were lately observed by Mr. Wallace, an English traveller :—

“During my wanderings in these northern provinces I have found villages in every stage of Russification. In one everything seemed thoroughly Finnish: the inhabitants had a reddish-olive skin, very high cheek-bones, obliquely-set eyes, and a peculiar costume; none of the women and very few of the men could understand Russian, and any Russian who visited the place was regarded as a foreigner. In a second there were already some Russian inhabitants; the others had lost something of their pure Finnish type, many of the men had discarded the old costume and spoke Russian fluently, and a Russian visitor was no longer shunned. In a third, the Finnish type was still further weakened; all the men spoke Russian, and nearly all the women understood it; the old male costume had entirely disappeared, and the old female costume was rapidly following it, and the intermarriage with the Russian population was no longer rare. In a fourth, intermarriage had almost completely done its work, and the old Finnish element could be detected merely in certain peculiarities of physiognomy and accent” (vol. i. p. 231).

The density and resisting power of these ancient peoples, scattered over such immense spaces of the continent, must have been comparatively slight, while the Russian emigrants came on in vast waves, or stole in like the constant dropping of water. The aboriginals must often have recoiled and concentrated their forces, thus leaving room and verge for the pure Slavonic element. The more or less considerable mixture of races, on the other hand, cannot but have influenced the physical type, character, and powers of the Great Russian in a peculiar way. The bright Slavonic nature, when blended with tribes of a duller cast, gained in strength and weight what it lost in vivacity. Hence, of all the Slavonic peoples, the Great Russian alone has been able to create and to maintain, in face of every obstacle, a vast and durable empire.

CHAPTER III.

PRIMITIVE RUSSIA : THE SLAVS.

Religion of the Slavs—Funeral rites—Domestic and political customs: the family, the *mir* or commune, the *volost* or canton, the tribe—Cities—Industry—Agriculture.

RELIGION OF THE SLAVS—FUNERAL RITES.

THE religion of the Russian Slavs, like that of all Aryan races, was founded on nature and its phenomena. It was a pantheism which, as its original meaning was lost, necessarily became a polytheism. Just as the Homeric deities were preceded by the gods of Hesiod, Ouranos and Demeter, or Heaven and Earth, so the most ancient gods of the Russian Slavs seem to have been Svarog, the heaven, and "our mother, the dank earth." Then new conceptions appeared in the first rank in the historic period. 1. Ancient poets and chroniclers (see the Song of Igor, and Nestor) have preserved to us the names of *Dagh-Bog*, god of the sun, father of nature; *Voloss*, a solar deity, and, like the Greek Apollo, inspirer of poets and protector of flocks; *Perun*, god of thunder, another personification of the Sun at war with the Cloud; *Stribog*, the Russian Æolus, father of winds, protector of warriors; *Khors*, a solar god; *Semargl* and *Mokoch*, whose attributes are unknown. 2. In some of the early hymns they sing of *Koupalo* or *Iarilo*, god of the summer sun, and *Did-Lado*, goddess of fecundity. 3. In the epic songs are celebrated *Sviatogor*, the giant-hero, whose weight the earth can scarcely bear; *Mikoula Selianinovitch*, the good laborer, a kind of Slav Triptolemus, the divine personification of the race's passionate love of agriculture, striking with the iron share of his plough the stones of the furrow, with a noise that is heard three days' journey off; *Volga Vseslavitch*, a Proteus who can take all manner of shapes; *Polkan*, a centaur; *Dounai*, *Don Ivanovitch*, *Dnieper Korolevitch*, who are rivers; then a series of heroes, conquerors of dragons like *Ilia of Mourom*, who seem to be solar gods degraded to the rank of paladins. 4. In the stories which beguile the village evening assemblies, appear *Morena*, goddess of death; *Kochtchei* and *Moroz*, personifications of the bitter winter weather; *Baba-Yaga*, an ogress who lives on the edge of the forest, in a hut built on the foot of a fowl, and swayed by the winds; and the *King of the Sea*, who entices sailors to his

watery palaces. 5. Popular superstition continues to people nature with good and bad spirits: the *Russalki*, water sprites; *Vodianoi*, river genii; the *Liechii* and the *Liesnik*, forest demons; the *Domovoi* (*dom*, house), the brownie of the domestic hearth; and the *Vampires*, ghosts who steal by night from their tombs, and suck the blood of the living during their sleep.

Since Mythology reproduces under so many forms the struggle of the heroes of the light with the monsters of darkness, it is possible that she may have admitted a bad principle at variance with a good principle, an ill-doing god, of whom Morena, Kochtchei, Baba-Yaga, the dragon, the mountain-serpent, are only types. We cannot find any positive confirmation of this hypothesis, as far as the Russian Slavs are concerned, but Helmold asserts that the Baltic Slavs recognize *Bielibog*, the White God, and *Tchernobog*, the Black God.

The Russians do not seem to have had either temples or priests in the proper sense of the word. They erected rude idols on the hills, and venerated the oak consecrated to Perun; the leaders of the people offered the sacrifices. They also had sorcerers, or magicians, analogous to the Tatar Shamans, whose counsels appear to have had great weight.

It has been the study of the Russian Church to combat paganism by purifying the superstitions she cannot uproot. She has turned to account any similarity in names or symbols. She has been able to honor Saint Dmitri and Saint George, the slayers of dragons; Saint John, who thunders in the spring; Saint Elias, who recalls Ilia of Mourom; Saint Blaise or Vlaise, who has succeeded to Voloss as guardian of the flocks; Saint Nicholas, or Mikoula, patron of laborers, like Mikoula Selianinovitch; Saint Cosmas, or Kouzma, protector of blacksmiths, who has taken the place of *kouznets*, the mysterious blacksmith forger of the destinies of man in the mountains of the north. In some popular songs the Virgin Mary replaces Did-Lado, and then Saint John succeeds to Perun or Iarilo. Who can fail to recognize the myth of the spring and the fruitful rains accompanied by thunder, in this White Russian song that is repeated at the festival of St. John? "John and Mary—bathed on the hill—while John bathed—the earth shook—while Mary bathed—the earth germinated." The Church has taken care to consecrate to the Saints of her calendar or to purify by holy rites the sacred trees and mysterious wells to which crowds of pilgrims continued to flock.

Russian Slavs certainly had visions of another life, but, like all primitive peoples, they looked forward to a life which was gross and material. In the 7th century among the Wends, German Slavs, women refused to survive their husbands, and burned

themselves on their funeral pile. This ancient Aryan custom must have been in vigor among the Russian Slavs at an equally early epoch. The Arabic writer, Ibn-Foszlan, gives an account of the Russian funeral rites which he himself witnessed in the 9th century. For ten days the friends of the deceased bewailed him, and intoxicated themselves over his corpse. Then the men-servants were asked, which of them would be buried with his master? One of them replied in the affirmative, and was instantly strangled. The same question was also put to the women-servants, one of whom likewise devoted herself. She was then washed, adorned, and treated like a princess, and did nothing but drink and sing. On the appointed day the dead man was laid in a boat, with part of his arms and his garments. The man-servant was slain with the favorite horse and other domestic animals and was laid in the boat, to which the young girl was then led. She took off her jewels, and with a glass of kvass in her hand sang a song that she would only too willingly have prolonged. "All at once," says the eye-witness, "the old woman who accompanied her, and whom they called the angel of death, ordered her to drink quickly, and to enter into the cabin of the boat, where lay the dead body of her master. At these words she changed color, and as she made some difficulties about entering, the old woman seized her by the hair, dragged her in, and entered with her. The men immediately began to beat their shields with clubs to prevent the other girls from hearing the cries of their companion, which might prevent them from one day dying for their masters." While the funeral pile blazed, one of the Russians said to our narrator, "You Arabs are fools: you hide in the earth the man you have loved best, and there he becomes the prey of worms. We, on the contrary, burn him up in the twinkling of an eye, that he may the quicker enter paradise." Nestor found the rite among the Russian Slavs. The excavations made in a great number of *kourgans* (barrows) confirm his testimony. The discoveries recently made in the tombs of Novgorod by M. Ivanouski, prove that the Slavs of Ilmen had preserved or adopted the custom of burying their dead. In these tombs are found a great quantity of arms, instruments, jewels, animals, bones, and grains of wheat; from which we may conclude that the Russian Slavs expected the future life to be an exact continuation of the present one, and that they surrounded the dead with all the objects that here contributed to his happiness. The examination of the human bones preserved in the *kourgans* also confirms the historical accounts, and proves that servants and female slaves were sacrificed over the corpse.

DOMESTIC AND POLITICAL CUSTOMS : THE FAMILY ; THE MIR OR COMMUNE ; THE VOLOST OR CANTON ; THE TRIBE.

The Slav family was founded on the patriarchal principle. The father was the absolute head, and after his death the power passed to the eldest of the members composing it: first, to the brothers of the deceased, if he had any under his care, then successively to his sons, beginning with the eldest. The chief had the same rights over the women who entered his family by marriage, as over its natural members.

Their domestic manners seemed to have been very barbarous. The monk Nestor may be suspected of exaggeration wherever he describes the condition of pagan Russia, which baptism was to regenerate. There is no exception to this exaggerated censure but in the case of the Polians. "The Drevlians," he tells us, "lived after the manner of wild beasts. They cut each other's throats, ate impure food, declined all marriage-ties; they ravished and stole young girls who came for water to the fountains. . . . The Radimitches, the Viatitches, the Severians lived like wild animals in the forests, were fed on all sorts of horrors, and spoke of all kinds of shameful things in the presence of their sisters-in-law and relatives. . . . They captured women, who were willing parties to the transaction, often two or three at a time."

The charges which Nestor chiefly urges against the Slavs, are the capture of women and polygamy. This latter charge is completely established; as to the capture, it might be symbolical. In the text quoted above we see the women "came" to the fountain, and that they were parties to the transaction. This capture, if we take it for a simple ceremony, may imply, in very early times the existence of abduction by violence. To-day, the marriage-customs of Russia still preserve traces of these ancient usages. There is still a pretended capture of the woman; a custom to be found in the Germany of the 8th century, where the very name of marriage has a pointed significance—*Brautlauff*, the flight of the bride. The songs at Russian weddings also imply the existence of a time when the maiden was bought. One of these songs accuses the kindred of avarice: "Thy brother—the accursed Tatar—has sold his sister for a piece of silver."

Some historians have thought, with Karamsin, that the Slavs held women in less consideration than the Germans did, and in fact "treated them as slaves." We may doubt if there was so great a difference between the two nations. The chronicles speak of Lybed, sister of Kii, the fabulous founder of Kief, dividing her paternal inheritance with her brothers, and of

Princess Olga becoming heir and avenger of her husband and guardian of his son. The epic songs show us many bold heroines side by side with the heroes of the Kievan cycle, and mothers of heroes surrounded with wonderful luxury and extraordinary honors. The excavations of the *kourgans* show us skeletons of women richly ornamented with jewels.

The commune, or *mir*, was only the expansion of the family; it was subject to the authority of the elders of each household, who assembled in a council or *vetché*. The village lands were held in common by all the members of the association; the individual only possessed his harvest, and the *dvor* or enclosure immediately surrounding his house. This primitive condition of property, existing in Russia up to the present day, was once common to all European peoples.

The communes nearest together formed a group called *volost* or *pagost* (canton, parish). The *volost* was governed by a council formed of the elders of the communes: one of these elders, either by hereditary right, age, or election, was recognized as more powerful than the rest, and became chief of the canton. His authority seems much to have resembled that of Ulysses over the numerous kings of little Ithaca. In times of danger, the *volosts* of the same tribe could elect a temporary head, but decline to submit to a general and permanent ruler. The Emperor Maurice had already observed that passion for liberty among the Slavs, which made them detest all sovereignty. The Russian Slavs easily rose from the idea of a commune to that of a canton, with a chief chosen from the elders of the family; in an emergency they might permit a temporary confederation of all the cantons of one tribe (*dlemia*), but we never find that there was a prince of the Severians, Polians, or Radimitches. Only princes of the *volost* could exist among them, like the prince of Korosthenes in the legend of Olga. The idea of the unity of a tribe, and *à fortiori* the unity of the Russian nation, was absolutely foreign to the race. The ideas of government and of the State had to come to them from without.

TOWNS—TRADE—AGRICULTURE.

Nestor declares that the Russian Slavs, for the most part, "lived in forests like the wild beast." Karamsin and Schloezer have concluded from this that they had no towns. Now there exist a number of monuments in Russia which have for long puzzled archæologists. There are the *gorodichtchés* (from *gorod*, town) enclosures formed by the earth being thrown up, and these we find invariably on the steep bank of a watercourse, or on a

small hill. M. Samokvassof, who has explored this very country of the Severians, described by Nestor as living wholly in forests, has been able to prove that these *gorodichtchés* are the *oppida*, the primitive towns of Russia. In the government of Tchernigof alone, M. Samokvassof has reckoned 160; in that of Koursk, 50. We may calculate from this that numbers exist in Russia, and that every *volost* had at least one. About these earth-enclosures, which were capped by wooden palisades or hedges of osier, and were the common means of defence for each group of families, we usually find grouped, as in a cemetery, the *kourgans* or *tumuli* of the dead.

The excavations made, either in the *kourgans* or in the soil of the *gorodichtchés*, have shown us the Slavs were more civilized than Nestor supposed. Vessels of pottery, tolerably well designed, iron and bronze, gold and silver objects, glass, false pearls, rattles, prove that they had a certain amount of trade, and a fairly extensive commerce, particularly with Asia. Oriental coins have been dug up, dating from 699, or near two hundred years before the arrival of the Varangians. There are a great number of these coins in the country. Near Novgorod a vase was discovered, containing about 7000 roubles' worth of this early money. The fame of the swords made by the Russian Slavs extended to Arabia. Nestor relates that the Khazars imposed a tribute of swords on the Polians. When the latter brought the arms to the Khazars, they were afraid, and said to their princes, "Our swords have only one edge—these have two. We tremble lest one day this people should levy a tribute on us and other tribes."

Agriculture was the favorite occupation of the Slavs. Nearly all their deities are of an agricultural character. The favorite heroes of their epic cycle, Mikoula and Ilia, were the sons of laborers. They had the more liking for field life, as the serfage of the glebe was still unknown amongst them. It has been said that the Germans borrowed the plough from the Slavs, and that the German name of *pflug* is derived from the Slav *ploug*. With the wax and honey of their hives, the corn of the *Tchernoziom*, and the furs of the north, the Russians carried on a great trade. Their need of strangers, together with a sociable instinct, natural to primitive races, made them very hospitable; it was even permitted to steal for the benefit of the unexpected guest. A peaceful race, devoted to liberty, music, and dancing, appears in the idyllic picture painted for us of the early Slavs. The Emperor Maurice, on the contrary, who had had dealings with all kinds of adventurous tribes, assures us that they were warlike, cruel in battle, full of savage wiles, able to conceal themselves in places where it seemed impossible their bodies could

be hidden, or to lie in ambush in streams for hours together, the water over their heads, breathing by means of a reed. Their armor was defective, they had no breast-plates, they fought on foot, were naked to the waist, and had for weapons, pikes, large shields, wooden bows, poisoned arrows, and lassoes to catch their victims. This sketch specially applies to the invaders of the Roman provinces of the Danube. It is probable that these agricultural races had in general a military organization inferior to that of their Turkish and Scandinavian neighbors who lived by plunder. The imperfection of their political condition, their minute division into clans and *volosts*, the incessant warfare of canton with canton, delivered them up, defenceless, to their invaders. Whilst the Slavs of the south paid tribute to the Khazars, the Slavs of Ilmen, exhausted by their divisions, decided on calling in the Varangians. “‘Let us seek,’ they said, ‘a prince who will govern us and reason with us justly.’ Then,” continues Nestor, “the Tchouds,* the Slavs (Novgorod), the Krivitches, and other confederate races, said to the princes of Varangia, ‘Our land is great and fruitful, but it lacks order and justice; come and take possession, and govern us.’”

* The Tchouds here mentioned are rather Slavs who had colonized the Tchoud country about Pskof and Izborsk.

CHAPTER IV.

THE VARANGIANS: FORMATION OF RUSSIA; THE FIRST EXPEDITIONS AGAINST CONSTANTINOPLE, 862-972.

The Northmen of Russia—Origin and customs of the Varangians—The first Russian princes: Rurik, Oleg, Igor—Expeditions against Constantinople—Olga—Christianity in Russia—Sviatoslaf—The Danube disputed between the Russians and Greeks.

NORTHMEN IN RUSSIA—ORIGIN AND CUSTOMS OF THE VARANGIANS.

WHO were these Varangians? To what race did they belong? No questions in the early history of Russia are more eagerly debated. After more than a century of controversy, the various views have been reduced to three:—

1. The Varangians were of Scandinavian origin, and it was they who imposed the name of Russia on the Slav countries. A most weighty argument in support of this theory is the large number of Scandinavian names in the list of Varangian princes reigning in Russia. The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, speaking of Russia, makes a distinction between the Slavs and the Russians proper. Describing the cataracts of the Dnieper, he gives to each the *Russian* and the *Slav* name. Now these *Russian* names may nearly all be understood by reference to Scandinavian roots. Liutprand, speaking of the Russians, expresses himself in these terms:—“*Græci vocant Russos . . . nos vero Normannos.*” The *Annals of Saint Bertinus* say, that the Emperor Theophilus recommended some Russian envoys to Louis le Débonnaire, but he, taking them for Norman spies, threw them into prison. Finally, the first Russian Code of Laws, compiled by *Iaroslaf*, presents a striking analogy with the Scandinavian laws. The Partisans of this opinion place the mother country of the Russians in Sweden, where they point particularly to a spot called *Roslog*, and associations of oarsmen called *Roslagen*. At the present day the Finns call the Swedes *Rootzi*.

2. The Varangians were Slavs, and came either from the Slav shores of the Baltic, or from some Scandinavian region where the Slavs had founded a colony. The word *Russia* is not of Swedish origin; it is applied very early to the country of the Dnieper. To come from *Rouss* or to go to *Rouss* are ex-

pressions to be met with in the ancient documents, and *Rouss* there signifies the country of Kief. Arabic writers give the name of Russians to a nation they consider very numerous, and they mean in this case, not Scandinavians, but indigenous Slavs.

3. The Varangians were not a nation, but a band of warriors formed of exiled adventurers, some Slavs, other Scandinavians. The partisans of this opinion show us the Slav and Scandinavian races from very early times, in frequent commercial and political relations. The leaders of the band were generally Scandinavian, but part of the soldiers were Slav. This hypothesis, which diminishes the Norman element in the Varangians, serves to explain how the establishment of these adventurers in the country but little affected the Slavs of the Ilmen and the Dnieper. It explains, too, the rapid absorption of the new comers in the conquered race, an absorption so complete that the grandson of Rurik, Sviatoslaf, already bears a Slav name, while his great-grandson, Vladimir, remains in the memory of the people as the type of Slav prince. Whether the Varangians were pure Scandinavians, or whether they were mingled with Slav adventurers, it seems certain that the former element predominated, and that we may identify these men from the North with the sea-kings so celebrated in the West during the decay of the Carolings. M. Samokvassof has lately opened, near Tchernigof, the *black tomb* containing the bones and arms of an unknown prince who lived in the 10th century, and was probably a Varangian. His coat-of-mail and pointed helmet completely resemble the arms of the Norman warriors. The Russian princes that we find in the early miniatures, are clothed and armed like the Norman chiefs in the Bayeux Tapestry of Queen Matilda. It is therefore not surprising that, in our own age, art has made almost identical representations of Rurik on the monument lately erected at Novgorod, and of William the Conqueror on the monument at Falaise. The Varangians, like the Normans, astonished the nations of the South by their reckless courage and gigantic stature. "They were as tall as palm-trees," said the Arabs. Bold sailors, admirable foot-soldiers, the Varangians differed widely from the mounted and nomad races of Southern Russia, Hungarians, Khazars, Patzinaks, whose tactics were always Parthian. The Russians, according to Leo the Deacon, who was an eye-witness of the fact, fought in a compact mass, and seemed like a wall of iron, bristling with lances, glittering with shields, whence rang a ceaseless clamor like the waves of the sea—the famous *bar-ditus* or *barritus* of the Germans of Tacitus. A huge shield covered them to their feet, and, when they fought in retreat,

they turned this enormous buckler on their backs, and became invulnerable. The fury of battle at last made them beside themselves, like the Bersarks. Never, says the same author, were they seen to surrender. When victory was lost, they stabbed themselves, for they held that those who died by the hand of an enemy were condemned to serve him in another life. The Greeks had for long highly esteemed these heroes worthy of the Edda. Under the name of *Ros* or Varangians, they formed the body-guard of the Emperor, and figured in all the Byzantine armies. In the expedition of 902 against Crete, 700 Russians took part; 415 in that of Lombardy in 925; 584 in that of Greece in 949.

The Russian Varangians readily took the pay of foreign nations of Novgorod as well as Byzantium. This is one more feature of resemblance with the Normans of France, whom the Greek emperors also employed in their wars with the Saracens of Italy. Sometimes, instead of fighting for others, they made war for themselves. This was the case with the Danes in England, the Normans in Neustria, the descendants of Tancred in Naples and Sicily, the companions of Rurik in Russia. As they were usually a very small number, they blended rapidly with the conquered nations. Thus the descendants of Rollo quickly became Frenchmen, and those of Robert Guiscard, Sicilians. In the Varangian bands, Slavs as well as Scandinavians were mixed; but we likewise know that in the bands of Northmen that ravaged the country of France, there was a large number of Gallo-Romans, renegades from Christianity, who thirsted more for pillage and murder than did the Vikings themselves. This mingling of the adventurers and the indigenous race explains the rapidity with which both the Normans of Russia and the Normans of France lost their language, customs and religion. The Varangians only retained one thing, their military superiority, the habit of obeying the chosen or hereditary chief. Into the Slav anarchy they brought this element of warlike and disciplined force, without which a State cannot exist. They imposed on the natives the amount of constraint necessary to drag them from their isolation and division into *gorodichtchs* and *volosts*. The Slavs of the Danube also owe their constitution to a band of Finno-Bulgarian adventurers under Aspar Asparuch; the Polish Slavs to the invasion of the Liakhs or Lechites; the Tcheques to the Frank Samo, who enabled them to shake off the yoke of the Avars.

The spontaneous appeal of the Slavs to the Varangian princes may seem to us strange. We might believe that the annalist, like the old French historians, has tried to disguise the fact of a conquest, by representing that the Slavs submitted

voluntarily to the Varangians of Rurik, as the Gauls are supposed to have done to the Franks of Clovis. In reality there was no conquest, a statement which is proved by the fact that the municipal organization remained intact, that the *vetché* continued to deliberate by the side of the prince, the local army to fight in conjunction with the band of adventurers. The laws of Iaroslaf established the same wer-gild for the murder of either Slav or Varangian, while the Merovingian laws recognize a great difference between a Gallo-Roman and a Frank. The defence of the country, the administration of justice, and the collection of the tribute were the special cares of the prince, the last being considered his legitimate reward. He played in the Slav towns a rôle similar to that of the Italian *podestàs* in the 15th century, who were called in to administer justice impartially, or that of the leaders of *condottieri*, to whom the cities entrusted their defence.

As early as 859 the Varangians exacted tribute from the Slavs of Ilmen and the Krivitches, as well as the Tchouds, Ves-ses, and Merians. The natives had once expelled the Varangians, but as divisions once more became rife among them, they decided that they needed a strong government, and recalled the Varangians in 862. Whether the name of *Russia* or of *Rouss* was originally derived from a province of Sweden, or from the banks of the Dnieper, the fact remains that with the arrival of the Varangians in Slavonia, the true history of Russia commences. It was the 1000th anniversary of this event that was commemorated at Novgorod in 1862. With the Varangians the Russian name became famous in Eastern Europe. It was the epoch of brilliant and adventurous expeditions; it was the heroic age of Russia.

The Varangians of Novgorod and Kief are not unworthy mates of the Normans of the West—the bold conquerors who sought their fortunes from the coasts of England, Sicily, and Syria. They are to be found nearly at the same time under the walls of Constantinople and at the foot of the Caucasus, where they captured the town of Berdaa from the Arabs (944). Nestor, the monk of the Petcherski convent at Kief, whose history extends to 1116, adds to his conscientious accounts many legendary traits, which seem an echo of Scandinavian *sagas* and early Russian *bylinas*. His Annals, which Greek and French authorities enable us to check, and which are tolerably exact in all essentials, seem at times, like the first books of Livy, to be epic poetry converted into prose.

THE EARLY RUSSIAN PRINCES : RURIK, OLEG, IGOR—EXPEDITIONS
AGAINST CONSTANTINOPLE.

At the call of the Slavs, Rurik, Sineous and Trouvor, three Varangian brothers, whose Scandinavian names signify the *Peaceful*, the *Victorious*, and the *Faithful*, gathered together "their brothers and their families," that is, their warriors or *droujines* (resembling the *truste* of the Frank kings), crossed the Baltic and took up their positions on the borders of the territory they were summoned to defend. Rurik, the eldest, established himself on the lake Ladoga, near to which, on the southern side, he founded the city of Ladoga; Sineous on the White Lake (Biéloe-Ozéro), in the Vess country; Trouvor at Izborsk, to hold the Livonians in check. When the two latter died, Rurik established himself at Novgorod, where he built, not a town as Nestor would have us believe, but a castle. It is thus we must explain the pretended foundation by his orders of Polotsk and of Rostof, which had existed long before the arrival of the Varangians. What he probably did was to transform ancient *gorodichtchés* with ramparts of mud into fortresses. Two other Varangians, Askold and Dir, who were not of the family of Rurik, went down to Kief, and reigned over the Polians. It was they who began the expeditions against *Tzargrad* (Byzantium), the *queen of cities*. With 200 vessels, says Nestor, they entered the *Sound*, in old Slav *Soud* (the Bosphorus or the Golden Horn), and besieged Constantinople. But the patriarch Photius, according to the Byzantine accounts, took the wonder-working robe of Our Lady of Blachernes, and plunged it in the waves. A fierce tempest instantly arose, and the whole Russian fleet was destroyed.

Rurik's successor was not his son Igor, then a minor, but the *eldest* member of the family, his fourth brother, the enterprising Oleg. At the head of an army composed of Varangians, Slavs and Finns, he marched to the south, received the submission of Smolensk and Loubetch, and arrived under the walls of Kief. By means of treachery he took Askold and Dir prisoners, and put them to death, observing: "You are neither princes yourselves, nor of the blood of princes; this is the son of Rurik," pointing to Igor. The tomb of Askold is still shown near Kief. Oleg was charmed with his new conquest, and took up his abode there, saying, "Let Kief be the mother of Russian cities." The Varangian chief held communication both with the Baltic and the Black Sea by means of Novgorod, Smolensk, and Kief. He subdued the Novgorodians, the Krivitches, the Merians, the Drevlians, the Severians, the Polians, the Radimitches, and thus

united nearly all the Russian tribes under his sceptre. It was about this time that the Hungarians crossed the Dnieper near Kief, and invaded Pannonia. The Magyar chronicles speak of their having defeated Oleg; Nestor is silent on the subject.

In 907 Oleg collected a large army from among the tributary races, equipped 2000 boats, and prepared to invade Tzargrad by land and sea. Russian legends have embellished this expedition with many wonderful details. Oleg built wheels to his vessels, and spread their sails; blown by the wind they reached the gates of the city. Leo VI. the Philosopher, horror-stricken, agreed to pay tribute, but the Greeks tried to get rid of the Russians by offering them poisoned food. Oleg divined their perfidy. He imposed a heavy contribution, a commercial treaty advantageous to the Russians, and suspended his shield on the Golden Door.

To his subjects Oleg was more than a hero. Terror-stricken by his wisdom, this "foolish and idolatrous people" looked on him as a sorcerer. In the Scandinavian *sagas* we find many instances of chiefs, such as Odin, Gylf and Raude, being at the same time great warriors and great magicians. It is strange that neither Greek, Frank, nor Venetian historians allude to this campaign. Nestor cites the names of the Russian envoys who negotiated the peace, and gives the text of the treaty.

A magician had predicted to Oleg that his favorite horse would cause his death. It was kept apart from him, and when, five years after, the animal died, he insisted on being taken to see its body, as a triumph over the ignorance and imposture of the sorcerers. But from the skull of the horse issued a serpent which inflicted a mortal sting on the foot of the hero.

Igor led a third expedition against Tzargrad. The Dnieper conducted, as it were of her own will, the Russian flotilla to the seas of Greece. Igor had 10,000 vessels according to the Greek historians, 1000 according to the more probable calculation of Liutprand. This would allow 400,000 men in the first case, and only 40,000 in the second. Instead of attacking the town, he cruelly ravaged the Greek provinces. The Byzantine admirals and generals united, and destroyed the Russian army in a series of engagements by the aid of Greek fire. Nestor has not copied the numerous details the Byzantine historians give of this battle, but we have the evidence of Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, derived from his father-in-law, the ambassador of the king of Italy at Constantinople, who saw with his own eyes the defeat of Igor, and was present at the sacrifice of prisoners, beheaded by order of the Emperor Romanus Lecapenus. In 944 Igor secured the help of the formidable Patzinaks, and organized an expedition to avenge his defeat. The Greek Emperor, now

seriously alarmed, offered to pay tribute, and signed a new commercial treaty, of which the text is given by Nestor. Byzantine and Western writers do not mention this second expedition of Igor. On his return from Russia, he was assassinated by the Drevlians, from whom he had tried to exact tribute. Leo the Deacon, a Greek writer, says he was torn in pieces by means of two young trees, bent forcibly to the earth, and then allowed to take their natural direction (945).

OLGA—CHRISTIANITY IN RUSSIA.

Olga, widow of Igor, assumed the regency in the name of her son Sviatoslaf, then a minor. Her first care was to revenge herself on the Drevlians. In Nestor's account it is impossible to distinguish between the history and the epic. The Russian chronicler relates in detail how the Drevlians sent two deputations to Olga to appease her, and to offer her the hand of their prince, and how she disposed of them by treachery, burying some alive, and causing others to be stifled in a bathing-house. Next, says Nestor, she besieged their city Korosthenes, and she offered them peace on payment of a tribute of three pigeons and three sparrows for each house. Lighted tow was tied to the tails of the birds, and they were set free. They flew straight home to the wooden town, where the barns and thatched roofs instantly took fire. Lastly the legend relates that Olga massacred part of the Korosthenians, and the rest became slaves.

This vindictive Scandinavian woman, in spite of all, was destined to be the first apostle of Russia. Nestor relates that she went to Tzargrad to the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, astonished him by the strength and adroitness of her character, and was baptized under the name of Helen, the Greek Tzar being her godfather. Only two facts in Nestor's account are historical, namely, the reception of Olga at the imperial palace of Constantinople, related in detail in the 'Book of Ceremonies,' and perhaps her baptism. If the Greek historians do not mention it in the contemporary chronicles, it is because they did not perceive the important consequences of this event. If writers allude to it in the chronicles of the 11th and 12th centuries, it is because the consequences of the event had by that time been completely developed.*

Even in Russia Olga's conversion passed almost unnoticed. Christianity had made but little progress in that country. No doubt since Cyril and Methodius had invented the Slavonic alphabet, and translated the Holy Books for the Bulgarians.

* A. Rambaud, 'L'Empire grec au dixième siècle,' p. 383.

Christianity, which had already triumphed over some Slav peoples, was being handed on from one to the other. Some missions were already established in Russia. The Byzantines say, that alarmed by the miraculous defeat of Askold and Dir, and seized with a respectful awe of the Christian talismans of the Patriarch Photius, the Russians "sent envoys to Constantinople to ask for baptism." The Emperor Basil the Macedonian then gave them an archbishop, who performed a miracle before them. He threw a copy of the Gospels into a brazier, and drew it out unharmed. According to this account, Askold was the first Russian prince who became a Christian. Hence the worship rendered to his tomb and memory. In the list of Byzantine Eparchies under Leo VI., the Bishopric of Russia figures, of which no doubt Kief was the metropolis. These missions, however, do not seem to have been very successful; at the time of the treaty concluded between Oleg and Leo VI., the Russians still swore by their swords, by Voloss and Perun. In the treaty concluded by Igor, when the Russians swore at Kief before the Emperor's envoy, to confirm it, some ascended the hill of Perun and performed the vows in the ancient way; others went to the chapel of Saint Elias, and laid their hand on the Gospel. There existed then, in the "mother of Russian cities," a Christian community, though a very weak one, if it is true that Olga refused to be baptized in Kief "for fear of the pagans." The mass of warriors kept Christianity at a distance. In their expeditions against the Byzantine provinces, we find them attacking monasteries and churches by preference, giving them up to the flames, and finding a peculiar pleasure in torturing priests and monks by driving nails into their heads. It was thus that the Normans of France, the fanatics of Odinism, treated the ecclesiastics with refinements of cruelty, boasting that they "sang them the Mass of lances." "When one of the soldiers of the Grand Prince wished to become a convert," says Nestor, "he was not prevented, but only laughed at." The efforts of Olga for the conversion of her son Sviatoslaf, who had assumed the reins of government on reaching his majority, were fruitless. He did not like exposing himself to the ridicule of his soldiers by embracing a new faith. "My men will mock me," he replied to the prayers of his mother. "And often," Nestor affirms sadly, "he became furious with her." Olga vainly assured him that if he would be baptized, all his subjects would soon follow his example. The public mind was not yet in a condition for the example of the prince to be all-powerful. The Christian Olga, canonized by the Church, "the first Russian who ascended to the heavenly kingdom," remained an exception, little noticed or thought of in the midst of the pagan aristocracy.

SVIATOSLAF—THE DANUBE DISPUTED BETWEEN GREEKS AND RUSSIANS.

The reign of Sviatoslaf, 964-972, though short, was signalized by two memorable events: the defeat of the Khazars, and the great war against the Byzantine Empire for the possession of Bulgaria. About the former event the annalist gives few details; but Sviatoslaf must have gained a complete victory, if it be true that he took the White City, capital of the Khazar Empire on the Don, and that he exacted tribute from the Iasses or Ossets of the Caucasus, and the Kassogans or Tcherkesses. The Russians had no reason to rejoice in their success, for the decline of the Khazars, who were a civilized people, favored the progress of the Patzinaks, the most ferocious of all barbarians. The Arabs spoke of them as wild beasts and Matthew of Edessa calls them "a greedy people, devouring the bodies of men, corrupt and impure, bloody and cruel beasts." During one of the frequent absences of Sviatoslaf, the Patzinaks suddenly appeared under the walls of Kief, where the mother and children of the Grand Prince had taken refuge, and reduced it to the last extremity. The bold manœuvre of a voïevode saved the Kievians, who were starving. On his return to his capital, Sviatoslaf was horrified at the risks it had encountered. It was at the hands of these same Patzinaks that he was one day to perish.

On the subject of the Bulgarian war the narrative of Nestor is confused and incomplete. He is silent about the Russian defeats, and legend mixes largely with historical facts. Nestor relates that the Greeks wished to ascertain what sort of man Sviatoslaf was. They sent him gifts of gold and fine tissues, but the Grand Prince looked on them with disdain, and said to his soldiers, "Take them away." Then they sent him a sword and other weapons, and the hero seized them and kissed them enthusiastically. The Greeks were afraid, and said, "This must be a fierce man, since he despises wealth and accepts a sword for tribute." Happily the very minute account of Leo the Deacon appears both exact and impartial, and we are enabled to follow this campaign, where a chief of infant Russia crosses that Danube which the Russian armies are not again to see till the reign of Catherine II. and Nicholas. The Greek Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, in order to avenge himself on Peter the Tzar of Bulgaria, had recourse to the dangerous expedient so frequent in Byzantine policy. He called in the barbarians. A certain Kalokyr was sent as envoy to Sviatoslaf with a sufficient sum of money to allow him to take the field. It was thus that these two Siav races—

who owned their constitutions, one to the Varangian *droujina* of Rurik, the other to the Turanian *droujina* of Asparuch—were urged to conflict by Greek diplomacy. Sviatoslaf descended on Bulgaria with a thoroughly-equipped fleet, reassured the Byzantines by bringing 60,000 men to their assistance, took Pereiaslaf, the Bulgarian capital, and all their fortresses.

The Tzar Peter yielded to his evil destiny at the moment the Patzinaks were besieging Kief. This lesson was, however, lost on Sviatoslaf. He was everjoyed at his conquest, and wished to transport his capital to Pereiaslaf on the Danube, a city distinct from Pereiaslaf or Prislaf, the modern Eski-Stamboul, which was the capital of the Bulgarians in the 10th century. "This place," he said to his mother, "is the central point of my possessions, and abounds in wealth. From Greece come precious stuffs, wine, gold, and all kinds of fruit ; from the country of the Tcheques and Hungarians, horses and silver ; from Russia, furs, money, wax, and slaves." This resolution of Sviatoslaf was fraught with immense danger to the Greek Empire. If Byzantium feared the neighborhood of an enfeebled Bulgaria, how was she to resist a power that extended from the Baltic to the Balkans, and which could add to the Bulgarian legions, disciplined after the Roman fashion by the Tzar Simeon, the Varangians of Scandinavia, the Russian Slavs, the Finnish hordes of the Vesses, Tchouds, and Merians, and even the light cavalry of the Patzinaks ?

The formation of a great Slav Empire so close to Constantinople would have been rendered more formidable by the ethnographical constitution of the peninsula. Ancient Thrace and ancient Macedon were peopled by Slav tribes, some of whom were offshoots from the Russian tribes ; for example, Dregovitches and Smolenes were to be found there as much as at Minsk and Smolensk. Thessaly, Attica, and the Peloponnesus were invaded by these emigrants, who became the subjects of the Greek Empire. The famous mountain Taygetus, in Laconia, was inhabited by two Slav tribes, still unsubdued—the Milingians and the Ezerites. We must not forget that Bulgaria extended as far as the Ochrid, and that the ancient provinces under the names of Croatia, Servia, and Dalmatia, had become almost entirely Slav. This great race extended then almost unbroken from the Peloponnesus, already called by the Slav name of Morea, to Novgorod. Thus, if the town of Pereiaslaf on the Danube had really become the centre of the Russian dominions, according to the wish of Sviatoslaf, the Greek race and the Roman domination in the Balkan peninsula would speedily have come to an end. The Greek emperors had been able to resist Askold, Oleg, and Igor. The Russians of their day had lived far from the Empire, and were obliged to go by water, which limited

greatly the number of their armies. With their canoes hollowed out of the trunks of trees, such as are now to be seen in the Russian villages, they had to descend the Dnieper, disembark at each of the seven cataracts, carry canoes (monoxyles) till they could re-embark further on, and all the while gave battle to the Patzinaks, who were in ambush behind the rocks. After they had escaped these perils, they had to brave with their frail barks the tempests of the Black Sea, the powerful Roman galleys manned by the best sailors of the East, and the mysterious Greek fire which filled them with terror. Few reached the walls of Constantinople, and their defeat was certain. Now, on the contrary, masters of the Danube, masters of the land-route, they could precipitate on Constantinople all the hordes of Scythia.

Fortunately for the Greek Empire, it then chanced to be renewing its youth. A series of great captains succeeded each other on this tottering throne. In John Zimisces the Russian prince was to find an adversary worthy of him. Sviatoslaf, recalled to Bulgaria, had been obliged to reconquer it. It was at this moment that Zimisces summoned him to execute the conditions of the treaty concluded with his predecessor; that is, to evacuate the country. Sviatoslaf, who had just taken Philippopolis and exterminated the inhabitants, replied haughtily that he hoped soon to be at Constantinople. Zimisces then began his preparations. In the beginning of March 972, he despatched a fleet to the north of the Danube, and himself marched to Adrianople. He surprised the Russians, who had not expected him so soon, in the defiles of the Balkans; appeared suddenly under the walls of Pereiaslaf, defeated a body of many thousand Russians, and obliged them to retire within the walls; then he gave the order for the assault, and took the town by escalade. Eight thousand Russians shut up in the royal castle made a frantic resistance, refused to capitulate, and perished in the flames.

When the news of this disaster reached Sviatoslaf, he advanced with the greater part of his army to meet the Emperor, and came up with him near Dorostol (Silistria). The Greek historians make the Russian army to have consisted of at least 60,000 men; Nestor only reckons 10,000. Here a bloody battle took place, and twelve times victory appeared to shift from one side to the other. The solidity of the Russian infantry defied the charges of the cavalry—"the Ironside" (*κατάφρακτοι*). At last they gave way under a desperate charge, and fell back on Dorostol. There they were besieged by the Emperor, and displayed a wild courage in their sallies. Even their women, like the ancient Amazons, or the heroines of the Scandinavian *sagas* or Russian songs, took part in the *mêlée*. The Russians slew themselves rather than ask for mercy. The night following on

an action, they were seen to leave the town by moonlight to burn their dead. On their ashes they sacrificed prisoners of war, and drowned in the Danube cocks and little children. Provisions failed, and Sviatoslaf stole out one stormy night with canoes manned by 2000 warriors, rowed round the Greek fleet, collected millet and corn in the neighboring villages, and, falling suddenly on the Greeks, re-entered the town victoriously. Zimisce then took measures to prevent any boat from getting out. This epic siege was signalized by some strange combats. One of the bravest of the Russian chiefs was slain by Apemas, a baptized Arab, son of an Emir of Crete, and himself one of the guards of Zimisce.

Sviatoslaf resolved to make one last effort, and issued from the town with all his forces. Before the battle Zimisce proposed to Sviatoslaf to terminate the war by a duel between themselves. It was the barbarian who refused: "I know better than my enemy what I have to do," said Sviatoslaf. "If he is weary of life, there are a thousand means by which he can end his days." This battle was as obstinate and bloody as the former. Sviatoslaf came near being slain by Apemas. At last the Russians gave way, leaving on the battlefield, says Leo the Deacon, 15,500 dead and 20,000 shields. The survivors retired into the town. They were forced to treat. Zimisce allowed them to retire from Bulgaria, and they swore by Perun and Voloss never again to invade the empire, but to help to defend it against all enemies. If they broke their vows, might they "become as yellow as gold, and perish by their own arms." Nestor gives us the text of this convention, which was really a capitulation, and confirms the account of the Greek historians rather than his own. These relate that Zimisce sent deputies to the Patzinaks to beg them to grant a free passage to the remnant of the Russian army. It is certain that the barbarians awaited the Russians at the Cataracts, or *porogs* of the Dnieper. They killed Sviatoslaf, cut off his head, and his skull was used by their Prince Kouria as a drinking-cup. Sviatoslaf was, in spite of his Slav name, the very type of a Varangian prince of the intrepid, wily, and ambitious Northmen. Nestor boasts his good faith. When he wished to make war on a people, he sent to warn them. "I march against you," he said.

After the surrender of Dorostol, he had an interview with his enemy Zimisce. Leo the Deacon profits by the occasion to give us his portrait. The Emperor being on horseback by the shore, Sviatoslaf approached him by boat, handling the oar like his companions. He was of middle height, but very robust; he had a wide chest, a thick neck, blue eyes, thick eyebrows, a flat nose, long mustaches, a thin beard, and a tuft of hair on his shaven head as a mark of his nobility. He wore a gold ring in

one of his ears, ornamented with rubies and two pearls. Let us notice this portrait ; we shall have to search far into Russian annals to find another. Between the description given by Leo the Deacon and those of the Russian annalists, there is the same difference as between the *eikon* of a saint and an authentic likeness.

CHAPTER V.

THE CLOVIS AND CHARLEMAGNE OF THE RUSSIANS: SAINT VLADIMIR
AND IAROSLAF THE GREAT 972-1054.

Vladimir (972-1015)—Conversion of the Russians—Iaroslaf the Great (1016-1054)—Union of Russia—Splendor of Kief—Varangian-Russian society at the time of Iaroslaf—Progress of Christianity—Social, political, literary, and artistic results.

VLADIMIR (972-1015)—CONVERSION OF THE RUSSIANS.

THE Slav tribes owe their organization to a twofold conquest—a military conquest which came from the North, and an ecclesiastical conquest which came from the South. The Varangians sent them chiefs of war, who welded their scattered tribes into a nation; the Byzantines sent missionaries, who united the Slavs among themselves and to their civilized neighbors by the bonds of a common religion.

The man destined to conclude the work of propagandism begun by Olga did not at first seem fitted for this great task. Vladimir, like Clovis, was at first nothing but a barbarian—wily, voluptuous, and bloody. Only while Clovis after his baptism is not perceptibly better than he was before, and becomes the assassin of his royal Frankish relations, the Russian annalist seems to wish to establish a contrast between the life led by Vladimir prior to his conversion and the life he led after it. Sviatoslaf left three sons: Iaropolk at Kief, Oleg ruler of the Drevlians, Vladimir at Novgorod. In the civil wars which followed, and which recall the bloody Merovingian anarchy, Iaropolk slew Oleg, and in his turn died by the hand of Vladimir. He fell in love with Rogneda, Iaropolk's betrothed, and demanded her in marriage from the Varangian Rogvolod, who ruled over Polotsk. The princess answered, that she would never marry the son of a slave, in allusion to Vladimir's mother having been a servant, though he himself had always been treated by his father as his brother's equal. Maddened by this insult, Vladimir sacked Polotsk, killed Rogvolod and his two sons, and forced Rogneda to marry him. After the murder of Iaropolk, Vladimir also took the wife whom Iaropolk had left *en route*, a beautiful Greek nun, captured in an expedition against Byzantium. These two wo-

men he had deprived, one of her husband, the other of her father and brothers. He had, besides, a Bohemian and a Bulgarian wife, and another, all of whom bore him sons. Finally this bastard, this "son of a slave," was so abandoned in his profligacy, that he kept 300 concubines at Vychegorod, 3000 at Biélgorod, near Kief, and 200 at Berestof. Lusting no less after war and plunder, he reconquered Red Russia from the Poles, quelled a revolt of the Viatitches and Radimitches, and exacted tribute from the Lithuanian Iatvaguians, and Livonian tribes of Letts or Finns.

The soul of the sensual and passionate barbarian was troubled, notwithstanding, by religious aspirations. At first he turned to the Slav gods, and his reign was inaugurated by a new growth of paganism. On the high sandy cliffs of Kief, which tower above the Dnieper, he erected idols; among them one of Perun, with a head of silver and a beard of gold. Two Varangians, father and son, both Christians, were stabbed at the feet of Perun. But the day of the ancient gods was passed; Vladimir was undergoing the religious crisis in which all Russia labored. He felt other faiths were necessary to him; so, according to the testimony of Nestor, he took it into his head, like the Japanese of to-day, to institute a search after the best religion. His ambassadors forthwith visited Mussulmans, Jews, and Catholics: the first represented by the Bulgarians of the Volga, the second probably by the Khazars or the Jewish Kharaites, the third by the Poles and Germans. Vladimir declined Islamism, which prescribed circumcision and forbade "the wine, which was dear to the Russians;" Judaism, whose disciples wandered through the earth; and Catholicism, whose ceremonies appeared wanting in magnificence. The deputies that he sent to Constantinople, on the contrary, returned awestricken. The splendors of Saint Sophia, the brilliancy of the sacerdotal vestments, the magnificence of the ceremonies, heightened by the presence of the Emperor and his Court, the patriarch and the numerous clergy, the incense, the religious songs, had powerfully appealed to the imagination of the barbarians. One final argument triumphed over the scruples of Vladimir. "If the Greek religion had not been the best, your grandmother Olga, the wisest of mortals, would not have adopted it," said the boyards. The proud Vladimir did not intend to beg for baptism at the hands of the Greeks—he would conquer it by his own arms, and ravish it like a prey. He descended into the Taurid and besieged Cherson, the last city of this region that remained subject to the Emperors. A certain Anastasius, possibly from religious motives, betrayed his country. Rendered prouder than ever by this important conquest,

Vladimir sent an embassy to the Greek Emperors Basil and Constantine, demanding their sister Anne in marriage, and threatening, in case of refusal, to march on Constantinople; It was not the first time the barbarians had made this proposal to the Greek Cæsars, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus himself teaches his successors how to get rid of these inconvenient demands. But on this occasion the Emperors, who were occupied with revolts in the interior, thought themselves driven to consent, on condition that Vladimir was baptized. It was in Cherson that the Russian prince received baptism, and celebrated his marriage with the heiress of the Emperors of Rome. The priests he brought to Kief were his captives; the sacred ornaments, the holy relics with which he enriched and sanctified his capital, were his booty. When he returned to Kief it was as an Apostle (*Isapostolos*), but as an armed Apostle that he catechized his people. The idols were pulled down amid the tears and fright of the people. Perun was flogged and thrown into the Dnieper. They still show on the side of the Kievan cliffs the rock called "The Devil's Leap;" and further away, the place where Perun was thrown up by the waters on the shore. The people instantly rushed to worship him, but the soldiers of Vladimir cast him back into the river. Then, by Vladimir's order, all the Kievans, men and women, masters and slaves, old people and little children, plunged naked into the consecrated waters of the old pagan stream, while the Greek priests standing on the bank with Vladimir read the baptismal service. After a sturdy resistance, the Novgorodians were in like manner forced to hurl Perun into the Volkhoff, and enter it themselves.

We have already seen that the Russians had not lost all recollections of their ancient gods, and that nature was still the home of a whole world of deities. A long time had to pass before Christianity could penetrate into their hearts and customs. M. Bouslaef assures us that, even in the 12th century, Christian rites were only practised by the higher classes. The peasants kept their old pagan ceremonies, and continued to contract their marriages "around the bush of broom." They preserved even longer their faith in magicians and sorcerers, who were often of more authority than the priests. Vladimir, at any rate, wished to prepare the transformation. It does not appear that he persecuted the idolaters, but he occupied himself in adorning the churches of his capital, which he had shorn of its idols. On the spot where Perun stood he built the church of Saint Basil, the Greek name which he had taken at his baptism. On the place where the two Varangian martyrs had been slain by his orders he raised the church of the *Décimate* or the

Dime, embellished and ornamented with Greek inscriptions by artists who came from the South. He founded schools, where boys studied the holy books translated into Slavonic, but he was obliged to compel the attendance of the children, whose parents, convinced that writing was a dangerous kind of magic, shed tears of despair. Nestor cannot sufficiently praise the reformation of Vladimir after his baptism. He was faithful to his Greek wife, he no longer loved war, he distributed his revenues to the churches and to the poor, and, in spite of the increase of crime, hesitated to inflict capital punishment. "I fear to sin," he replied to his councillors. It was the bishops who had to recall to him the fact that "criminals must be chastised, though with discretion," and that the country must not be left a prey to the Patzinaks. Vladimir, who reminded us formerly of a Northman of the type of Robert the Devil, suddenly becomes the "good King Robert" of Russia.

His wars with the Patzinaks are recorded by Nestor with all kinds of episodes borrowed from the epic poetry. There is the Russian champion who tears in pieces the furious bull, or stifles a Patzinak giant in his arms; there are the inhabitants of Bielogorod, who, having been reduced to famine by the barbarians, let down into wells two large caldrons, one full of hydromel and the other of meal, to make the Patzinaks believe these were natural productions of the soil. We see in the popular songs of what a marvellous cycle of legends Vladimir has become the centre; but in these *bylinas* he is neither Vladimir, the Baptist, nor the Saint Vladimir of the orthodox Church, but a solar hero, successor of the divinities whom he destroyed. To the people, still pagans at heart, Vladimir is always the "Beautiful Sun" of Kief.

IAROSLAF THE GREAT (1016-1054)—UNION OF RUSSIA—SPLENDOR OF KIEF.

Vladimir died in 1015, leaving a large number of heirs by his numerous wives. The partition that he made between them of his states tells us what was the extent of Russia at that epoch. To Iaroslaf he gave Novgorod; to Isiaslaf, son of Rogneda, and grandson of the Varangian Rogvolod, Polotsk; to Boris, Rostof; to Gleb, Mourom (these two principalities were in the Finn country); to Sviatoslaf, the Drevlians; to Vsevolod, Vladimir in Volhynia; to Mstislaf, Tmoutorakan, the Tamatarchia of the Greeks; finally, to his nephew Sviatopolk, the son of his brother and victim Iaropolk, the principality of Tourouf, in the country of Minsk, founded by a Varangian named Tour, who did not be-

long to the "blood of princes" any more than Askold and Dir. The history of Vladimir's successors recalls that of the heirs of Clovis. The murder of the sons of Clodomir is paralleled by the assassination of Boris and Gleb, sons of *Isapostolos*, by the order of Sviatopolk, who usurped the throne of Kief. His two victims were canonized, and henceforth became inseparable, and are, as it were, the Dioscuri of orthodoxy. The prince of the Drevlians perished by the same hand. Iaroslaf resolved to avenge his brothers and to save himself. At this moment, however, he had alienated his Novgorodian subjects, having enticed the principal citizens into his castle, and then treacherously slain them. When he learnt the crimes of Sviatopolk, he trembled for his own life, and threw himself on the generosity of those he had so cruelly outraged. He wept for his sins before them, and besought their help. "Prince," replied the Novgorodians, with one voice, "you have destroyed our brethren, but we are ready to fight for you." After a bloody war, in which Boleslas the Brave, king of Poland took part, the usurper fled, and died miserably in exile. Iaroslaf had still to defend himself against the Prince of Polotsk and Mstislaf of Timoutorakan. The latter had acquired great fame from his wars with the Khazars, whom, with the aid of the Greek Emperor, Basil II., he finally annihilated, and with the Tcherkess, whose chief, a giant named Rhededia, he slew in single combat. At last, Iaroslaf remained the sole master of Russia, and reigned gloriously at Kief. He recalls Charles the Great by some successful wars, but particularly by his code of laws, his taste for building, and his love of letters in a barbarous age. He owes part of his reputation to the anarchy which followed his death, and which caused his reign to be regretted as the climax of **Kievan greatness**.

In Poland Iaroslaf revenged on the son of Boleslas the Brave the invasions of his father, and took from him the towns of Red Russia. He fought a bloody battle with the Patzinaks under the walls of Kief, and in their flight part of the vanquished barbarians were drowned in crossing the rivers. It was as fatal a blow to the Patzinaks as that struck by Sviatoslaf at the Khazars: they never recovered it. But in the same manner as the defeat of the Khazars opened the way to the Patzinaks, the ruin of the Patzinaks opened the way to the Polovtsi. The steppes of the Don were incessantly filled by new hordes from Asia. Iaroslaf also fought against the Finnish and Lithuanian tribes. In the country of the Tchouds he founded Iourief (Saint George) on the Embach, near the Peïpus (the Germans called it *Düper*): in the country of the Merians, he founded **Iaroslavl on the Upper Volga**. Finally, his reign was marked

by a new war with Greece, brought on by mercantile disputes. His son Vladimir, leader of the expedition, rejected proudly the propositions of the Emperor Constantine Monomachus. A naval battle was fought in the Bosphorus; Greek fire and the tempests of the Black Sea dispersed the Russian armament. Part of the army, a body of 8000 men, which was retreating into Russia by land, was attacked and exterminated by a Greek force: 800 prisoners were sent to Constantinople, where their eyes were put out. Notwithstanding the bonds of religion which had been riveted between the Byzantines and their neophytes on the Dnieper, the Russians were always dreaded by Constantinople. An inscription hidden in the boot of one of the equestrian statues of Byzantium announced that the day would come when the capital of the empire would fall a prey to the men of the North. The decay of Kievian Russia after the death of Iaroslaf, adjourned or nullified the fulfilment of this prophecy.

The legislation of the Russian Charlemagne is comprised in the Code entitled *Rousskaïa Pravda* the *Russian right* or *verity*. This Code strangely recalls that of Scandinavia. It consecrates private revenge, and the pursuit of an assassin by all the relatives of the dead; it fixes the *wergeld* for different crimes, as well as the fine paid into the royal treasury; it allows the judicial duel; the ordeal by red-hot iron and boiling water; the oath corroborated by those of the *compurgatores*; it also established by the side of the judges nominated by the Prince, a jury of twelve citizens. In the "*Rousskaïa Pravda*," there is not, properly speaking, any criminal law. Capital punishment, death by refinements of cruelty, corporal chastisement, torture to wring out confessions, even a public prison, were all unknown. These are Scandinavian and German principles in all their purity. At this period Russia had almost the same laws as the West.

Iaroslaf occupied a glorious place among the princes of his time. His sister Mary was married to Casimir, king of Poland; his daughters also became the wives of kings: Elizabeth, of Harold the Brave, king of Norway; Anne, of Henry I., king of France; Anastasia, of Andrew I., king of Hungary. Of his sons, Vladimir, the eldest, is said to have married Githa, daughter of Harold, king of England; Isiaslaf, a daughter of Micislas II., king of Poland; Vseslaf, a Greek princess, daughter of Constantine Monomachus; Viatcheslaf and Igor, two German princesses. Iaroslaf gave an asylum to the proscribed princes, Saint Olaf, king of Norway, and his two sons; a prince of Sweden; Edwin and Edward, sons of Edmund Ironside, king of England, expelled from their country by Knut the Great. The Varangian dynasty was thus mingled with the families of the

Christian princes, and we may say of the Russia of the 11th century, what we can no longer say of the Russia of the 16th century, that she was a European State.

To Kief was destined the lot of Anchen, the capital of Charles the Great, which, glorious in his life, after his death fell into decay. Under Iaroslaf, Kief reached the highest pinnacle of splendor. He wished to make his capital the rival of Constantinople; like Byzantium, she had her cathedral and her Golden Gate. The Grand Prince also founded the monastery of Saint Irene, of which only a few ruins now remain, and those of Saint George and the Catacombs, the latter made illustrious by the virtues of its first superiors, Saint Theodosius and Saint Antony. He repaired the church of the Dîme, and surrounded the city with ramparts. The population began to increase, and the lower town to grow at the feet of the upper. Kief, situated on the Dnieper, the great road to Byzantium, seemed to be part of Greece. Adam of Bremen calls her *œmula sceptri Constantino-politani et clarissimum decus Græciæ*. She was the rendezvous of the merchants from Holland, Hungary, Germany, and Scandinavia, who lived in separate quarters of the town. She had eight markets, and the Dnieper was constantly covered with merchant-ships. Iaroslaf had not enough Greek artists to decorate all the churches, nor enough priests to serve them, for Kief was at that time "the city of 400 churches," so much admired by the writers of the West. What she was then we may partly realize by seeing what she is still at certain seasons of the year. The Monastery of the Catacombs, with the incorruptible bodies of its ascetics and thaumaturges, some of whom bricked themselves up while living, in the cell which was to be their sepulchre, draws annually, and especially at the Assumption, 50,000 pilgrims. Saint Sophia was the pride of Kief; the mosaics of the time of Iaroslaf still exist, and the traveller may admire on the "indestructible wall" the colossal image of the Mother of God, the Last Supper, with a double apparition of Christ, presenting to six of His disciples His body, and to six others His blood, the images of Saints and Doctors, the Angel of the Annunciation of the Virgin. The frescoes which have been preserved or carefully restored are still numerous, and everywhere cover the pillars, the walls, and the vaults floored with gold. The inscriptions are not in Slavonic, but in Greek. Iaroslaf did not forget Novgorod, his first residence, and there he built another Saint Sophia, one of the most precious monuments of the Russian past. Like Charles the Great, he set up schools. Vladimir had founded one at Kief; Iaroslaf instituted that of Novgorod for 300 boys. He sent for Greek singers from Byzantium, who taught the Russian clergy. Coins were struck

for him by Greek artists, with his Slavonic name in Slav on one side, and his Christian name, Ioury (George), on the other. Like all other barbarian neophytes, Iaroslav pushed devotion into superstition. He caused the bones of his uncles, who had died unconverted, to be disinterred and baptized. He died in 1054, and his stone sarcophagus is one of the most precious ornaments of Saint Sophia.

VARANGIAN-RUSSIAN SOCIETY AT THE TIME OF IAROSLAF.

Varangian-Russian society presents more than one analogy with the society which was developed in Gaul after the Frank conquest. The government of the Varangian princes somewhat resembled that of the Merovingian kings.

The germ of the future State lay in the *droujina*, the band of warriors surrounding the prince, as in Gaul it lay in the *truste*. The *droujinniki*, like the *antrustions*, were the faithful followers, the men of the prince. They formed his guard, and were his natural council in all affairs, public or private. He could constitute them a court of justice, nominate them individually *voïevodes* or governors of fortresses, or *possadniks* or lieutenants in the large towns. In the same way as the body surrounding the Merovingian kings was not composed so entirely of Franks, but that shortly Gallo-Romans crept into the *antrustions*, so the *droujina* of the Russian princes admitted many different elements, not only Varangian but Slav. Mstislaf, prince of Tmoutorakan, had enrolled Iasses and Kassogans; a Lithuanian Iatiague is mentioned as being in the *droujina* of Igor, a Hungarian in that of Boris. The military class did not form at that time a caste apart in Russia any more than in Gaul; Saint Vladimir took into his service the son of a leather-worker who had vanquished the Patzinak giant; his maternal uncle Dobryna was not even a free man.

The prince in the middle of his *droujina* seems to be only the first among his equals; all that he had seems to belong to his men. We see them eat at the same table, and listen together to the songs of the blind poets who accompanied themselves on the *gouzzla*. It was as it were a family of soldiers, from which one day the Russian administration was to come. The prince had great respect for the demands of his men. Those of Vladimir complained one day that they had to eat from wooden bowls. He gave them silver ones, and added, "I could not buy myself a *droujina* with gold and silver; but with a *droujina* I can acquire gold and silver, as did my father and my grandfather." The prince did nothing without consulting his

droujinniki. It was this that prevented Sviatoslaf from listening to the exhortations of Olga; he said that "his *droujina* would mock him" if he became a Christian.

The administration of the Varangian princes was very elementary. Let us see what the Arab writer Ibn-Dost says of the way they distributed justice: "When a Russian has a grievance with another, he summons him before the tribunal of the prince, where both present themselves. When the prince has given sentence, his orders are executed; if both parties are displeased by the judgment, the affair must be decided by arms. He whose sword cuts sharpest gains his cause. At the moment of the combat the relations of the two adversaries appear armed, and surround the space shut off. The combatants then come to blows, and the victor may impose any conditions he pleases."

After justice, the most important of the princely functions was the collection of the tributes. The amount was fixed by the prince himself. Oleg imposed on the Drevlians a tax of a marten's skin for every house. The raising of taxes was always very arbitrary. Nestor's account of the death of Igor is a lively picture of the political customs of the time; we might imagine ourselves reading a page of Gregory of Tours about the sons of Clovis, for example the expedition of Thierry in Arvernia. "In the year 945 the *droujina* of Igor said to him, 'The men of Sveneld are richly provided with weapons and garments, while we go naked; lead us, prince, to collect the tribute, so that thou and we may become rich.' Igor consented, and conducted them to the Drevlians to raise the tribute. He increased the first imposts, and did them violence, he and his men; after having taken all he wanted, he returned to his city. While on the road he bethought himself and said to his *droujina*. 'Go on with the tribute; I will go back to try and get some more out of them.' Leaving the greater part of his men to go on their way, he returned with only a few, to the end that he might increase his riches. The Drevlians, when they learnt that Igor was returning, held council with Mal their prince. 'When the wolf enters the sheepfold he slays the whole flock, if the shepherd does not slay him. Thus it is with us and Igor; if we do not destroy him, we are lost.' Then they sent deputies and said to him, 'Why dost thou come anew unto us? Hast thou not collected all the tribute?' But Igor would not hear them, so the Drevlians came out of the town of Korosthenes, and slew Igor and his men, for they were but a few."

For the government and defence of the country the prince established the chief of his *droujinniki* in different towns, supported by adequate forces. Thus Rurik distributed the towns of his appanage; he gave to one of his *men* Polotsk, to another

Rostof, to a third Bielozersk. A principality was in some sort divided into fiefs, but the fiefs were only temporary, and always revokable. For the defence of the frontiers new towns were built, where native soldiers kept watch.

Social conditions from the 9th to the 12th century were as unequal as in the West. The *droujina* of the prince, which speedily absorbed all the Slav and Finn chiefs, constituted an aristocracy. Still we must distinguish in it those who were only simple guards or *gridi* (*girdin* among the Scandinavians), the *mouges* or men (*vir* in Latin, *baron* in French), and the *boyards* who were the most illustrious of all. The freemen of the Russian soil were "the people" or *lioudi*. The *gosti* or merchants were not at this period a class apart; it was in fact the warriors or the princes who pursued commerce with arms in their hands. Oleg was disguised as a merchant when he surprised Kief and slew Askold and Dir; the Byzantines mistrusted these terrible guests, and assigned them a separate quarter, closely watched, of Constantinople.

The rural population, on whom the weight of the growing State was beginning to rest, was already less free than in primitive times. The peasant was called *smerde* (perhaps derived from *smerdict*, to stink), or *mougik*, insulting diminutive of *mouge*, man. Later he became the *Christian* par excellence, *krestianine*.

Below the peasant, whose situation recalls that of the Roman *colonus*, were the slaves properly so called, *rabi* or *kholopy*. The slave might have been taken in war, bought in a market, born in the house of his master, or have lost his liberty by the mere fact of fulfilling certain offices, such as that of house-steward. War was, however, the principal source of slavery. Ibn-Dost relates that the Russians, when they marched against another people, did not depart without having destroyed everything; they carried off the women, and reduced the men to slavery. They maintained a great slave-trade with foreign nations. "From Russia," said Sviatoslaf, the conqueror of Bulgaria, "will be brought skins, wax, honey, and slaves."

PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY—SOCIAL, POLITICAL, LITERARY, AND ARTISTIC RESULTS.

Russia had become Christian: it is the chief event in her primitive history. An important fact is that her Christianity was received not from Rome, like that of the Poles and other Western Slavs, but from Constantinople. Although the separation between the Churches of the East and West was not yet fully consummated, it was evident that Russia would be engaged

in what the Latins called "the schism." It is usually considered in the West that this fact exercised an evil influence on Russia. Now let us see the opinion of a Russian historian, M. Bestoujef-Rioumine, on the subject. "What is no less important is that Christianity came to us from Byzantium, where the Church put forth no pretensions of governing the State, a circumstance which preserved us from struggles between the secular, a national, and the spiritual, a foreign power. Excluded from the religious unity of the Romano-Germanic world, we have perhaps gained more than we have lost. The Roman Church made her appearance with German missionaries in Slavonic lands; and if she did not everywhere bring with her material servitude, she at least introduced an intellectual slavery by forcing men to support foreign interests, by bringing among them foreign elements, and by establishing in all parts a sharp division between the higher classes who wrote and spoke in Latin, and the lower classes who spoke the national tongue and were without literature."

No doubt an ecclesiastical language which, thanks to Cyril and Methodius, mingled with the national language, and became intelligible to all classes of society; a purely national Church, which was subject to no foreign sway; the absolute independence of the civil power and of national development, were the inestimable advantages that Byzantine Christianity brought into Russia. But if the Russian State was free from all obligations to Rome, she had nothing to hope for from her. She could not reckon in her days of peril on the help that Spain received when she grappled with the Moors; Germany in her crusades against the Slavs and Finns; Hungary in her national war with the Turks. Separated from the West by difference of faith, Russia in the time of the Mongols, like Greece at the epoch of the Ottoman invasion, saw no Europe arming in her defence.

Her princes were neither laid under the pontifical interdicts, like Robert of France, nor reduced to implore pardon at the feet of a Gregory VII., like Henry IV. of Germany; humiliations always followed by a swift revenge, as on the day when Barbarossa expelled Alexander III. from Italy, and Philip the Handsome caused Boniface to be arrested in Anagni. Humiliations still more cruel awaited the Russians at the court of the Mongols. Another misfortune attending the entrance of the Russians into the Greek Church is, that they found themselves separated by religion from the races to whom they were bound by a common origin, and who spoke almost their own tongue. It was the difference of religion which inflamed their long rivalry with the Poles, and which at present deprives them of much influence over part of the Slavs. This same difference of religion delayed for them the benefits of civilization resulting from the Renais-

sance of the West, but it spared them the terrible crisis of the wars of the Reformation.

Oriental Christianity, with the Byzantine civilization that was inseparable from it, produced in time a considerable transformation in Russia. The first effect of Christianity was to reform society, and draw closer family ties. It condemned polygamy, and forbade equal divisions between the children of a slave and those of the lawful wife. Society resisted this new principle for some time. Saint Vladimir, even after his conversion, divided his possessions equally among the children the Church regarded as natural and those she considered legitimate. In the long run Christianity prevailed, and by the abolition of polygamy the Russian family ceased to be Asiatic, and became European.

Christianity prescribed new virtues, and gave the ancient barbaric virtues of hospitality and benevolence a more elevated character.

Vladimir Monomachus charged his children to receive strangers hospitably, because, says he, they have it in their power to give you a good or evil reputation. The hospitality of primitive peoples may often be explained by their need of merchants and foreigners. Pagan Slavs were only obliged to help those of the same association; warriors, the members of the same *droujina*; peasants, those of the same *commune*; merchants or artisans, those of the same *artel*. Christianity enjoined benevolence to all the world, without hope of reward in this life. It rendered honorable, weakness, poverty, manual labor. If it prescribed excessive humility, it was useful at least as a reaction against the brutality of overweening pride. Between these two societies, aristocratic and religious, which rest on opposite and equally exaggerated principles, there would one day be room for lay and civil society.

The influence of Christian principles was rather slow among these excitable and ardent natures, but at last we see in Russia, as in the West, princes abjure their pride and seek the peace of the cloister, like the good King Robert, or Saint Henry. In the end it became an established custom with the Russian sovereigns that, on the approach of death, they should be tonsured, change their worldly for a monkish name, and so die in the garb of one of the religious orders.

From a political point of view, the influence of Byzantine Christianity was bound in the long run to cause a complete revolution. For what was a Russian prince, after all, but the head of a band, surrounded by the men of his *droujina*, and in a sense a foreigner to the land he governed and on which he levied tribute? Properly speaking, a Russian prince had no subjects.

The natives might always expel him—his *droujinniki* were always free to forsake him.

The princes of Kief were no more sovereigns in the modern or Roman sense of the term, than Merwig or Clodowig the long-haired. But the priests who came from Constantinople brought with them an ideal of government; in a little while it was that of the Russians who entered the ranks of the clergy. This Greek ideal was the Emperor, the *Tzar* of Constantinople, heir of Augustus and Constantine the Great, Vicar of God upon earth, the typical monarch on whom the eyes of the barbarians of Gaul as well as those of Scythia were fixed. He was a sovereign in the fullest sense of the word, as, by a legal fiction, the people by the *Lex Regia* was supposed to have yielded its power to the *imperator*. He had subjects, and subjects only. Alone he made the law; he *was* the law. He had neither *droujinniki* nor *an-trustions* that he placed in such and such a town, but an host of movable functionaries, the inviolate Roman hierarchy, by means of whom his all-powerful will penetrated to the remotest parts of his dominions. He was not the leader of a band of exacting soldiers, free to quit his service for that of another, but master of a standing army, to guard both frontiers and capital. He did not consider his states as a patrimony to be divided between his children, but transmitted to his successor the Roman Empire in its integrity. He inherited his power, not only from his people, but from God. His imperial ornaments had, like his person, a sacred character: and whenever the barbarian kings demanded one of them at Constantinople, whether it was a crown enriched with precious stones, the purple mantle, the sceptre or the *brode-quins* (leggings), they were answered, that when God gave the Empire to Constantinople, He sent these vestments by a holy angel; that they were not the work of man, and that they were laid on the altar, and only worn, even by the Emperor, on solemn occasions. Leo the Khazar was said to have been smitten with a fatal ulcer for having put on the crown without permission of the patriarch.

An empire one and indivisible, resting on a standing army, a hierarchy of functionaries, a national clergy, and a body of jurisconsults,—such was the Roman Empire, and such it revived in the monarchies of the 17th century. This was the conception of the State, unknown to both Slavs and Varangians, that the Greek priests brought to Russia. For a long while the reality answered little to the ideal; the princes continued in their wills to divide their soldiers and their lands among their children; but the idea did not perish, and if it was never realized in Kievan Russia, it found a more propitious soil in Muscovite Russia. Legislation likewise felt the influence of Christianity. Theft, murder, and

assassination were not looked upon by the Church as private offences for which the aggrieved persons could take reprisals or accept a *wergeld*. They were crimes to be punished by human justice in the name of God.

For private revenge Byzantine influence substituted a public penalty; for the fine it substituted corporal punishment, repugnant to the free barbarian, and to the instinctive sentiment of human dignity. Imprisonment, convict labor, flogging, torture, mutilation, death itself, inflicted by more or less cruel means; such was the penal code of the Byzantines.

The Greek bishops of the time of St. Vladimir had wished that brigands should be put to death, but the custom was, and long remained, against it. Vladimir, after having employed this supreme means of repression, returned to the system of the *wergeld*, which besides helped to fill the treasury. The Byzantine mode of procedure likewise rejected the judicial duel, the judgment of God and the *compurgatores* long defended by habit. But, as in Gaul Roman law existed for Church officers and part of the natives, side by side with the Frank or Burgundian law, so in Russia the Byzantine codes of Justinian and Basil the Macedonian, were established at the side of the Scandinavian code of Iaroslaf.

During many centuries the two systems of legislation existed together, each being slightly influenced by the other, to the time when they were mingled in a new code, the Oulojenie of Ivan the Great, and the Soudebnik of Ivan the Terrible.

The Byzantine literature which found its way into Russia consisted not only of the sacred books, but also of the Fathers of the Church, among whom we may reckon some writers of the first order, like Saint Basil and Saint John Chrysostom; lives of the saints, the inexhaustible source of new poetry; chronicles destined to serve as models to the Russian annalists; philosophical and scientific books; even romances such as 'Barlaam and Josaphat,' 'Salomon and Kitovras,' &c. Though this literature was partly the fruit of Byzantine decay, we may perceive how it implanted fresh ideas in the mind of a young nation, and would largely influence the moral life of the individual, and public and family life. We shall see up to what point Russian society of the Middle Ages was modelled on the examples afforded by this literature. Finally, it must not be forgotten that Christianity brought music in its train to a people whose music was highly primitive, and architecture to a people who had absolutely none. It was she who, to use a Western expression, *illuminated* the Russian cities with magnificent churches, and her golden cupolas towered above the ramparts of mud that begirt the cities.

CHAPTER VI.

RUSSIA DIVIDED INTO PRINCIPALITIES. SUPREMACY AND FALL OF KIEF, 1054-1169.

Distribution of Russia into principalities—Unity in division—The successors of Iaroslaf the Great—Wars about the right of headship of the royal family, and the throne of Kief—Vladimir Monomachus—Wars between the heirs of Vladimir Monomachus—Fall of Kief.

DISTRIBUTION OF RUSSIA INTO PRINCIPALITIES—UNITY IN DIVISION.

THE period that extends from 1054, the year of Iaroslaf's death, to 1224, the year of the first appearance of the Tatars, or to take the French chronology, from the reign of Henry I. to the death of Philip Augustus, is one of the most confused and troubled in Russian history. As the barbarian custom of division continued to prevail over the Byzantine ideas of political unity, the national territory was ceaselessly partitioned.

The princely anarchy of Eastern Europe has its parallel in the feudal anarchy of the West. M. Pogodine reckons during this period, sixty-four principalities which had an existence more or less prolonged, 293 princes who disputed the throne of Kief and other domains, and eighty-three civil wars, in some of which the whole country was engaged. There were besides foreign wars to augment this immense heap of historical facts. Against the Polovtsi alone the chroniclers mention eighteen campaigns, while these barbarians made no less than forty-six invasions of Russia. It is impossible to follow the national chroniclers in the minute details of their annals; we will only treat of the principalities which lasted some time, and the facts which were the most important.

The ancient names of the Slav tribes have everywhere disappeared, or only remain in the names of some of the towns, for example that of the Polotchanes in Polotsk, and that of the Severians in Novgorod Severski. The elements of which Russia was now composed were no longer tribes, but principalities. We hear no more of the Krivitches or the Drevlians, but of the

principalities of Smolensk and Volhynia. These little States were perpetually dismembered at each new partition between the sons of a prince, and then were reconstituted to be divided anew into appanages.

Notwithstanding all these vicissitudes, some of them maintained a steady existence, corresponding to certain topographical or ethnographical conditions. Without speaking of the distant principality of Tmoutorakan, situated at the foot of the Caucasus in the centre of Turkish and Circassian tribes, and reckoning eight successive princes, the following are the great divisions of Russia from the 11th to the 13th century :—

1. The principality of Smolensk occupied the important territory which is, as it were, the central point in the mountain system of Russia. It comprehends the ancient forest of Okof, where three of the largest Russian rivers, the Volga, the Dnieper, and the Dwina, take their rise. Hence the political importance of Smolensk, attested by all the wars to gain possession of her ; hence, also, her commercial prosperity. We must observe that all her towns were built on one or the other of these three great rivers ; all the commerce, therefore, of ancient Russia passed through her hands. Besides Smolensk, we must mention Mojaïsk, Viasma, and Toropetz, which was the capital of a secondary principality, the property of two celebrated princes, Mstislaf the Brave (*Khrabryi*) and Mstislaf the Bold (*Oudaloi*).

2. The principality of Kief was *Rouss*, Russia in the strict sense of the word. Her situation on the Dnieper, the neighborhood of the Greek Empire, the fertility of the *Black Land*, for long secured to this State the supremacy over the other Russian principalities. On the south she bordered directly on the nomads of the steppe, against whom her princes were forced to raise a barrier of frontier towns. They often took these barbarians into their pay, granted them lands, and constituted them into military colonies. The principality of *Peréiaslav* was a dependence of Kief ; Vyehgorod, Bielgorod, Tripoli, Torchesk, were at times erected into principalities for princes of the same family.

3. On the tributaries of the right bank of the Dnieper, notably the Soja, the Desna and the *Seïme*, extended the two principalities of *Tchernigof*, with Starodoub and Loubetch ; and of *Novgorod-Severski*, with Poutivl, Kursk, and Briansk. The principality of Tchernigof, which reached towards the Upper Oka, had therefore one foot in the basin of the Volga ; her princes, the Olgovitches, were the most formidable rivals of Kief. The princes of Severski were always occupied with their ceaseless wars against the Polovtsi, their neighbors on the south. It was

a prince of Severski whose exploits against these barbarians formed the subject of a sort of *chanson de geste*, the *Song of Igor*, or the *Account of the Expedition of Igor* (*Slovo o polkou Igorévich*.)

4. Another principality, whose very existence consisted in endless war against the nomads, was the double principality of *Riazan* and *Mourom*. Her principal towns were Riazan, Mourom, Peréiaslavl-Riazanski, situated on the Oka, Kolomna at the junction of the Moskowa with the Oka, and the Pronsk on the Prona. The Upper Don formed its western boundary. This principality was placed in the very heart of the Mouromians and Mechtcheraks, Finnish tribes. The reputation of her inhabitants, who were reckoned warlike in character, and rough and brutal in manners, was no doubt partly the result of the mixture of the Russian race with the ancient inhabitants of the country, and of their perpetual and bloody struggle with the nomad tribes.

5. The double principalities of *Souzdal*, with their towns of Souzdal, Rostof, Iourief-Polski on the Kolocha, Vladimir on the Kliazma, Iaroslavl, and Peréiaslavl-Zaliesski, were situated on the Volga and the Oka amongst the thickest of northern forests, and in the middle of the Finnish tribes of Mouromians, Merians, Vesses, and Tcheremisses. Although placed at the furthest extremity of the Russian world, Souzdal exercised an important influence over it. We shall find her princes now establishing a certain political authority over Novgorod and the Russia of the Lakes, the result of a double economic dependence; now intervening victoriously in the quarrels of the Russia of the Dnieper. The Souzdalians were rough and warlike, like the Riazanese. Already we can distinguish among these two peoples the characteristics of a new nationality. That which divides them from the Kievians and the men of Novgorod-Severski, occupied like themselves in the great war with the barbarians, is the fact that the Russians of the Dnieper sometimes mingled their blood with that of their enemies, and became fused with the nomad, essentially mobile Turkish races, whilst the Russians of the Oka and the Volga united with the Finnish tribes, agricultural and essentially sedentary. This distinction between the two foreign elements that entered the Slav blood, had doubtless contributed to the difference in the characters of the two branches of the Russian race. From the 11th to the 13th century, in passing from the basin of the Dnieper to the basin of the Volga, we can already watch the formation of Great and Little Russia.

6. The principalities of Kief, Tchernigof, Novgorod-Severski, Riazan, Mourom, and Souzdal, situated on the side of the

steppe with its devastating hordes, formed the frontier States, the *Marches* of Russia. The same rôle, on the north-west opposite the Lithuanians, Letts, and Tchouds, fell to the principality of *Polotsk*, which occupied the basin of the Dwina; and to the republican principalities of *Novgorod* and *Pskof* on the lakes Ilmen and Peïpus. To the principality of *Polotsk*, that of *Minsk* was attached, which lay in the basin of the Dnieper. The possession of Minsk, thanks to its situation, was often disputed by the Grand Princes of Kief. To Novgorod belonged the towns of *Torjok*, *Volok-Lamski*, *Izborsk*, and *Veliki-Louki*, which were at times capitals of particular States.

South-east Russia comprehended—1. *Volhynia* in the fan-shaped distribution of rivers formed by the Pripet and its tributaries, with Vladimir-in-Volhynia, Loutsk, Tourof, Brest, and even Lublin, which is certainly Polish. 2. *Gallicia* proper, or Red Russia, in the basin of the San, the Dniester, and the Pripet, whose ancient inhabitants the White Croats seemed to have sprung from the stock of the Danubian Slavs. Her chief towns were Galitch, founded by Vladimirkó about 1144, Peremysl, Terebovl, and Zvenigorod. The neighborhood of Hungary and Poland gave a special character to these principalities, as well as a more advanced civilization. The epic songs speak of Gallicia, the native land of the hero Diouk Stepanovitch, as a fabulously-rich country. The *Tale of the Expedition of Igor* gives us a high idea of the power of these princes. "Iaroslaf Osmomysl of Gallicia!" cried the poet to one of them, "thou art seated very high on thy throne of wrought gold; with thy regiments of iron thou sustainest the Carpathians; thou closest the gates of the Danube; thou barrest the way to the king of Hungary; thou openest at thy will the gates of Kief, and with thine arrows thou strikest from afar!"

The disposition of these fifteen or sixteen principalities confirms all that we have said about the essential unity of the configuration of the Russian soil. Not one of the river-basins forms an isolated and closed region. There is no line of heights to establish barriers between them or political frontiers. The greater number of the Russian principalities belong to the basin of the Dnieper, but extend everywhere beyond its limits. The principality of Kief, with Peréiaslavl, is nearly the only one completely confined within it; but Volhynia puts the basin of the Dnieper in communication with those of the Bug and the Vistula, Polotsk with the basins of the Dnieper and the Dwina, Novgorod-Severski with the basin of the Don, Tchernigof and Smolensk with the basin of the Volga. Water-courses everywhere established communications between the principalities.

Already Russia, though broken up into appanages, had the germs of a great united empire. The slight cohesion of nearly all the States, and their frequent dismemberments, prevented them from ever becoming the homes of real nationalities. The principalities of Smolensk, Tchernigof, and Riazan have never possessed as definite an historic existence as the duchy of Bretagne or the county of Toulouse in France, or the duchies of Saxony, Suabia, and Bavaria in Germany.

The interests of the princes, their desire to create appanages for each of their children, caused a fresh division of the Russian territory at the death of every sovereign. There was, however, a certain cohesion in the midst of all these vicissitudes. There was a unity of race and language, the more sensible, notwithstanding all dialectic differences, because the Russian people was surrounded everywhere, except at the south-west, by entirely strange races, Lithuanians, Tchouds, Finns, Turks, Magyars. There was a unity of religion; the Russians differed from nearly all their neighbors, for in contrast with the Western Slavs, Poles, Tcheques, and Moravians, they represented a particular form of Christianity, not owning any tie to Rome, and rejecting Latin as the language of the Church. There was the unity of historical development, as up to that time the Russo-Slavs had all followed the same road, had accepted Greek civilization, submitted to the Varangians, pursued certain great enterprises in common—such as the expeditions against Byzantium and the war with the nomads. Finally, there was political unity, since after all in Gallicia as in Novgorod, on the Dnieper as in the forests of Souzdal, it was the same family that filled all the thrones. All these princes descended from Rurik, Saint Vladimir, and Iaroslaf the Great. The fact that the wars that laid waste the country were civil wars, was a new proof of this unity. The different parts of Russia could not consider themselves strangers one to the other, when they saw the princes of Tchernigof and Souzdal taking up arms to prove which of them was the *eldest*, and which consequently had most right to the title of Grand Prince and the throne of Kief. There were descendants of Rurik who governed successively the remotest States of Russia, and who, after having reigned at Tmourakan on the Straits of Ienikale, at Novgorod the Great, at Toropetz in the country of Smolensk, ended by establishing their right to reign at Kief. In spite of the division into appanages, Kief continued to be the centre of Russia. It was there that Oleg and Igor had reigned, that Vladimir had baptized his people, and Iaroslaf had established the metropolis of the faith, of arts, and of national civilization. It is not surprising that she should have

been more fiercely disputed than all the other Russian cities. Russia had many *princes*; but she had only one *Grand Prince* (*Veliki-kniaz*)—the one who reigned at Kief. He had a recognized supremacy over the others which he owed not only to the importance of his capital, but to his position as *eldest* of the royal family. Kief, the mother of Russian cities, was always to belong to the *eldest* of the descendants of Rurik; this was the consequence of the patriarchal system of the Slavs, as was the custom of division. When the Grand Prince of Kief died, his son was not his rightful heir; but his uncle or brother, or whichever of the princes was the *eldest*. Then the whole of Russia, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, held itself in readiness to support the claims of this or that candidate. It was the same with the other principalities, where the possessors of different appanages aspired to reign in the metropolis of the region. The civil wars, then, themselves strengthened the sentiments of Russian unity. What were they, after all, but family quarrels?

THE SUCCESSORS OF IAROSLAF THE GREAT—WARS FOR THE RIGHTS OF ELDERSHIP AND THE THRONE OF KIEF—VLADIMIR MONOMACHUS.

The persistent conflict between the Byzantine law, by which the son inherited the possessions of the father, and the old national law of the Slavs which caused them to pass to the eldest of all the family, was an inexhaustible source of civil wars. Even had the law been perfectly clear, the princes were not always disposed to recognize it. Thus, although the eldest of Iaroslaf's sons had in his favor the formal will of his father, giving him the throne of Kief, and though Iaroslaf on his deathbed had desired his other sons to respect their elder brother as they had done their parent, and look on him as their father, Isiaslaf at once found his brother Sviatoslaf ready to take up arms and overturn his throne (1073). He was obliged to seek refuge at the Court of Henry IV. of Germany, who sent an embassy to Kief, commanding Sviatoslaf to restore the throne of Isiaslaf. Sviatoslaf received the German envoys with such courtesy, made them such a display of his treasures and riches, that, dazzled by the gold, they adopted a pacific policy. Henry IV. himself, disarmed by the liberalities of the Russian prince, spoke no more of chastising the usurper. Isiaslaf did not return to Kief till after the death of his rival (1076).

When his own death took place (1078), his son Sviatopolk did not succeed him immediately. It was necessary that all the

heirs of Iaroslof should be exhausted. Vsevolod, a brother of Isiaslaf, whose daughter married the Emperor Henry IV., or Henry V.—it is not quite certain which—reigned for fifteen years (1078–1093). In accordance with the same principle, it was not the son of Vsevolod, Vladimir Monomachus, who succeeded his father; but after the crown had been worn by a new generation of princes, it returned to the blood of Isiaslaf. Vladimir Monomachus made no opposition to the claims of Sviatopolk Isiaslavitch. “His father was older than mine,” he said, “and reigned first in Kief,” so he quitted the principality which he had governed with his father, and valiantly defended against the barbarians. But everyone was not so respectful to the national law as Vladimir Monomachus.

Two terrible civil wars desolated Russia in the reign of the Grand Prince Sviatopolk (1093–1113): one about the principality of Tchernigof, the other about Volhynia and Red Russia. Sviatoslaf had enjoyed Tchernigof as his share, to which Tmoutoraken in the Taurid, Mourom and Riazan in the Finn country, were annexed. Isiaslaf and Vsevolod, Grand Princes of Kief, had despoiled the sons of Sviatoslaf, their brother, depriving them of the rich territory of Tchernigof, and only leaving them Tmoutorakan and the Finnish country. Even Vladimir Monomachus, whom we have seen so disinterested, had accepted a share of the spoil. The injured princes were not people to bear this meekly, especially the eldest, Oleg Sviatoslavitch, one of the most energetic men of the 11th century. He called the terrible Polovtsi to his aid, and subjected Russia to frightful ravages. Vladimir Monomachus was moved by these misfortunes; he wrote a touching letter to Oleg, expressing his sorrow for having accepted Tchernigof. At his instigation a Congress of Princes met at Loubetch, on the Dnieper (1097). Seated on the same carpet, they resolved to put an end to the civil wars that handed the country as a prey to the barbarians. Oleg recovered Tchernigof, and promised to unite with the Grand Prince of Kief and Vladimir Monomachus against the Polovtsi. The treaty was ratified by the oath of each prince, who kissed the cross and swore, “That henceforth the Russian land shall be considered as the country of us all; and whoso shall dare to arm himself against his brother becomes our common enemy.”

In Volhynia, the prince, David, was at war with his nephews, Vassilko and Volodar. The Congress of Loubetch had divided the disputed territories between them, but scarcely was the treaty ratified when David went to the Grand Prince Sviatopolk and persuaded him that Vassilko had a design on his life. With the

light faith habitual to the men of that date, the Grand Prince joined David in framing a plot to attract Vassilko to Kief on the occasion of a religious fête. When he arrived he was loaded with chains, and the Grand Prince convoked the boyards and citizens of Kief, to denounce to them the pretended projects of Vassilko. "Prince," replied the boyards, much embarrassed, "thy tranquillity is dear to us. Vassilko merits death, if it is true that he is thine enemy; but if he is calumniated by David, God will avenge on David the blood of the innocent." Thereon the Grand Prince delivered Vassilko to his enemy David, who put out his eyes. The other descendants of Iaroslaf I. were indignant at this crime. Vladimir Monomachus united with Oleg of Tchernigof, his ancient enemy, and marched against Sviatopolk. The people and clergy of Kief succeeded in preventing a civil war between the Grand Prince and the confederates of Loubetch. Sviatopolk was forced to disavow David, and swear to join the avengers of Vassilko. David defended himself with vigor, and summoned to his help, first the Poles, and then the Hungarians. At last a new congress was assembled at Viti-tchevo (1100), on the left bank of the Dnieper, a town of which a deserted *gorodichtché* is all that now remains. As a punishment for his crime, David was deprived of his principality of Vladimir in Volhynia, and had to content himself with four small towns. After the new settlement of this affair, Monomachus led the other princes against the Polovtsi, and inflicted on them a bloody defeat; seventeen of their khans remained on the field of battle. One khan who was made prisoner offered a ransom to Monomachus; but the prince showed how deeply he felt the injuries of the Christians—he refused the gold, and cut the brigand chief in pieces.

When Sviatopolk died, the Kievians unanimously declared they would have no Grand Prince but Vladimir Monomachus. Vladimir declined the honor, alleging the claims of Oleg and his brothers to the throne of Kief. During these negotiations, a sedition broke out in the city, and the Jews, whom Sviatopolk had made the instruments of his fiscal exactions, were pillaged. Monomachus was forced to yield to the prayers of the citizens. During his reign (1113–1125) he obtained great successes against the Polovtsi, the Patzinaks, the Torques, the Tcherkesses, and other nomads. He gave an asylum to the remains of the Khazars, who built on the Oster, not far from Tchernigof, the town of Belovega. The ruins of this city that remain to-day prove that this Finnish people, eminently perfectible, and already civilized by the Greeks, were further advanced in the arts of construction and fortification than even the Russians themselves.

According to one tradition, Monomachus also made war on the Emperor Alexis Comnenus, a Russian army invaded Thrace, and the Bishop of Ephesus is said to have brought gifts to Kief, among others a cup of cornelian that had belonged to Augustus, besides a crown and a throne, still preserved in the Museum at Moscow under the name of the crown and throne of Monomachus. It is at present ascertained that they never belonged to Vladimir, but it was the policy of his descendants, the Tzars of Moscow, to propagate this legend. It was of consequence to them to prove that these ensigns of their power were traceable to their Kievan ancestor, and that the Russian Monomachus, grandson of the Greek Monomachus, had been solemnly crowned by the Bishop of Ephesus as sovereign of Russia.

The Grand Prince made his authority felt in other parts of Russia. A Prince of Minsk who had the temerity to kindle a civil war, was promptly dethroned, and died in captivity at Kief. The Novgorodians saw many of their boyards kept as hostages, or exiled. The Prince of Vladimir in Volhynia was deposed, and his states given to a son of the Grand Prince.

Monomachus has left us a curious paper of instructions that he compiled for his sons, and in which he gives them much good advice, enforced by examples drawn from his own life. "It is neither fasting, nor solitude, nor the monastic life, that will procure you the life eternal—it is well-doing. Do not forget the poor, but nourish them. Do not bury your riches in the bosom of the earth, for that is contrary to the precepts of Christianity.* Be a father to orphans, judge the cause of widows yourself. . . . Put to death no one, *be he innocent or guilty*, for nothing is more sacred than the soul of a Christian. . . . Love your wives, but beware lest they get the power over you. When you have learnt anything useful, try to preserve it in your memory and strive ceaselessly to get knowledge. Without ever leaving his palace, my father spoke five languages, *a thing that foreigners admire in us*. . . I have made altogether twenty-three campaigns without counting those of minor importance. I have concluded nineteen treaties of peace with the Polovtsi, taken at least 100 of their princes prisoners, and afterwards restored them to liberty; besides more than 200 whom I threw into the rivers. No one has travelled more rapidly than I. If I left Tchernigof very early in the morning, I arrived at Kief before vespers. Some

* To bury riches in the earth is the custom with which the Emperor Maurice reproaches the Slavs of his time, and which is to this day characteristic of the Russian peasants. Often the head of the family dies, without having revealed the hiding-place to his children. Treasure trove is frequent in Russia.

times in the middle of the thickest forests, I caught wild horses myself, and bound them together with my own hands. How many times I have been thrown from the saddle by buffaloes, struck by the horns of the deer, trampled under foot by the elands! A furious boar once tore my sword from my belt; my saddle was rent by a bear, which threw my horse down under me! How many falls I had from my horse in my youth, when, heedless of danger, I broke my head, I wounded my arms and legs! But the Lord watched over me!"

Vladimir completed the establishment of the Slav race in Souzdal, and founded a city on the Kliazma that bore his name, and that was destined to play a great part. Such, in the beginning of the 12th century, when Louis VI. was fighting with his barons of the Isle de France, was the ideal of a Grand Prince of Russia.

WARS BETWEEN THE HEIRS OF VLADIMIR MONOMACHUS—FALL OF KIEF.

Of the sons of Vladimir Monomachus, George Dolgorouki became the father of the Princes of Souzdal and Moscow, and Mstislaf the father of the Princes of Galitch and Kief. These two branches were often at enmity, and it was their rivalry that struck the final blow at the prosperity of Kief. When Isiaslaf, son of Mstislaf (1146-1154), was called to the throne by the inhabitants of the capital, his uncle, George Dolgorouki, put forward his rights as the *eldest* of the family. Kief, which had been already many times taken and re-taken in the strife between the *Olgovitches* (descendants of Oleg of Tchernigof) and the *Monomachivitches* (descendants of Vladimir Monomachus), was fated to be disputed anew between the uncle and the nephew. It was almost a war between the Old and New Russia, the Russia of the Dnieper and that of the Volga. The Princes of Souzdal, who dwelt afar in the forests in the north-west, establishing their rule over the remnants of the Finnish races, were to become greater and greater strangers to Kievan Russia. If they still coveted the "mother of Russian cities," because the title of Grand Prince was attached to it, they at least began to obey and to venerate it less than the other princes.

George Dolgorouki found an ally against Isiaslaf in one of the Olgovitches, Sviatoslaf, who thirsted to avenge his brother Igor, dethroned and kept prisoner in Kief by the Grand Prince. The Kievians hesitated to support the sovereign they had chosen; they hated the Olgovitches, but in their attachment to the blood

of Monomachus, they respected his son and his grandson equally. "We are ready," they said to Isiaslaf, "we and our children, to make war on the sons of Oleg. But George is your uncle, and can we dare to raise our hands against the son of Monomachus?" After the war had lasted some time, a decisive battle was fought. At the battle of Peréiaslavl, Isiaslaf was completely defeated, and took refuge, with two attendants, in Kief. The inhabitants, who had lost many citizens in this war, declared they were unable to stand a siege. The Grand Prince then abandoned his capital to George Dolgorouki and retired to Vladimir in Volhynia, whence he demanded help from his brother-in-law, the King of Hungary, and the kings of Poland and Bohemia. With these reinforcements he surprised Kief, and nearly made his uncle prisoner. Understanding that the national law was against him, he opposed *eldest with eldest* and declared himself the partisan of another son of Monomachus, the old Viatcheslaf, Prince of Tourof. He was proclaimed Grand Prince of Kief (1150-1154), adopted his nephew Isiaslaf as his heir, and gave splendid fêtes to the Russians and Hungarians. George returned to the charge, and was beaten under the walls of Kief. Each of these princes had taken barbarians into his pay: George, the Polovtsi; Isiaslaf the *Black Caps*, that is the Torques, the Patzinaks, and the Berendians.

The obstinate Prince of Souzdal did not allow himself to be discouraged by this check. The old Viatcheslaf, who only desired peace and quiet, in vain addressed him letters, setting forth his rights as *elder*. "I had already a beard when you entered the world," he said. George proved himself intractable, and went into Galicia to effect a junction with his ally, Vladimirko, Prince of Galitch. This Vladimirko had violated the oath he had taken and confirmed by kissing the cross. When they reproached him, he said, with a sneer, "It was such a little cross." To prevent this dangerous co-operation, Isiaslaf, without waiting the expected arrival of the Hungarians, began the pursuit of George, and came up with him on the borders of the Rout, a small tributary of the Dnieper. A bloody battle was fought, where he himself was wounded and thrown from his horse, but the Souzdalians and their allies the Polovtsi were completely defeated (1151). Isiaslaf survived this victory only three years. After his death and that of Viatcheslaf, Kief passed from hand to hand. George ended by reaching the supreme object of his desires. He made his entry into the capital in 1155, and had the consolation of dying Grand Prince of Kief at the moment that a league was being formed for his expulsion (1157). "I thank Thee, great God," cried one of the confederates on learning the news, "for

having spared us, by the sudden death of our enemy, the obligation of shedding his blood ! ”

The confederates entered the town ; one of them assumed the title of Grand Prince, the others divided his territories. Henceforth there existed no Grand Principality, properly speaking, and with the growing power of Souzdal, Kief ceased to be the capital of Russia. A final disaster was still reserved for her.

In 1169, Andrew Bogolioubski, son of George Dolgorouki and Prince of Souzdal, being disaffected to Mstislaf, Prince of Kief, formed against him a coalition of eleven princes. He confided to his son Mstislaf and his voïevode Boris an immense army of Rostovians, Vladimiris, and Souzdalians to march against Kief. This time the Russia of the forests triumphed over Russia of the steppes, and after a three days' siege Kief was taken by assault. “ This mother of Russian cities,” says Karamsin, “ had been many times besieged and oppressed. She had often opened her Golden Gate to her enemies, but none had ever yet entered by force. To their eternal shame, the victors forgot that they too were Russians ! During three days not only the houses, but the monasteries, churches, and even the temples of Saint Sophia and the Dîme, were given over to pillage. The precious images, the sacerdotal ornaments, the books, and the bells, all were taken away.”

From this time the lot of the capital of Saint Vladimir, pilaged and dishonored by his descendants, ceases to have a general interest for Russia. Like other parts of Slavonia, she has her princes, but the heads of the reigning families of Smolensk, Tchernigof, and Galitch assume the title, formerly unique, of Grand Prince. The centre of Russia is changed. It is now in the basin of the Volga, at Souzdal. Many causes conspired to render the disaster of 1169 irremediable. The chronic civil wars of this part of Russia, and the multitudes and growing power of nomad hordes, rendered the banks of the Dnieper uninhabitable. In 1203 Kief was again sacked by the Polovtsi, whom the Olgovitches of Tchernigof had taken into their pay. On this soil, incessantly the prey of war and invasion, it was impossible to found a lasting order of things ; it was impossible that a regular system of government should be established—that civilization should develop and maintain itself. Less richly endowed by nature, and less civilized, the Russia of the forests was at least more tranquil. It was there that a grand principality was formed, called to fulfil high destinies, but which unhappily was to be separated for three hundred years, by the southern steppes and the nomads who dwelt there, from the Black Sea ; that is, from Byzantine and Occidental civilization.

CHAPTER VII.

RUSSIA AFTER THE FALL OF KIEF. POWER OF SOUZDAL AND
GALLICIA, 1169-1224.

Andrew Bogolioubski of Souzdal (1157-1174), and the first attempt at autocracy—George II. (1212-1238)—Wars with Novgorod—Battle of Lipetsk (1216)—Foundation of Nijni-Novgorod (1220)—Roman (1188-1205) and his son Daniel (1205-1264) in Galicia.

ANDREW BOGOLIOUBSKI OF SOUZDAL (1157-1174) AND THE
FIRST ATTEMPT AT AUTOCRACY.

AFTER the fall of the grand principality of Kief, Russia ceased to have a centre round which her whole mass could gravitate. Her life seemed to be withdrawn to her extremities; and during the fifty four years which preceded the arrival of the Mongols, all the interest of Russian history is concentrated on the principality of Souzdal, on that of Galitch, and on the two republics of Novgorod and Pskof.

George Dolgorouki was the founder of Souzdal, but we have seen him expend all his energy in securing possession of the throne of Kief. His son Andrew Bogolioubski was, on the contrary, a true prince of Souzdal. From him are descended the Tzars of Moscow; with him there appears in Russian history quite a new type of prince. It is no longer the chivalrous light-hearted careless *kniaz*, in turn a prey to all kinds of opposing passions, the joyous *kniaz* of the happy land of Kief—but an ambitious, restless, politic, and imperious sovereign, going straight to his goal without scruple and without pity. Andrew had taken an aversion to the turbulent cities of the Dnieper, where the assemblies of citizens sometimes held the power of the prince in check. In Souzdal, at least, he found himself in the centre of colonists planted by the prince, who never dreamed of contesting his authority: he reigned over towns which for the most part owed their existence to his ancestors or himself. During the lifetime of his father George, he had quitted the Dnieper and his palace at Vyehgorod, had established himself on the Kliazma, bringing with him a Greek image of the mother of God, had enlarged and fortified Vladimir, and founded a quarter that he called Bogolioubovo.

When after the death of George the grand principality became vacant, he allowed the princes of the south to dispute it among themselves. He only wished to mix with their quarrels as far as would suffice for the recognition of his authority, not at Kief, but at Novgorod the Great, then bound by the closest ties to Souzdal. He established one of his nephews as his lieutenant at Novgorod. A glorious campaign against the Bulgarians increased his reputation in Russia. He deserved more than anyone to be Grand Prince of Kief, but we have seen that he preferred to pillage it—that he preferred a sacrilegious spoil to the throne of Monomachus.

After having destroyed the splendor and power of Kief, and guided by the sure instinct that afterwards led Ivan the Great and Ivan the Terrible against Novgorod, he longed to subdue the great republic to a narrower dependence. "The fall of Kief," says Karamsin, "seemed to presage the loss of Novgorod liberty; it was the same army, and it was the same prince (Mstislaf Andreievitch) who commanded it. But the Kievians, accustomed to change their masters—to sacrifice the vanquished to the victors—only fought for the honor of their princes, while the Novgorodians were to shed their blood for the defence of the laws and institutions established by their ancestors." Mstislaf, who had forced the princes of Smolensk, Riazan, Mourom, and Polotsk to join him, put the territories of the republic to fire and sword, but only succeeded in exasperating the courageous citizens. When fighting began under the walls of the town, the Novgorodians, to inflame themselves for the combat, reminded each other of the pillage and the sacrilege with which their adversaries had polluted the holy city of Kief. All swore to die for St. Sophia of Novgorod; their archbishop, Ivan, took the image of the Mother of God and paraded it with great pomp round the walls. It is said that an arrow shot by a Souzdalian soldier having struck the image of the Virgin, her face turned towards the city, and inundated the vestments of the archbishop with miraculous tears. Instantly a panic seized the besiegers. The victory of the Novgorodians was complete; they slew a multitude of their enemies, and made so many prisoners, that according to the contemptuous expression of their chronicler, "You could get six Souzdalians for a grivna (1170)." Their dependence on Souzdal for corn soon forced them to make peace. They abandoned none of the ancient rights of the republic, but of "their own free will," according to the consecrated expression, they accepted as sovereign the prince nominated for them by Andrew of Souzdal.

Andrew about this time lost his only son, his heir, Mstislaf.

The knowledge that in future he would be working for his collateral relatives no whit diminished his ambition or his arrogance. The princes of Smolensk, David, Rurik, and Mstislaf the Brave, could not endure his despotic ways, and, in spite of his threats, took Kief. The Olgovitches of Tchernigof, delighted to see discord kindled between the descendants of Monomachus, incited Andrew to revenge this injury. So he sent a herald to the princes of Smolensk, to say to them, "You are rebels; the principality of Kief is mine. I order Rurik to return to his patrimony of Smolensk, and David to retire to Berlad; I can no longer bear his presence in Russia, nor the presence of Mstislaf, the most guilty of you all."

Mstislaf the Brave, say the chroniclers, "feared none but God." When he received Andrew's message, he shaved the beard and hair of the messenger, and answered him: "Go, and repeat these words unto your prince—'Up to this time we have respected you like a father, but since you do not blush to treat us as your vassals and common people, since you have forgotten that you speak to princes, we mock at your menaces. Execute them—we appeal to the judgment of God.'" The judgment of God was an encounter under the walls of Vychegorod, besieged by more than twenty princes, allies or vassals of Andrew of Souzdal. Mstislaf succeeded in dividing the assailants, and completed their defeat by a victorious sortie, 1173.

When Andrew came to establish himself in the land of Souzdal, the inhabitants themselves elected him their prince, to the exclusion of other members of the family. But this enemy of municipal liberty had no intention of fixing his residence either at Rostof or Souzdal, the two most ancient cities of the principality, which had their assembly of citizens, their *vetché*. From the beginning he conceived the project of raising above them a new town, Vladimir on the Kliasma, considered by Rostof and Souzdal merely a subject borough. To give a plausible pretext to this resolution he had his tent pitched on the road to Souzdal ten versts from Vladimir, and installed himself there with his miraculous image of the Virgin which came from Constantinople, and was, we are assured, the work of St. Luke. The next day he announced that the Mother of God had appeared to him in a dream, and had commanded him to place her image, not at Rostof, but at Vladimir. He was likewise to build a church and a monastery to the Virgin on the spot where she made herself manifest; this was the origin of the village of Bogolioubovo. Andrew preferred Vladimir to the old cities, but it was in his house at Bogolioubovo that he best liked to live. He tried to make of Vladimir a new Kief, as Kief herself was a

new Byzantium. There were at Vladimir a Golden Gate, a Church of the Dîme consecrated to the Virgin, and numerous monasteries built by the artists summoned by Andrew from the West.

Andrew sought the friendship of the priests, whom he felt to be one of the great forces of the future. He posed as a pious prince, rose often by night to burn tapers in the churches, and publicly distributed alms in abundance. After a victory over the Bulgarians of the Volga, he obtained leave from the Patriarch of Constantinople to establish a commemorative feast. It happened that on the same day that Andrew triumphed over the Bulgarians, thanks to the image of the Virgin, the Emperor Manuel had won a victory over the Saracens by means of the true cross and the image of Christ represented on his standard. One anniversary served for both victories of orthodoxy, and Vladimir was in harmony with Byzantium. Andrew was anxious to make Vladimir a metropolitan city. At the same time that he robbed Kief of the grand principality, he would have deprived her of the religious supremacy of Russia, and given his new city the spiritual as well as the temporal power. This time the patriarch refused, but the attempt was one day to be renewed by the princes of Moscow.

What more particularly proves this prince—who had risen from the conception of appanages to that of the indivisible modern state—to have been superior to his century, to have had sure instincts as to the future, is that he declined to share his dominions with his brothers and nephews. In spite of the testamentary directions of George, he expelled his three brothers from Souzdal, and they retired with their mother, a Greek princess, to the court of the Emperor Manuel. It appears that this measure was advised by the men of Souzdal. The subjects then had the same instinct of unity as the prince. If he broke with the patriarchal custom of appanages, and wished to reign alone in Vladimir, he broke equally with the Varangian tradition of the *droujina*; he treated his men, his boyards, not as companions, but as subjects. Those who refused to bow to his will had to leave the country. We may say that Andrew Bogolioubski created autocracy 300 years before its time. He indicated in the 12th century all that the Grand Princes of Moscow had to do in the 15th and 16th centuries, to attain absolute power. His mistrust of municipal liberty, his despotic treatment of the boyards, his efforts to suppress the appanages, his proud attitude towards the other Russian princes, his alliance with the clergy, and his project of transporting to the basin of the Oka the religious metropolis of all the Russias, are the indications of

a political programme that ten generations of princes did not suffice to carry out. The moment was not yet come ; Andrew had not enough power, nor Souzdal resources enough to subjugate the rest of Russia. Andrew succeeded against Kief, but he endured a double check from Novgorod the Great, and from Mstislaf the Brave, and the princes of the south. His despotism made him terrible enemies. His boyards, whom he tried to reduce to obedience, assassinated him in his favorite residence of Bogolioubovo (1174).

GEORGE II. (1212-1238) — WARS WITH NOVGOROD—BATTLE OF LIPETSK (1216)—NIJNI-NOVGOROD FOUNDED (1220).

The death of this remarkable man was followed by great troubles. The common people attacked the houses of rich men and magistrates, gave them up to pillage, and committed so many murders that to establish quiet the clergy were forced to have a procession of images. The unpunished murders show how premature was the autocratic attempt of Andrew. His succession was disputed between his nephews and his two brothers Michael and Vsevolod, who had returned from Greece. The nephews were supported by the old cities of Rostof and Souzdal, which were animated by a violent hatred of the *parvenue* city of Vladimir, that had torn from them the title of capital, and had taken up the cause of Michael and Vsevolod. "The Vladimirians," said the Rostovians, "are our slaves, our masons ; let us burn their town, and set up there a governor of our own." The Vladimirians had the advantage in the first war, and caused Michael, the elder of Andrew's brothers, to be recognized Grand Prince of Souzdal. At his death the Rostovians refused to recognize the other brother Vsevolod, surnamed the *Big-Nest*, on account of his numerous posterity. They resisted all proposals of compromise, declaring that "their arms alone should do them right on the vile populace of Vladimir." It was, on the contrary, the vile populace of Vladimir who put the boyards of Rostof in chains. The two ancient cities were forced to submit ; Vladimir remained the capital of Souzdal. Vsevolod (1176-1212) managed to secure himself on the throne by defeating the princes of Riazan and Tchernigof. He extended his influence to the distant Galitch, and contracted matrimonial alliances with the princes of Kief and Smolensk. He reduced the Novgorodians to beg for one of his sons as their prince. "Lord and Grand Prince," said the envoys of the republic to him, "our country is your patrimony ; we entreat you to send us the grandson of

George Dolgorouki, the great-grandson of Monomachus, to govern us." The princes of Riazan having incurred his displeasure, he united their states to his principality. Riazan rebelled, and was reduced to ashes, and the inhabitants transported to the solitudes of Souzdal. This prince, who has likewise been called "The Great," exhibited in his designs the prudence, the spirit of intrigue, constancy, and firmness which characterized the princes of the Russia of the forests. At his death (1212) the troubles began again. Dissatisfied with his eldest son Constantine, prince of Novgorod, Vsevolod had given the grand principality of Novgorod to his second son, George II. Constantine had to content himself with Rostof; a third brother, Iaroslaf, prince of Peréiaslavl-Zaliesski, had been sent to Novgorod.

Iaroslaf quarrelled with his turbulent subjects, left their town and installed himself at Torjok, a city in the territory of Novgorod, where he betook himself to hindering the passage of the merchants and boyards. Their communications with the Volga were intercepted; he prevented the arrival of corn, and reduced the town to starvation. The Novgorodians were obliged to eat the bark of pines, moss, and lime-leaves. The streets were filled with the bodies of the wretched inhabitants, which the dogs devoured. Iaroslaf was implacable. He persisted in remaining at Torjok, refused to return to Novgorod, and arrested all envoys sent to him. He treated Novgorod as his father had treated Rostof and Souzdal. But help arrived to the despairing citizens in the person of a prince of Smolensk, Mstislaf the Bold, son of Mstislaf the Brave. "Torjok shall not hold herself higher than Novgorod," he cried; "I will deliver your lands and your citizens, or leave my bones among you." Thus Mstislaf became prince of Novgorod; and as he saw that the Grand Prince of Vladimir supported his brothers, he sought an ally in Constantine of Rostof, who was discontented with his inheritance. The Novgorodian quarrel speedily expanded into a general war, and Mstislaf contrived to make Souzdal the scene of strife. Before a battle he tried to effect a reconciliation between the two princes of Vladimir and Rostof. But George answered, "If my father was not able to reconcile me with Constantine, has Mstislaf the right to judge between us? Let Constantine be victorious and all will be his." This strife between the three sons of Big-Nest had all the fierceness of fraternal warfare. Before the battle George and Iaroslaf issued orders that quarter was to be given to no one, to kill even those who had "embroideries of gold on their shoulders;" that is, the princes of the blood. Already they had decided on the

partition of Russia. But the troops of Novgorod, Pskof, and Smolensk attacked them with such fury that those of Souzdal and Mourom gave way, and it was the soldiers of Mstislaf who in their turn gave no quarter. Nine thousand men were killed and only sixty prisoners taken. George threw off his royal clothes, wore out the strength of three horses, and with the fourth just managed to reach Vladimir. (*Battle of Lipetsk, near Peréiaslavl-Zaliesski, 1216.*) Constantine then became Grand Prince of Vladimir, and ceded Souzdal to his brother George. Iaroslaf was obliged to renounce Novgorod, and release the captive citizens.

At the death of Constantine (1217) George regained the throne of Vladimir. Under him the expeditions against the Bulgarians of the Volga and the Mordvians were continued. These expeditions were organized both by land and water; the infantry descended the Oka and the Volga in boats, the cavalry marched along the banks. They attacked and burnt the wooden forts of the Bulgars, and destroyed the population.

During a campaign, conducted by George in person along the whole length of the Volga, he noticed a small hill on its right bank, near its junction with the Oka. Here, in the midst of the Mordvian tribes, he founded Nijni-Novgorod (1220). A Mordvian tradition gives its own account of this important event. "The prince of the Russians sailed down the Volga; on the mountain he perceived the Mordva in a long white coat, adoring her god; and he said to his warriors, 'What is that white birch that bends and sways up there, above its nurse the earth, and inclines towards the east?' He sent his men to look nearer, and they came back and said, 'It is not a birch that bends and sways, it is the Mordva adoring her god. In their vessels they have a delicious beer, pancakes hang on sticks, and their priests cook their meat in caldrons.' The elders of the Mordva, hearing of the Russian prince, sent young men with gifts of meat and beer. But on the road the young men ate the meat and drank the beer, and only brought the Russian prince earth and water. The prince was rejoiced at this present, which he considered as a mark of submission of the Mordva. He continued to descend the Volga: where he threw a handful of this earth on the bank, a town sprang up: where he threw a pinch of this earth, a village was born. It was thus that the Mordvian land became subject to the Russians."

ROMAN (1188-1205) AND HIS SON DANIEL (1205-1264) IN
GALITCH.

Galitch offers a remarkable contrast to Souzdal ; peopled by Khorvates or White Croats, she had preserved a purely Slavonic character in spite of her conquest by Varangian princes. "The prince," says M. Kostomarof, "was a prince of the old Slavonic type. He was elected by a popular assembly, and kept his crown by its consent."

The assembly itself was governed by the richest men of the country, the boyards. Under the influence of Polish and Hungarian ideas the boyards had raised themselves above the mass of the people, and formed a strong aristocracy which really ruled the country. When Iaroslaf Osmomysl (glorified in the Song of Igor) neglected his lawful wife Olga for his mistress Anastasia, the nobles rose, burnt Anastasia alive, and obliged the prince to send away his natural son, and to recognize his legitimate son Vladimir as his heir.

When Vladimir became prince, he lost no time in incurring their hatred. He was accused of abandoning himself to vice and drunkenness, of despising the councils of wise men, of dishonoring the wives and daughters of the nobles, and of having married as his second wife the widow of a priest. It did not need all this to exhaust the patience of the Gallicians. They summoned Vladimir to give up the woman that they might punish her. Vladimir took fright, and fled to Hungary with his family and his treasures. This was all the boyards desired, and they offered the throne to Roman, prince of Volhynia (1188). But Bela, king of Hungary, brought back the fugitive prince with an army, and entered Galitch. There he suddenly changed his mind, and coveted this beautiful country, rich in salt and minerals, for himself. He threw his *protégé* Vladimir into prison, and proclaimed his own son Andrew. The Hungarian yoke seemed naturally more heavy to the Gallicians than the authority of their easy-going princes. They expelled the strangers, and recalled Vladimir, who had found means to escape, and had taken refuge with Frederick Barbarossa. When Vladimir died, Roman of Volhynia resolved at all hazards to enter Galitch. His rival had previously appealed to the Hungarians, so he applied to the Poles, and, with an auxiliary army given him by Casimir the Just, he reconquered Galitch. The turbulent boyards had at last found their master.

This time Roman held the crown, not by election, but by conquest. He resolved to subdue the proud aristocracy. The Polish Bishop Kadloubek, a contemporary writer, who sympathized

with the oligarchs, draws a frightful picture of the vengeance exercised by Roman on his enemies. They were quartered, buried alive, riddled with arrows, delivered over to horrible tortures. He had promised pardon to those who had fled; but when they returned, he accused them of conspiracy, condemned them to death, and confiscated their goods. "To eat a drop of honey in peace," he said cynically, "you must first kill the bees." The Russian chroniclers, on the contrary, praise him highly. He was another Monomachus, an invincible and redoubtable hero, who "walked in the ways of God, exterminated the heathen, flung himself like a lion upon the infidels, was savage as a wildcat, deadly as a crocodile, swooped on his prey like an eagle." More than once he vanquished the Lithuanian tribes and the Polovtsi; in the civil wars of Russia he was likewise victorious, and gave to one of his relations the throne of Kief. He attracted the attention of the great Pope, Innocent III., who sent missionaries to convert him to the Catholic faith, promising to make him a great king by the sword of Saint Peter. Drawing his own sword, Roman proudly answered the envoys of Innocent: "Has the Pope one like mine? While I wear it at my side, I have no need of another's blade." In 1205, when he was engaged in a war with Poland, he imprudently ventured too far from his army on the banks of the Vistula, and perished in an unequal combat. His exploits were long remembered in Russia, and the 'Chronicle of Volhynia' gives him the surname of "the Great," and "the Autocrat of all the Russias." A historian of Lithuania relates that, after his victories over the barbarous inhabitants of that country, he harnessed the prisoners to the plough. Hence the popular saying, "Thou art terrible, Roman; the Lithuanians are thy laboring oxen." Roman of Volhynia is a worthy contemporary of the autocrat of the north-west, Andrew of Souzdal.

Roman left two sons, minors. Daniel the elder was proclaimed prince of Galitch (1205-1264), but in such a turbulent country, rent as it was by factions, it was impossible for a child to reign under the guardianship of his mother. Red Russia fell a prey to a series of civil wars, complicated by the intervention of Poles and Hungarians. The ferocity shown by the Gallicians in their intestine struggles has gained for them the name of *atheist* in the Kievian Chronicles. The princes of the blood of Saint Vladimir were tortured and hung by the boyards. Daniel was first replaced on the throne, then expelled, then again recalled. His infancy was the toy of intriguing factions. Mstislaf the Bold also came hither in search of adventures. He chased the Hungarians from Galitch, took the title of Prince,

and married his daughter to Daniel. Both were immediately obliged to turn their arms against the Poles. Daniel, whose character had been formed in such a rough school, displayed remarkable energy and courage in these campaigns. The aid of the Polovtsi had to be sought against these enemies from the west, the Hungarians and the Poles—now rivals, now allies. At the death of Mstislaf the Bold (1228), Daniel, who five years previously had taken part in the battle of Kalka against the Tatars, became prince of Galitch. Towards the boyards, whose turbulence had ruined the country, he acted with the salutary policy of Roman, though without employing the same severity.

The great Mongol invasion once more expelled him from Galitch, which it covered with ruins. Daniel, who had fled to Hungary, did his best to help his unhappy country. To fill up the void made by the Mongols in the population, he invited Germans, Armenians, and Jews, whom he loaded with privileges. The economic consequence of this measure was a rapid development of commerce and industry; the ethnographic consequence was the introduction into Gallicia of a Jewish element, very tenacious and very persistent, but alien to the dominant nationality, and forming a separate people in the midst of the Russians. Daniel was one of the last princes to make his submission to the horde. "You have done well to come at last," said the khan of the Mongols. Bati treated him with distinction, allowed him to escape the ordinary humiliations, and, seeing that the fermented milk of the Tatars was not to his taste, gave him a cup of wine. Daniel, however, bore with impatience the yoke of these barbarians.

Feeling himself insulated in the general abasement of the orthodox world, the prince of Galitch turned towards Rome, and promised to do his best for the union of the two Churches and to add his contingent to the crusade preached in Europe against the Mongols. Innocent IV, called him his dear son, accorded him the title of king, and sent him a crown and sceptre. Daniel was solemnly crowned at Droguitchine by the abbot of Messina, Legate of the Pope (1254). Both the crusade against the Asiatics and the reconciliation between the two Churches came to nothing. Daniel braved the reproaches and threats of Alexander IV., but kept the title of king. He took part in the European wars with great success. "The Hungarians," says a chronicler, "admired the order that reigned among his troops, their Tatar weapons, the magnificence of the prince, his Greek habit embroidered with gold, his sabre and his arrows, his saddles enriched with jewels and precious metals richly chased." Encouraged by the Hungarians and the Poles, he tried to shake

off the yoke of the Mongols, and expelled them from a few places ; but he was soon obliged to bow to superior force, and dismantle his fortresses. No prince better deserved to free Southern Russia, but his activity and talents struggled in vain against the fate of his country. He terminated in 1264 one of the most memorable and most checkered careers in the history of Russia. The civil wars of his youth, the Tatar invasion in his ripe age, the negotiations and wars with Western Europe, left him no repose. After him, Russian Galitch passed to different princes of his family. In the 14th century, she was absorbed into the kingdom of Poland. She was lost to Russia.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RUSSIAN REPUBLICS: NOVGOROD, PSKOF, AND VIATKA, UP TO
1224.

Novgorod the Great—Her struggles with the princes—Novgorodian institutions—Commerce—National Church—Literature—Pskof and Vitaka.

NOVGOROD THE GREAT—STRUGGLES WITH THE PRINCES.

NOVGOROD has been, from the most remote antiquity, the political centre of the Russia of the North-west. The origin of the Slavs of the Ilmen, who laid her foundations, is still uncertain. Some learned Russians, such as M. Kostomarof, suppose them to belong to the Slavs of the South, others to the Slavs of the Baltic; others, again, like M. Bielaef and M. Ilovaïski, make them a branch of the Krivitch or Smolensk Slavs. We find the Novgorodians, at the opening of Russian history, at the head of the confederation of tribes which first expelled and then recalled the Varangians to reign over Russia.

Novgorod, from very ancient times, was divided into two parts, separated by the course of the Volkhof, which rises in lake Ilmen and falls into the Ladoga. On the right bank was the *side of Saint Sophia*, where Iaroslaf the Great built his celebrated cathedral; where the Novgorod kremlin was situated, enclosing both the palaces of the Archbishop and the prince; and where the famous Russian monument was consecrated in 1862. On the left bank, the *side of commerce*, with its *Court of Iaroslaf*; the bridge which joins the two halves of the city is celebrated in the annals of Novgorod. The side of Saint Sophia includes the Nerevian quarter as well as those of "beyond the city," and of the potters (*Nerevski, Zagorodni, Gontcharni*). The side of commerce comprised the quarters of the *carpenters* and *Slavs*. Ancient documents also speak of a *Prussian* (Lithuanian) quarter. Some of these names seem to indicate that many races have concurred, as in ancient Rome, to form the city of Novgorod. Gilbert of Lannoy, who visited the republic about 1413, has left

us this description of it: "Novgorod is a prodigiously large town, situated in a beautiful plain, in the midst of vast forests. The soil is low, subject to inundations, marshy in places. The town is surrounded by imperfect ramparts, formed of gabions; the towers are of stone." Portions of these ramparts still exist, and allow us to form an idea of the immense extent of the ancient city. The kremlin forms its acropolis. The cathedral has preserved its frescoes of the 12th century, the pillars painted with images of saints on a golden ground, the imposing figure of Christ on the cupola, the banner of the Virgin, which was to revive the courage of the besieged on the ramparts: the tombs of Saint Vladimir Iaroslavitch, of the Archbishop Nikita, by whose prayers a fire was extinguished, of Mstislaf the Brave, the devoted defender of Novgorod, and of many other saints and illustrious people. Without counting the tributary cities of Novgorod, such as Pskof, Ladoga, Izborsk, Veliki Louki, Staraia Roussa (Old Russia), Torjok, Biejitchi, her primitive territory (the "ager Romanus" of the republic) was divided into five *fifths* (*piatines*), the *Vodskaïa*, the *Chelonskaïa*, the *Obonejskaïa*, the *Biejetskaïa*, and the *Dereveksaïa*, which included the land to the south of the lakes Ladoga and Onega. Her conquests formed five bailiwicks or *volosts* occupying the whole of Northern Russia, and extending as far as Siberia. These bailiwicks were the *Zavolotchîé* between the Onega and the Mezen; the *Tré*, or Russian Lapland; *Permia*, on the Upper Kama; *Petchora*, on the river of the same name; and *Iougria*, on the other side of the Oural mountains. To these we must add Ingria, Carelia, and part of Livonia and Esthonia.

Novgorod, which had summoned the Varangian princes, was too powerful, with her 100,000 inhabitants and 300,000 subjects, to allow herself to be tyrannized over. An ancient tradition speaks vaguely of a revolt against Rurik the Old under the hero Vadim. Sviatoslaf, the conqueror of the Bulgaria of the Danube, undertook to govern her by mere agents, but Novgorod insisted on having one of his sons for her prince. "If you do not come to reign over us," said the citizens, "we shall know how to find ourselves other princes." Iaroslaf the Great, as a reward for their devotion, accorded them immense privileges, of which no record can be found, but which are constantly invoked by the Novgorodians, as were the true or false charters of Charles the Great by the German cities. These republicans could not exist without a prince, but they rarely kept one long. The assembly of the citizens, the *vetché*, convoked by the bell in the Court of Iaroslaf, was the real sovereign. The republic called herself "*My Lord Novgorod the Great*" (*Gospodine Vel-*

ikii Novgorod). "Who can equal God and the great Novgorod?" was a popular saying. From the distance of the city from the Russia of the Dnieper, and her position towards the Baltic and Western Europe, she took little part in the civil wars of which Kief was the object and the centre. She profited by this in a certain sense; for in the midst of the strifes of princes and of frequent changes in the grand principality, no sovereign was strong enough to give her a master. She could choose between princes of the rival families. She could impose conditions on him whom she chose to reign over her. If discontented with his management, she expelled the prince and his band of *antrustions*. According to the accustomed formula, "she made a reverence, and showed him the way" to leave Novgorod. Sometimes, to hinder his evil designs, she kept him prisoner in the archbishop's palace, and it was left to his successor to set him at liberty. Often a revolution was accompanied by a general pillage of the partisans of the fallen prince, even by *noyades* in the Volkhof. A grand Prince of Kief, Sviatopolk, wished to force his son on them. "Send him here," said the Novgorodians, "if he has a spare head." The princes themselves contributed to the frequent changes of reign. They only felt themselves half-rulers in Novgorod, so they accepted any other appanage with joy. Thus, in 1132, Vsevolod Gabriel abandoned Novgorod to reign at Peréiaslavl. When his hopes of Kief were crushed, and he wished to return to Novgorod, the citizens rejected him. "You have forgotten your oath to die with us, you have sought another principality; go where you will." Presently they thought better of it, and took him back. Four years afterwards he was again obliged to fly. In a great *vetché*, to which the citizens of Pskof and Ladoga were summoned, they solemnly condemned the exile, after reading the heads of very characteristic accusations: "He took no care of the poorer people; he desired to establish himself at Peréiaslavl: at the battle of Mount Idanof, against the men of Souzdal, he and his *droujina* were the first to leave the battle-field; he was fickle in the quarrels of the princes, sometimes uniting with the Prince of Tchernigof, sometimes with the opposite party."

The power of a prince of Novgorod rested not only on his *droujina*, which always followed his fortunes, and on his family relations with this or that powerful principality, but also on a party formed for him in the heart of the republic. It was when the opposing party grew too strong that he was dethroned, and popular vengeance exercised on his adherents. Novgorod being above all a great commercial city, her divisions were frequently caused by diverging economic interests. Among the citizens,

some were occupied in trade with the Volga and the East, others with the Dnieper and Greece. The former naturally sought the alliance of the princes of Souzdal, masters of the great Oriental artery; the latter that of the princes of Kief or Tchernigof, masters of the road to the south. Each of the two parties tried to establish a prince of the family whose protection they sought. If he fell, yet succeeded in escaping from the town, he tried to regain his throne by the arms of his family, or to instal himself and his *droujina* either at Pskof, like Vsevolod-Gabriel, who became prince of that town, or at Torjok, like Iaroslaf of Souzdal, and thence blockaded and starved the great city. The prince of Souzdal was soon the most formidable neighbor of Novgorod. We have seen that Andrew Bogolioubski sent an army against it, then that his nephew Iaroslaf besieged his ancient subjects till Mstislaf the Bold freed them by the battle of Lipetsk (1216). He was the son of Mstislaf the Brave, who had defended them against Vsevolod Big-Nest, and against Souzdal and the Tchouds. The remains of "the Brave" rest at Saint Sophia, in a bronze sarcophagus. His son, "the Bold," was of far too restless a nature to leave his bones also at Novgorod. He reduced the principality to order, and then assembled the citizens in the Court of Iaroslaf, and said to them, "I salute Saint Sophia, the tomb of my father, and you. Novgorodians, I am going to reconquer Galitch from the strangers, but I shall never forget you. I hope I may lie by the tomb of my father, in Saint Sophia." The Novgorodians in vain entreated him to stay (1218). We have seen him use his last armies in the troubles of the South-east, and die Prince of Galitch.

After his departure, the republic summoned his nephew, Sviatoslaf, to the throne; but he could not come to terms with magistrates and a populace equally turbulent. The *possadnik*, Tverdislaf, caused one of the boyards of Novgorod to be arrested. This was the signal for a general rising; some took the part of the boyard, others that of the *possadnik*. During eight days the bell of the kremlin sounded. Finally both factions buckled on their cuirasses and drew their swords. Tverdislaf raised his eyes to Saint Sophia, and cried, "I shall fall first in the battle, or God will justify me by giving the victory to my brothers." Ten men only perished in this skirmish, and then peace was re-established. The prince, who accused Tverdislaf of being the cause of the trouble, demanded that he should be deposed. The *vetché* inquired what crime he had committed. "None," replied the prince, "but it is my will." "I am satisfied," exclaimed the *possadnik*, "as they do not accuse me of any fault; as to you, my brothers, you can dispose alike of *possadniks* and

princes." The assembly then gave their decision. "Prince, as you do not accuse the possadnik of any fault, remember that you have sworn to depose no magistrate without trial. He will remain our possadnik—we will not deliver him to you." On this Sviatoslaf quitted Novgorod (1219). He was replaced by Vsevolod, one of his brothers, who was expelled two years later (1221).

The Souzdalian party having made some progress, they recalled the same Iaroslaf who was beaten at Lipetsk, but the princes of Souzdal were too absolute in their ideas to be able to agree with the Novgorodians. Iaroslaf was again put to flight, and replaced by Vsevolod of Smolensk, who was expelled in his turn. The Grand Prince of Souzdal now interposed, levied a contribution on Novgorod, and a prince of Tchernigof was imposed on them, who hastened in 1225 to return to the south of Russia. In seven years the Novgorodians had five times changed their rulers. Iaroslaf himself came back for a third and even a fourth time. A famine so much reduced the Novgorodians that 42,000 corpses were buried in two cemeteries alone. These proud citizens implored strangers to take them as slaves for the price of a morsel of bread. The same year a fire destroyed the whole of one quarter of Novgorod. These calamities subdued their turbulence. Iaroslaf succeeded in governing them despotically till he was called to fill the throne of the Grand Prince (1236). He left them, as their prince, his son Alexander Nevski.

NOVGORODIAN INSTITUTIONS—COMMERCE—THE NATIONAL CHURCH—LITERATURE.

From the fact that no dynasty of princes could establish itself at Novgorod, that no princely band could take a place among the native aristocracy, it follows that the republic kept her ancient liberties and customs intact under the short reigns of her rulers. In all Russian cities, it is true, the *country* existed side by side with the prince and *boyards*, the assembly of citizens side by side with the prince's men, and the native *militia* side by side with the foreign *droujina*; but at Novgorod, the *country*, the *vetché*, and the municipal *militia* had retained more vigor than elsewhere. The town was more powerful than the prince, who reigned by virtue of a constitution, traces of which may be observed, no doubt, in other regions of Russia, but which is found in its original form at Novgorod alone. Each new monarch was compelled to take an oath, by which he bound

himself to observe the laws and privileges of Iaroslaf the Great. This constitution, like the *pacta conventa* of Poland, signified distrust, and was intended to limit the power of the prince and his men. The revenues to which he had a right, and which formed his civil list, were carefully limited, as also were his judicial and political functions. He levied tribute on certain *volosts*, and was entitled to the *vira* (German *Wergeld*) as well as to certain fines. In some bailiwicks he had his own lieutenant, and Novgorod had hers. He could not execute justice without help of the *possadnik*, nor upset any judgment; nor, above all, take the suit beyond Novgorod. This was what the Novgorodians feared most, and with reason. The day when the people of Novgorod bethought themselves of appealing to the tribunal of the Grand Prince of Moscow, was fatal to the independence of the republic. In the conflicts between the men of the prince and those of the city, a mixed court delivered judgment. The prince, no more than his men, could acquire villages in the territory of Novgorod, nor create colonies. He was forbidden to hunt in the woods of Staraïa Roussa except in the autumn, and had to reap his harvests at a specified season. Though they thus mistrusted their prince, the Novgorodians had need of him to moderate the ancient Slav anarchy. As in the days of Rurik, "family armed itself against family, and there was no justice." In Novgorod the *vetché* had more extensive powers, and acted more regularly than in the other Russian cities. It was the *vetché* which nominated and expelled princes, imprisoned them in the archiepiscopal palace, and formally accused them; elected and deposed the archbishops, decided peace and war, judged the State criminals. According to the old Slav custom (preserved in Poland till the fall of the republic), the decisions were always made, not by a majority, but by unanimity of voices. It was a kind of *liberum veto*. The majority had the resource of drowning the minority in the Volkhof. The prince as well as the *possadnik*, the boyards as well as the people, had the right of convoking the *vetché*. It met sometimes in the Court of Iaroslaf, sometimes in Saint Sophia's. As Poland had her confederations, her "diets under the shield," Novgorod occasionally saw on the banks of the Volkhof two rival and hostile *vetchés*, which often came to blows on the bridge. Before being submitted to the general assembly, the questions were sometimes deliberated in a smaller council, composed of notable citizens, of acting or past magistrates.

The chief Novgorodian magistrates were: 1. The *possadnik* called by contemporary German writers the *burgomaster*, who was changed nearly as often as the prince. The *possadnik* was chosen from some of the influential families, one of which alone

gave a dozen possadniks to Novgorod. The first magistrate was charged to defend civic privileges, and shared with the prince the judicial power and the right of distributing the taxes. He governed the city, commanded her army, directed her diplomacy, sealed the acts with her seal. 2. The *tysatski* (from *tysatch*, thousand) bears in German documents the title of *dux* or *herzog*; he was therefore a military chief, a chiliarch who had the centurions of the town militia under his orders. He had a special tribunal, and seems to have been specially entrusted with the defence of the rights of the people, thus recalling the Roman tribunes. 3. Besides the *centurions* there was a *starost*, a sort of district mayor, for each quarter of the town.

The chief document of the Novgorodian law is the *Letter of Justice* (*Soudnaia Gramota*), of which the definite publication may be placed at 1471. It contains the same principles as the *Rousskaia Pravda* of Iaroslav the Great. As in all the early Germanic and Scandinavian laws, we find the right of private revenge, the fixed price of blood, the "boot" or fine for injury inflicted, the oath admitted as evidence, the judgment of God, the judicial duel, which was still resorted to by Novgorod even after her decadence, in the 16th century. We also find records of corporal punishments. The thief was to be branded; on the second relapse into crime, he was to be hung. Territorial property acquires a greater importance, and, a sure evidence of Muscovite influence, a second court of appeal is admitted—the appeal to the tribunal of the Grand Prince.

From a social point of view, the constitution of Novgorod presents other analogies with the constitution of Poland. Great inequality then existed between the different classes of society. An aristocracy of boyards had ultimately formed itself, whose intestine quarrels agitated the town. Below the boyards came the *dicti boyarskié*, a kind of inferior nobility; then the different classes of citizens, the merchantmen, the *black people*, and the *smerdes* or peasants. The merchants formed an association of their own, a sort of *guild*, round the Church of Saint John. Military societies also existed, bands of independent adventurers or *droujinas* of some boyard who, impelled by hunger or a restless spirit, sought adventures afar on the great rivers of Northern Russia, pillaging alike friends and enemies, or establishing military colonies in the midst of Tchoud or Finnish tribes.

The soil of Novgorod was sandy, marshy, and unproductive: hence the famines and pestilences that so often depopulated the country. Novgorod was forced to extend itself in order to live; she became therefore a commercial and colonizing city. In the

10th century, Constantine relates how the Slavs left *Nemogard* (Novgorod), descended the Dnieper by *Milinisca* (Smolensk), *Telioutza* (Loubetch), Tchernigof, Vychegord, Kief and Viti-tchevo; crossed the cataracts of the Dnieper, passed the naval stations of Saint Gregory and Saint Etherius, at the mouth of the river, and spread themselves over all the shores of the Greek empire. The Oriental coins and jewels found in the *kourgans* of the Ilmen show that the Novgorodians had an early and extensive commerce with the East. We see them exchange iron and weapons for the precious metals found by the Iougrians in the mines of the Ourals. They traded with the Baltic Slavs; and when the latter lost their independence, and a flourishing centre, Wisby, was formed in the Isle of Gothland, Novgorod turned to this side also. In the 12th century there was a Gothic trading *dépôt* and a Varangian Church at Novgorod, and a Novgorodian Church in Gothland. When the Germans began to dispute the commerce of the Baltic with the Scandinavians, Novgorod became the seat of a German *dépôt*, which ended by absorbing the Gothic one. When the Hanseatic League became the mistress of the North, we find the Germans established not only at Novgorod, but at Pskof and Ládoga, at all the mouths of the network of Novgorodian lakes. There they obtained considerable privileges, even the right to acquire pasture-land. They were masters, and at home in their fortified *dépôts*, in their stockade of thick planks, where no Russian had the right to penetrate without their leave. This German trading company was governed by the most narrow and exclusive ideas. No Russian was allowed to belong to the company, nor to carry the wares of a German, an Englishman, a Walloon or a Fleming. The company only authorized a wholesale commerce, and, to maintain her goods at a high price, she forbade imports beyond a certain amount. "In a word," says a German writer, "during three centuries the Hanseatic League concentrated in her own hands all the external commerce of Northern Russia. If we inquire what profit or loss she has brought this country, we must recognize that, thanks to her, Novgorod and Pskof were deprived of a free commerce with the West. Russia, in order to satisfy the first wants of civilization, fell into a complete independence. She was abandoned to the good pleasure and pitiless egotism of the German merchants." (Riesenkampf, 'Der-deutsche Hof.')

The ecclesiastical constitution of Russia presents a special character. In the rest of Russia the clergy was Russian-orthodox. At Novgorod it was Novgorodian before everything. It was only in the 12th century that the Slavs of Ilmen, who had

been the last to be converted, could have an archbishop that was neither Greek nor Kievian, but of their own race. From that time the archbishop was elected by the citizens, by the *vetché*. Without waiting for the metropolitan to be invested at Kief, he was at once installed in his episcopal palace. He was one of the great personages, the first dignitary of the republic. In public acts his name was placed before the others. "With the blessing of Archbishop Moses," says one letter-patent; "possadnik Daniel and tysatski Abraham salute you." He had a superiority over the prince on the ground of being a native of the country, whilst the descendant of Rurik was a foreigner. In return, the revenues of the archbishop, the treasures of Saint Sophia, were at the service of the republic. In the 14th century we find an archbishop building at his own expense a kremlin of stone. In the 15th century, the riches of the cathedral were employed to ransom the Russian prisoners captured by the Lithuanians. The Church of Novgorod was essentially a national Church; the ecclesiastics took part in the temporal affairs, the laics in the spiritual. In the 14th century the *vetché* put to death the heretical *strigolniks*, proscribed ancient superstitions, and burnt the sorcerers. As Novgorod nominated her archbishop, she could also depose him. The orthodox religion extended with the Novgorod colonization among the Finnish tribes. In face of the Finns, the interests of the Church and the Republic were identical. It was religion that contributed to the splendor of the city, and that specially profited by her wealth. Novgorod was full of churches and monasteries, founded by the piety of private individuals. Novgorod, which had shaken off the political supremacy of Kief, wished also to free herself from its religious domination, and no longer to be obliged to seek on the Dnieper the investiture of her archbishop, but to make him an independent metropolitan. She failed. When Moscow became of importance, she threatened not only the political, but the religious supremacy of Novgorod. Religion was, in the hands of the Muscovite princes, an instrument of government. The Novgorodian prelate always made common cause with his fellow-citizens, and endured with them their master's bursts of anger.

The literature of Novgorod was as national as the Church herself. The pious chronicles of the Novgorodian convents shared all the quarrels and all the passions of their fellow-citizens. "Even their style," said M. Bestoujef, "reflects vividly the active, business-like character of the Novgorodians. It is short, and sparing of words; but their narratives embrace more completely than those of other Russian countries all the phases of

actual life. They are the historians not merely of the princes and boyards, but of the whole city. The lives of the saints are the lives of Novgorodian saints; the miracles they relate are to the glory of the city. They tell you, for example, that Christ appeared to the artist charged with the paintings under the dome of Saint Sophia, and said to him: 'Do not represent me with my hand extended for blessing, but with my hand closed because in it I hold Novgorod; and when it is opened it will be the end of the city.' " The tale of the panic excited among the soldiers of Andrew Bogolioubski by the image of the Virgin wounded by a Souzdalian arrow, was spread abroad. Novgorod has her own cycle of epic songs, of *bylinas*. Her heroes are not those of the Kievan epopee. There is Vassili Bouslaévitch, the bold boyard, who with his faithful droujina stood up to his knees in blood on the bridge of the Volkhof, holding in check all the mougiks of Novgorod, whom he had defied to combat. Vassili Bouslaévitch is the true type of these proud adventurers, who knew neither friend nor enemy—a true Novgorodian oligarch, a hero of civil war. Still more popular was Sadko, the rich merchant, a kind of Novgorodian Sindbad or Ulysses, a worthy representative of a people of merchants and adventurers, who sought his fortunes on the waves. A tempest rose, and men drew lots to decide who should be sacrificed to the wrath of the gods. Sadko threw a little wooden ring into the water, the others flung in iron rings: O prodigy! the others swam, his sank. He obeyed his destiny, and threw himself into the waves, but he was received in the palace of the king of the sea, who tested him in various ways, and wished him to marry his daughter. Then suddenly Sadko found himself on the shore with great treasures, but what were these compared to the treasures of the city? "They see that I am a rich merchant of Novgorod, but Novgorod is still more rich than I."*

PSKOF AND VIATKA.

Of all the towns subject to Novgorod, Pskof was the most important. On the point formed by the junction of the Pskova and the Velikaïa rises her kremlin, with its crumbling ramparts, its ruined gates and towers. These once famous walls are to-day a mass of ruins, and the street-boys amuse themselves by throwing stones in the Pskova to frighten the laundresses. Pskof is only a poor little place with 10,000 souls. There only

* A. Rambaud, 'La Russie épique,' p. 130.

remains of her past splendor the cathedral of the Trinity at one end of the kremlin. There rest in metal coffins the bones of the best-loved princes, Vsevolod-Gabriel and Dovmont, a converted Lithuanian who came in the 13th century to defend the republic against his own compatriots. This old town has preserved many churches and monasteries. The distant view of Pskof is beautiful, and on fête-days the dead city seems to awake at the chimes of her innumerable bells, which sound as loudly as in the days of her glorious past.

Nestor makes Pskof the native land of Saint Olga. The sum of his history is nothing more than these two facts: first, the struggle against the Tchouds, and, later, against the Germans of Livonia; second, the efforts of Novgorod to secure her freedom. The independence of the city was ultimately secured by her wealth and her commerce. The first prince who ruled her as a separate state, Vsevolod-Gabriel, was expelled by his subjects, and therefore was welcomed with the greater eagerness by the Pskovians. When the Souzdalian party ruled at Novgorod, it was generally the contrary party that triumphed in Pskof. About 1214 the little republic contracted an offensive and defensive alliance with the Germans; she undertook to help them against the Lithuanians, and they were to support her against Novgorod. This was playing rather a dangerous game. In 1240, one Tverdillo delivered up Pskof to the Livonian knights; she did not free herself till 1242. From this moment Pskof ceased to mix in the civil wars of Novgorod. She had enough to do with her own affairs and her struggle against the Germans, Swedes, and Lithuanians. She also called herself "My Lord Pskof the Great;" but it was only in 1348 that the Novgorodians, needing her help against Magnus, king of Sweden, formally recognized her independence, by the treaty of Bolstof, and concluded with her a bond of fraternal friendship. Novgorod became the elder sister, and Pskof the younger. The organization of Pskof is almost that of her ancient metropolis. We again find the prince, the *vetché*, the division into quarters, up to the number of six, each one having its *starost*.

In the 12th century a new Novgorodian colony was formed between the Kama and the Viatka, which remained a republic till the end of the 15th century. "This distant country," says M. Bestoujef-Rioumine, "is still quite Novgorodian. When the traveller has passed the Viatka, he meets with a peculiar mode of constructing the huts. There are no longer whole lines of *isbas* joined one to the other, as on this side of the river, but there is a high house, where the court, rooms, and offices are surrounded by a rampart of pales, and united under the same

roof; in a word, it was a Novgorodian house. You hear the Novgorodian patois, you see the Novgorodian cap. It is the Novgorod colonization still living." In 1174 some adventurers from the Great Republic came from the Kama to the Viatka, and advanced from east to west, and founded a colony on this river, which is to-day the village of Nikoulitsyne. Another band defeated the Tcheremisses, and on their territory raised Kochkarof, at present called Kotelnitch. Then the two bands reunited, and penetrated into the Votjak country. On the right bank of the Viatka, on the summit of a high mountain, they perceived a city surrounded by a rampart and a ditch, which contained one of the sanctuaries of the people. As pious as the companions of Cortez and Pizarro, the Russian adventurers prepared themselves for the assault by a fast of several days, then invoked Saints Boris and Gleb, and captured the town. Next, at the mouth of the Khlynovitsa, in the Viatka, not very far off, they built the city of Khlynof, which became, under the name of Viatka, the capital of all their colonies. She had no walls, but the houses, built close together, formed an unbroken rampart against the enemy, a wall and defence. At the news of this success, other colonists flocked from Novgorod and the forests of the north, and founded other centres of population. These bold pioneers had more than once to re-unite, sometimes against the aboriginal Finns or the Tatar invaders, sometimes against the pretensions of Novgorod, or the Grand Prince of Moscow. We find among them, as in the metropolis, boyards, merchants, and citizens. They had voïevodes or *atamans* for their military chiefs. Their spirit of religious independence equalled their political independence. Jonas, metropolitan of Moscow, writes angrily about the indocility of their clergy, and avenges himself by blaming their morals. "Your spiritual sons," he wrote to the priests of Viatka, "live contrary to the law. They have five, six, or even seven wives. And you dare to bless these marriages!"

CHAPTER IX.

THE LIVONIAN KNIGHTS: CONQUEST OF THE BALTIC PROVINCES
BY THE GERMANS.

Conversion of Livonia—Rise of the Livonian knights: union with the Teutonic knights.

THREE new races of men, three invasions (from the 12th to the 13th century), were to modify the historical development of the different parts of Slavonia; the Russia of the north-west was to make acquaintance with the Germans, Russia of the east and south with the Tatar-Mongols, Russia of the west with the Lithuanians.

Part of the Tchoud or Lett tribes of the Baltic were considered by the Russian princes and republics of the north-west as their subjects or tributaries. If the Danish Cnut the Great had conquered Esthonia, Iaroslaf the Great had founded Iourief (Dorpat) on the Embach which falls into the Peïpus, and then separated the Danish and Russian dominions. It separates to-day the country of the Finns into two peoples speaking different dialects, the dialect of Revel and that of Dorpat. A Mstislaf, son of Vladimir Monomachus, had conquered the city of Oden-paeh (Finnish *bear's head*) from the Tchouds. In the Lett country the princes of Polotsk had captured the native fortresses of Gersike and Kokenhausen on the Dwina, and extended their influence along this river to Thoreïda and Ascheraden.

With the German merchants Latin missionaries soon began to make their appearance on the Baltic. The monk Meinhard, sent by the Archbishop of Bremen, converted the Livonians, and was created bishop of Livonia. That which the Germans really brought, under the cloak of Christianity, to the Lett and descendants of the Tchoud hero Kalevy, and to many other Slav, Lithuanian, or Finnish tribes, now extinct, was the ruin of their national independence and servitude. The German merchant and the German missionary appeared almost at the same time on the Dwina. The apostle Meinhard built a church

at Uexküll, and a fortress round the church (1187). From this fatal day these brave tribes lost their lands and their liberty. The Livonians soon saw to what this mission tended. They rose against the missionaries, and in 1198 the second bishop of Livonia perished in battle. The natives returned to their gods, and plunged in the Dwina to wash off the baptism they had received, and to send it back to Germany. Then Innocent III. preached a crusade against them, and Albert of Buxhœwden (1198-1229), their third bishop and the true founder of the German rule in Livonia, entered the Dwina with a fleet of twenty-three ships, and built the town of Riga, which he made his capital (1200). The following year he installed the Order of the Brothers of the Army of Christ, or the Sword-bearers, to whom the Pope gave the statutes of the Templars. They wore a white mantle, with a red cross on the shoulders. The greater number were natives of Westphalia and Saxony. Vinno de Rohrbach was their first grand master. The Livonians, after having implored the help of the princes of Polotsk, marched on Riga, and suffered an entire defeat (1206). The prince of Polotsk in his turn besieged the city during the absence of the bishop, but it was saved by the arrival of a German flotilla.

Three causes were particularly favorable to the success of the knights of the sword, namely: the weakness of the princes of Polotsk, the intestine quarrels of Novgorod, which prevented her from watching over Russian interests, and the divisions among the natives who had not yet been able to raise their minds from the conception of the tribe to that of the nation. The knights were likewise far superior in their arms and tactics. The German fortresses were solidly built in cemented stone, while those of the natives were ramparts of earth, wood, or loose stones. In vain they tried to drag down with ropes the palisades of the German ramparts. The Sword-bearers afterwards undertook a series of campaigns against the Livonians and the Semigalli of the Dwina, and against the Tchouds of the north and the Letts of the south-east. If a tribe declined baptism and obedience, it was delivered a prey to fire and sword; when it submitted, hostages were taken, and castles built on its territory, these being often merely German reconstructions of the ancient native fortresses.

It was in this manner that Riga, Kirchholm, Uexküll, Lennwarden, Ascheraden, and Kreuzburg were built on the Dwina; Neuhausen, near the Peïpus, Wolmar, Wenden, Segebold, and Kremon on the Aa; Fellin and Weissenstein among the Northern Tchouds. The strangers managed to take Kokenhausen and Gersike from the princes of Polotsk, Odenpaeh and

Dorpat from the Novgorodians ; Pskof was threatened. In the north Kolyvan was bought from the king of Denmark, after the fiercest disputes. Under its rock lies Kolyvan, a Titan hero of Finnish mythology. The town is now called Revel.

The conquered country was divided into fiefs, some of which belonged to the Order by whom they were distributed among the knights, the rest were at the disposal of the archbishop, who enfeoffed his own men. The new towns received the constitution of the merchant cities of Lubeck, Bremen, or Hamburg. Riga was the most powerful of them. The archbishop of Riga, the chapter, the town and the grand master of the Order, often quarrelled over their respective rights. Their divisions were one day to bring about the decline of the institution.

About 1225 another military fraternity was established among the Prussian Lithuanians, the *Teutonic Order*, which, on the remains of the subject pagan tribes, raised Thorn, Marienberg, Elbing and Königsberg. The Teutons of Prussia and the knights of Livonia were certain to be friendly ; the black cross fraternized with the red, and, in 1237, the two orders united into one association. The Teutonic *landmeister*, Hermann de Balk, became *landmeister* of Livonia. The grand master of the Teutonic Order took precedence of all the landmeisters. Strengthened by this alliance, the "brothers of the army of Christ" were able to impose the most cruel servitude on the aboriginal Letts, Livonians, and Finns. These brave barbarians soon became peasants attached to the glebe. The German nobility restored them their liberty at the beginning of this century, but it did not restore them their lands.

The conquering and conquered races are always separate. To the Tchoud, the word *Saxa* (Saxon, German) always signifies the *master*. A song of the Tchoud country of Pskof, called *The days of Slavery*, deploras the time when "the banners of the strangers waved, when the intruders made us slaves, enchained us as the serfs of tyrants, forced us to be their servants. Brother, what can I sing? Sadly sounds the song of tears. The lot of the slave is too hard." Another song of Wiesland (Esthonia) is entitled *The Days of the Past*. "The past, that was the time of massacre, a long time of suffering . . . Destroying fiends were unchained against us. The priests strangled us with their rosaries, the greedy knights plundered us, troops of brigands ravaged us, armed murderers cut us in pieces. The *father of the cross* stole our riches, stole the treasure from the hiding-place, attacked the tree, the sacred tree, polluted the waters and the fountain of salvation. The axe smote on the

oak of Tara, the woful hatchet on the tree of Kero." (Richter, 'Geschichte der deutschen Ostseeprovinzen.')

In the *Kalevy-poeg*, or "the son of Kalev," the national poem of the Tchoud-Esthonians, the hero, who is the personification of the race, displays in his various adventures a wonderful Titanic force. He swam the Gulf of Finland, he rooted up oak-trees to make his clubs; with his horse and his colossal harrow he ploughed up the land of Esthonia; he exterminated the bears and the beasts of prey; he conquered the magician of Finland, and the genii of the caves; he descended into hell and fought with Sarvig the horned; he sailed away to explore the utmost limits of the world, and when the hot breath of the spirits of the north burnt up his wooden vessel, he disembarked in a vessel of silver with fittings of metal. He braved whirlwinds at sea; discovered the isle of flame (which is perhaps Iceland, where the three volcanoes vomit forth fire), of smoke, and boiling water; he encountered a gigantic woman who plucked up several sailors with the grass for the kine, as if the men had been insects; he rallied the courage of his pilot, horror-stricken by the flames with which the spirits of the north filled heaven, and said to him, "Let them send their darts of fire, they will only lighten us on our way, since the daylight would not accompany us, and the sun has long since gone to rest." He fought with men whose bodies were like dogs (possibly the Esquimaux of Greenland), and only retraced his steps because a magician assured him "that the wall of the world's end was still far off." It is at the close of the poem, when he is told that the men of iron (*raudamched* in Tchoud) have landed, that his unconquerable heart is troubled. The iron cannot penetrate their armor, nor the axe break it. In vain he seeks counsel at the tomb of his father; the tomb is silent, "the leaves murmur plaintively, the winds sigh drearily, the dew itself is troubled, the eye of the clouds is wet;" all Esthonian nature shares in the sinister forebodings of the national hero. He raised, however, the battle-cry, and his warriors assembled on the Embach. Bloody is the battle! The Esthonians gain the victory, but what a victory! The bravest of them are dead, the two brothers of Kalevy-poeg perish, his charger is struck down by the axe of a stranger. The end of Esthonia, the age of slavery has arrived; it is time that Kalevy-poeg, the representative of the heroic age, should disappear; he who had vanquished the demon Sarvig, the sorcerers of Finland, and the spirits of the pole, could not subdue these men whom an unknown, irresistible force sustained, superior to that of the gods. Behold him, the captive of Mana, god of death, his wrist held fast in a rock, which is the gate of hell.

Long his sons trusted that Mana would give him back his liberty, and that once again the iron men would feel the weight of his arm ; but, like King Arthur, he has never appeared, bringing to his people the liberty that the Germans have taken from them.

CHAPTER X.

THE TATAR MONGOLS. ENSLAVEMENT OF RUSSIA.

Origin and manners of the Mongols—Battles of the Kalka, of Riazan, of Kolomna, and of the Sit—Conquest of Russia—Alexander Nevski—The Mongol yoke—Influence of the Tatars on the Russian development.

ORIGIN AND MANNERS OF THE MONGOLS.

UP to this time the destinies of Russia had presented some analogy with those of the West. Slavonia, like Gaul, had received Roman civilization and Christianity from the South. The Northmen had brought her an organization which recalls that of the Germans; and under Iaroslaf, like the West under Charles the Great, she had enjoyed a certain semblance of unity, while she was afterwards dismembered and divided like France in feudal times. But in the 13th century, Russia suffered an unheard-of misfortune—she was invaded and subjugated by Asiatic hordes. This fatal event contributed quite as much as the disadvantage of the soil and the climate to retard her development by many centuries. “Nature,” as M. Solovief says, “has been a step-mother to Russia;” fate was another step-mother.

“In those times,” say the Russian chroniclers, “there came upon us for our sins, unknown nations. No one could tell their origin, whence they came, what religion they professed. God alone know who they were, God and perhaps wise men learned in books.” When we think of the horror of the whole of Europe at the arrival of the Mongols, and the anguish of a Frederick, of a Saint Louis, an Innocent IV., we may imagine the terror of the Russians. They bore the first shock of those mysterious foemen, who were, so the people whispered, Gog and Magog, who “were to come at the end of the world, when Antichrist is to destroy everything.” (Joinville.)

The *Ta-ta* or *Tatars* seem to have been a tribe of the great Mongol race, living at the foot of the Altai, who in spite of their long-continued discords frequently found means to lay waste China by their invasions. The portrait drawn of them recalls in

many ways those already traced by Chinese, Latin, and Greek authors, of the Huns, the Avars, and other nomad peoples of former invasions. "The *Ta-tzis* or the *Das*," says a Chinese writer of the 13th century, "occupy themselves exclusively with their flocks; they go wandering ceaselessly from pasture to pasture, from river to river. They are ignorant of the nature of a town or a wall. They are unacquainted with writing and books; their treaties are concluded orally. From infancy they are accustomed to ride, to aim their arrows at rats and birds, and thus acquire the courage essential to their life of wars and rapine. They have neither religious ceremonies nor judicial institutions. From the prince to the lowest among the people all are nourished by the flesh of the animals whose skin they use for clothing. The strongest among them have the largest and fattest morsels at feasts; the old men are put off with the fragments that are left. They respect nothing but strength and bravery; age and weakness are condemned. When the father dies, the son marries his youngest wives." A Mussulman writer adds, that they adore the sun, and practice polygamy and the community of wives. This pastoral people did not take an interest in any phenomenon of nature except the growth of grass. The names they gave to their months were suggested by the different aspects of the prairie. Born horsemen, they had no infantry in war. They were ignorant of the art of sieges. "But," says a Chinese author, "when they wish to take a town, they fall on the suburban villages. Each leader seizes ten men, and every prisoner is forced to carry a certain quantity of wood, stones, and other materials. They use these for filling up fosses, or digging trenches. In the capture of a town, the loss of 10,000 men was thought nothing. No place could resist them. After a siege, all the population was massacred, without distinction of old or young, rich or poor, beautiful or ugly, those who resisted or those who yielded; no distinguished person escaped death, if a defence was attempted."

It was these rough tribes that Temoutchine or Genghis-Khan (1154-1227) succeeded in uniting into one nation after forty years of obscure struggles. Then in a general congress of their princes he proclaimed himself emperor, and declared that, as there was only one sun in heaven, there ought only to be one emperor on the earth. At the head of their forces he conquered Mantchouria, the kingdom of Tangout, Northern China, Turkestan, and Great Bokhara, which never recovered this disaster, and the plains of Western Asia as far as the Crimea. When he died, he left to be divided between his four sons the largest empire that ever existed.

It was during his conquest of Bokhara that his lieutenants Tchepe and Souboudaï-bagadour subdued in their passage a multitude of Turkish peoples, passed the Caspian by its southern shore, invaded Georgia and the Caucasus, and in the southern steppes of Russia came in contact with the Polovtsi.

BATTLES OF THE KALKA, OF RIAZAN, OF KOLOMNA, AND OF THE SIT—CONQUEST OF RUSSIA.

The hereditary enemies of the Russians proper, the Polovsti, asked the Christian princes for help against these Mongols and Turks, who were their brothers by a common origin. "They have taken our country," said they to the descendants of Saint Vladimir; "to-morrow they will take yours." Mstislaf the Bold, then prince of Galitch, persuaded all the dynasties of Southern Russia to take up arms against the Tatars: his nephew Danial, prince of Volhynia, Mstislaf Romanovitch, Grand Prince of Kief, Oleg of Kursk, Mstislaf of Tchernigof, Vladimir of Smolensk, Vsevolod for a short time prince of Novgorod, responded to his appeal. To cement his alliance with the Russians, Basti, khan of the Polovsti, embraced orthodoxy. The Russian army had already arrived on the Lower Dnieper, when the Tatar ambassadors made their appearance. "We have come by God's command against our slaves and grooms, the accursed Polovtsi. Be at peace with us; we have no quarrel with you." The Russians, with the promptitude and thoughtlessness that characterized the men of that time, put the ambassadors to death. They then went further into the steppe, and encountered the Asiatic hordes on the Kalka, a small river running into the Sea of Azof. The Russian chivalry on this memorable day showed the same disordered, and the same ill-advised eagerness as the French chivalry at the opening of the English wars. Mstislaf the Bold, Daniel of Galitch, and Oleg of Kursk were the first to rush into the midst of the infidels, without waiting for the princes of Kief, and even without giving them warning, in order to gain for themselves the honors of victory. In the middle of the combat, the Polovsti were seized with a panic and fell back on the Russian ranks, thus throwing them into disorder. The rout became general, and the leaders spurred on their steeds in hopes of reaching the Dnieper.

Six princes and seventy of the chief boyards or voïevodes remained on the field of battle. It was the Créçy and Poitiers of the Russian chivalry. Hardly a tenth of the army escaped; the Kievians alone left 10,000 dead. The Grand Prince of Kief,

however, Mstislaf Romanovitch, still occupied a fortified camp on the banks of the Kalka. Abandoned by the rest of the army, he tried to defend himself. The Tatars offered to make terms; he might retire on payment of a ransom for himself and his *droujina*. He capitulated, and the conditions were broken. His guard was massacred, and he and his two sons-in-law were stifled under planks. The Tatars held their festival over the inanimate bodies (1224).

After this thunderbolt, which struck terror into the whole of Russia, the Tatars paused and returned to the East. Nothing more was heard of them. Thirteen years passed, during which the princes reverted to their perpetual discords. Those in the north-east had given no help to the Russians of the Dnieper; perhaps the Grand Prince, George II. of Souzdal, may have rejoiced over the humiliation of the Kievians and Gallicians. The Mongols were forgotten; the chronicles, however, are filled with fatal presages: in the midst of scarcity, famine and pestilence, of incendiaries in the towns and calamities of all sorts, they remark on the comet of 1224, the earthquake and eclipse of the sun of 1230.

The Tatars were busy finishing the conquest of China, but presently one of the sons of Genghis, Ougoudei or *Oktai*, sent his nephew *Bati* to the West. As the reflux of the *Polovtsi* had announced the invasion of 1224, that of the *Saxin* nomads, related to the *Khirghiz* who took refuge on the lands of the Bulgarians of the Volga, warned men of a new irruption of the Tatars, and indicated its direction. It was no longer South Russia, but Souzdalian Russia that was threatened. In 1237 *Bati* conquered the Great City, capital of the half-civilized Bulgars, who were, like the *Polovtsi*, ancient enemies of Russia, and who were to be included in her ruin. *Bolgary was given up to the flames*, and her inhabitants were put to the sword. The Tatars next plunged into the deep forests of the Volga, and sent a sorcerer and two officers as envoys to the princes of *Riazan*. The three princes of *Riazan*, those of *Pronsk*, *Kolomna*, *Moscow* and *Mourom*, advanced to meet them. "If you want peace," said the Tatars, "give us the tenth of your goods." "When we are dead," replied the Russian princes, "you can have the whole." Though abandoned by the princes of *Tchernigof* and the Grand Prince *George II.*, of whom they had implored help, the dynasty of *Riazan* accepted the unequal struggle. They were completely crushed; nearly all their princes remained on the field of battle. Legend has embellished their fall. It is told how *Feodor* preferred to die rather than see his young wife, *Euphrasia*, the spoil of *Bati*; and how, on learning his fate, she threw herself and her

son from the window of the *terem*. Oleg the Handsome, found still alive on the battle-field, repelled the caresses, the attention, and religion of the Khan, and was cut in pieces. Riazan was immediately taken by assault, sacked, and burned. All the towns of the principality suffered the same fate.

It was now the turn of the Grand Prince, for the Russia of the North-east had not even the honor of falling in a great battle like the Russia of the South-west, united for once against the common enemy. The Souzdalian army, commanded by a son of George II., was beaten on the day of Kolomna, on the Óka. The Tatars burned Moscow, then beseiged Vladimir on the Kliazma, which George II. had abandoned to seek for help in the North. His two sons were charged with the defence of the capital. Princes and boyards, feeling there was no alternative but death or servitude, prepared to die. The princesses and all the nobles prayed Bishop Metrophanes to give them the tonsure; and when the Tatars rushed into the town by all its gates, the vanquished retired into the cathedral, where they perished, men and women, in a general conflagration. Souzdal, Rostof, Iaroslavl, fourteen towns, a multitude of villages in the Grand Principality, were all given over to the flames (1238). The Tatars then went to seek the Grand Prince, who was encamped on the Sit, almost on the frontier of the possessions of Novgorod. George II. could neither avenge his people nor his family. After the battle, the bishop of Rostof found his headless corpse (1238). His nephew, Vassilko, who was taken prisoner, was stabbed for refusing to serve Bati. The immense Tatar army, after having sacked Tver, took Torjok; there "the Russian heads fell beneath the sword of the Tatars as grass beneath the scythe." The territory of Novgorod was invaded; the great republic trembled, but, the deep forests and the swollen rivers delayed Bati. The invading flood reached the Cross of Ignatius, about fifty miles from Novgorod, then returned to the South-east. On the way the small town of Kozelsk (near Kalouga) checked the Tatars for so long, and inflicted on them so much loss, that it was called by them the *wicked town*. Its population was exterminated, and the prince Vassili, still a child, was "drowned in blood."

The two following years (1239-1240) were spent by the Tatars in ravaging Southern Russia. They burnt Pereiaslaf, and Tchernigof, defended with desperation by its princes. Next Mangou, grandson of Genghis Khan, marched against the famous town of Kief, whose name resounded through the East, and in the books of the Arab writers. From the left bank of the Dnieper, the barbarian admired the great city on the heights of the right bank, towering over the wide river with her white walls and

towers adorned by Byzantine artists, and innumerable churches with cupolas of gold and silver. Mangou proposed a capitulation to the Kievians; the fate of Riazan, of Tchernigof, of Vladimir, the capitals of powerful states, announced to them the lot that awaited them in case of refusal, yet the Kievians dared to massacre the envoys of the Khan. Michael, their Grand Prince, fled; his rival, Daniel of Galitch, did not care to remain. On hearing the report of Mangou, Bati came to assault Kief with the bulk of his army. The grinding of the wooden chariots, the bellowings of the buffaloes, the cries of the camels, the neighing of the horses, the howlings of the Tatars, rendered it impossible, says the annalist, to hear your own voice in the town. The Tatars assailed the Polish Gate, and knocked down the walls with a battering-ram. "The Kievians, supported by the brave Dmitri, a Gallician boyard, defended the fallen ramparts till the end of the day, then retreated to the Church of the Dîme, which they surrounded by a palisade. The last defenders of Kief found themselves grouped around the tomb of Iaroslaf. Next day they perished. The Khan gave the boyard his life, but, the 'Mother of Russian cities' was sacked. This third pillage was the most terrible, Even the tombs were not respected. All that remains of the Church of the Dîme is only a few fragments of mosaic in the Museum at Kief. Saint Sophia, and the Monastery of the Catacombs, were delivered up to be plundered" (1240).

Volhynia and Gallicia still remained, but their princes could not defend them, and Russia found herself, with the exception of Novgorod and the north-west country, under the Tatar yoke. The princes had fled or were dead; hundreds of thousands of Russians were dragged into captivity. Men saw the wives of boyards, "who had never known work, who a short time ago had been clothed in rich garments, adorned with jewels and collars of gold, surrounded with slaves, now reduced to be themselves the slaves of barbarians and their wives, turning the wheel of the mill, and preparing their coarse food."

If we look for the causes which rendered the defeat of the brave Russian nation so complete, we may, with Karamsin, indicate the following:—1. Though the Tatars were not more advanced, from a military point of view, than the Russians, who had made war in Greece and in the West against the most warlike and civilized people of Europe, yet they had an enormous superiority of numbers. Bati probably had with him 500,000 warriors. 2. This immense army moved like one man; it could successively annihilate the *droujinas* of the princes, or the militia of the towns, which only presented themselves successively to its blows. The Tatars had found Russia divided against herself.

3. Even though Russia had wished to form a confederation, the sudden irruptions of an army entirely composed of horsemen did not leave her time. 4. In the tribes ruled by Bati, every man was a soldier; in Russia the nobles and citizens alone bore arms: the peasants, who formed the bulk of the population, allowed themselves to be stabbed or bound without resistance. 5. It was not by a weak nation that Russia was conquered. The Tatar-Mongols, under Genghis' Khan, had filled the East with the glory of their name, and subdued nearly all Asia. They arrived, proud of their exploits, animated by the recollection of a hundred victories, and reinforced by numerous peoples whom they had vanquished, and hurried with them to the West.

When the princes of Galitch, of Volhynia, and of Kief arrived as fugitives in Poland and Hungary, Europe was terror-stricken. The Pope, whose support had been claimed by the Prince of Galitch, summoned Christendom to arms. Louis IX. prepared for a crusade. Frederic II., as Emperor, wrote to the sovereigns of the West: "This is the moment to open the eyes of body and soul, now that the brave princes on whom we reckoned are dead or in slavery." The Tatars invaded Hungary, gave battle to the Poles in Liegnitz in Silesia, had their progress a long while arrested by the courageous defence of Olmütz in Moravia, by the Tcheque voïevode Iaroslaf, and stopped finally, learning that a large army, commanded by the King of Bohemia and the dukes of Austria and Carinthia, was approaching. The news of the death of Oktai, second Emperor of all the Tatars, in China, recalled Bati from the West, and during the long march from Germany his army necessarily diminished in number. The Tatars were no longer in the vast plains of Asia and Eastern Europe, but in a broken hilly country, bristling with fortresses, defended by a population more dense and a chivalry more numerous than those in Russia. To sum up, all the fury of the Mongol tempest spent itself on the Slavonic race. It was the Russians who fought at the Kalka, at Kolomna, at the Sit; the Poles and Silesians at Liegnitz; the Bohemians and Moravians at Olmütz. The Germans suffered nothing from the invasion of the Mongols but the fear of it. It exhausted itself principally on those plains of Russia which seem a continuation of the steppes of Asia. Only in Russian history did the invasion produce great results. About the same time Bati built on one of the arms of the Lower Volga a city called Saraï (the Castle), which became the capital of a powerful Tatar Empire, the *Golden Horde*, extending from the Oural and Caspian to the mouth of the Danube. The Golden Horde was formed not only of Tatar-Mongols or Nogais, who even now survive in the

Northern Crimea, but particularly of the remains of ancient nomads, such as the Patzinaks and Polovtsi, whose descendants seem to be the present Kalmucks and Bachkirs; of Turkish tribes tending to become sedentary, like the Tatars of Astrakhan in the present day; and of the Finnish populations already established in the country, and which mixed with the invaders. Oktaï, Kouïouk, and Mangou, the first three successors of Genghis Khan, elected by all the Mongol princes, took the title of Great Khans, and the Golden Horde recognized their authority; but under his fourth successor, Khouboulai, who usurped the throne and established himself in China, this bond of vassalage was broken. The Golden Horde became an independent State (1260). United and powerful under the terrible Bati, who died in 1255, it fell to pieces under his successors; but in the 14th century the Khan Uzbek reunited it anew, and gave the horde a second period of prosperity. The Tatars, who were pagans when they entered Russia, embraced about 1272 the faith of Islam, and became its most formidable apostles.

ALEXANDER NEVSKI (1252-1263).

Iaroslaf, after his defeat at Lipetsk, entered Souzdal on the tragic death of his brother, the Grand Prince George II. Iaroslaf (1238-1246) found his inheritance in the most deplorable condition. The towns and villages were burnt, the country and roads covered with unburied corpses; the survivors hid themselves in the woods. He recalled the fugitives and began to rebuild. Bati, who had completed the devastation of South Russia, summoned Iaroslaf to do him homage at Saraï, on the Volga. Iaroslaf was received there with distinction. Bati confirmed his title of Grand Prince, but invited him to go in person to the Great Khan, supreme chief of the Mongol nation, who lived on the banks of the river Sakhalian or Amour. To do this was to cross the whole of Russia and Asia. Iaroslaf bent his knees to the new master of the world, Oktaï, succeeded in refuting the accusations brought against him by a Russian boyard, and obtained a new confirmation of his title. On his return he died in the desert of exhaustion, and his faithful servants brought his body back to Vladimir. His son Andrew succeeded him in Souzdal (1246-1252). His other son, Alexander, reigned at Novgorod the Great.

Alexander was as brave as he was intelligent. He was the hero of the North, and yet he forced himself to accept the necessary humiliations of his terrible situation. In his youth we see

him fighting with all the enemies of Novgorod, Livonian knights and Tchouds, Swedes and Finns. The Novgorodians found themselves at issue with the Scandinavians on the subject of their possessions on the Neva and the Gulf of Finland. As they had helped the natives to resist the Latin faith, King John obtained the promise of Gregory IX. that a crusade, with plenary indulgences, should be preached against the Great Republic and her *protégés*, the pagans of the Baltic. His son-in-law, Birger, with an army of Scandinavians, Finns, and Western Crusaders, took the command of the forces, and sent word to the Prince of Novgorod, "Defend yourself if you can : know that I am already in your provinces." The Russians on their side, feeling they were fighting for orthodoxy, opposed the Latin crusade with a Greek one. Alexander humbled himself in Saint Sophia, received the benediction of the Archbishop Spiridion, and addressed an energetic harangue to his warriors. He had no time to await reinforcements from Souzdal. He attacked the Swedish camp, which was situated on the Ijora, one of the southern affluents of the Neva, which has given its name to Ingria. Alexander won a brilliant victory, which gained him his surname of Nevski, and the honor of becoming under Peter the Great, the second conqueror of the Swedes, one of the patrons of St. Petersburg. By the orders of his great successor his bones repose in the Monastery of Alexander Nevski. The battle of the Neva was preserved in a dramatic legend. An Ingrian chief told Alexander how, in the eve of the combat, he had seen a mysterious bark, manned by two warriors with shining brows, glide through the night. They were Boris and Gleb, who came to the rescue of their young kinsman. Other accounts have preserved to us the individual exploits of the Russian heroes—Gabriel, Skylaf of Novgorod, James of Polotsk, Sabas, who threw down the tent of Birger, and Alexander Nevski himself, who with a stroke of the lance "imprinted his seal on his face" (1240). Notwithstanding the triumph of such a service, Alexander and the Novgorodians could not agree ; a short time after, he retired to Peréiaslavl-Zaliesski. The proud republicans soon had reason to regret the exile of this second Camillus. The Order of the Sword-bearers, the indefatigable enemy of orthodoxy, took Pskof, their ally ; the Germans imposed tribute on the Vojans, vassals of Novgorod, constructed the fortress of Koporié on her territory of the Neva, took the Russian town of Tessof in Esthonia, and pillaged the merchants of Novgorod within seventeen miles of their ramparts. During this time the Tchouds and the Lithuanians captured the peasants, and the cattle of the citizens. At last Alexander allowed himself to be touched by the prayers of

the archbishop and the people, assembled an army, expelled the Germans from Koporié, and next from Pskof, hung as traitors the captive Vojans and Tchouds, and put to death six knights who fell into his hands. This war between the two races and two religions was cruel and pitiless. The rights of nations were hardly recognized. More than once Germans and Russians slew the ambassadors of the other side. Alexander Nevski finally gave battle to the Livonian knights on the ice of Lake Peïpus, killed 400 of them, took 50 prisoners, and exterminated a multitude of Tchouds. Such was the *Battle of the Ice* (1242). He returned in triumph to Novgorod, dragging with him his prisoners in armor of iron. The Grand Master expected to see Alexander at the gates of Riga, and implored help of Denmark. The Prince of Novgorod, satisfied with having delivered Pskof, concluded peace, recovered certain districts, and consented to the exchange of prisoners. At this time Innocent IV., deceived by false information, addressed a bull to Alexander, as a devoted son of the Church, assuring him that his father Iaroslaf, while dying among the Horde, had desired to submit himself to the throne of St. Peter. Two cardinals brought him this letter from the Pope (1251).

It is this hero of the Neva and Lake Peïpus, this vanquisher of the Scandinavians and Livonian knights, that we are presently to see grovelling at the feet of a barbarian. Alexander Nevski had understood that, in presence of this immense and brutal force of the Mongols, all resistance was madness, all pride ruin. To brave them was to complete the overthrow of Russia. His conduct may not have been chivalrous, but it was wise and humane. Alexander disdained to play the hero at the expense of his people, like his brother Andrew of Souzdal, who was immediately obliged to fly, abandoning his country to the vengeance of the Tatars. The Prince of Novgorod was the only prince in Russia who had kept his independence, but he knew Bati's hands could extend as far as the Ilmen. "God has subjected many peoples to me," wrote the barbarian to him: "will you alone refuse to recognize my power? If you wish to keep your land, come to me; you will see the splendor and the glory of my sway." Then Alexander went to Saraï with his brother Andrew, who disputed the Grand Principality of Vladimir with his uncle Sviatoslaf. Bati declared that fame had not exaggerated the merit of Alexander, that he far excelled the common run of Russian princes. He enjoined the two brothers to show themselves, like their father Iaroslaf, at the Great Horde; they returned from it in 1257. Kouïouk had confirmed the one in the possession of

Vladimir, and the other in that of Novgorod, adding to it all South Russia and Kief.

The year 1260 put the patience of Alexander and his politic obedience to the Tatars to the proof. Oulavtchi, to whom the Khan Berkaï had confided the affairs of Russia, demanded that Novgorod should submit to the census and pay tribute. It was the hero of the Neva that was charged with the humiliating and dangerous mission of persuading Novgorod. When the possadnik uttered in the *vetché* the doctrine that it was necessary to submit to the strongest, the people raised a terrible cry and murdered the possadnik. Vassili himself, the son of Alexander, declared against a father "who brought servitude to free men;" and retired to the Pskovians. It needed a soul of iron temper to resist the universal disapprobation, and counsel the Novgorodians to the commission of the cowardly though necessary act. Alexander arrested his son, and punished the boyards who had led him into the revolt with death or mutilation. The *vetché* had decided to refuse the tribute, and send back the Mongol ambassadors with presents. However, on the rumor of the approach of the Tatars, they repented, and Alexander could announce to the enemy that Novgorod submitted to the census. But when they saw the officers of the Khan at work, the population revolted again, and the prince was obliged to keep guard on the officers night and day. In vain the boyards advised the citizens to give in: assembled around St. Sophia, the people declared they would die for liberty and honor. Alexander then threatened to quit the city with his men, and abandon it to the vengeance of the Khan. This menace conquered the pride of the Novgorodians. The Mongols and their agents might go, register in hand, from house to house in the humiliated and silent city to make the list of the inhabitants. "The boyards," says Karamsin, "might yet be vain of their rank and their riches, but the simple citizens had lost with their national honor their most precious possession" (1260).

In Souzdal also Alexander found himself in the presence of insolent victors and exasperated subjects. In 1262 the inhabitants of Vladimir, of Souzdal, of Rostof, rose against the collectors of the Tatar impost. The people of Iaroslavl slew a renegade named Zozimus, a former monk, who had become a Moslem fanatic. Terrible reprisals were sure to follow. Alexander set out with presents for the Horde at the risk of leaving his head there. He had likewise to excuse himself for having refused a body of auxiliary Russians to the Mongols, wishing at least to spare the blood and religious scruples of his subjects. It is a remarkable fact, that, over the most profound humilia-

tions of the Russian nationality, the contemporary history always throws a ray of glory. At the moment that Alexander went to prostrate himself at Saraï, the Souzdalian army, united to that of Novgorod, and commanded by his son Dmitri, defeated the Livonian knights, and took Dorpat by assault. The Khan Berkai gave Alexander a kind greeting, accepted his explanations, dispensed with the promised contingent, but kept him for a year near his court. The health of Alexander broke down; he died on his return before reaching Vladimir. When the news arrived at his capital, the Metropolitan Cyril, who was finishing the liturgy, turned towards the faithful, and said, "Learn, my dear children, that the Sun of Russia is set, is dead." "We are lost," cried the people, breaking forth into sobs. Alexander by this policy of resignation, which his chivalrous heroism does not permit us to despise, had secured some repose for exhausted Russia. By his victories over his enemies of the West he had given her some glory, and hindered her from despairing under the most crushing tyranny, material and moral, which a European people had ever suffered.

THE MONGOL YOKE—INFLUENCE OF THE TATARS ON THE RUSSIAN DEVELOPMENT.

The Mongol khans, after having devastated and abased Russia, did not introduce any direct political change. They left to each country her laws, her courts of justice, her natural chiefs. The house of Andrew Bogolioubski continued to reign in Souzdal, that of Daniel Romanovitch in Galitch and Volhynia, the Olgovitches in Tchernigof, and the descendants of Rogvolod the Varangian at Polotsk. Novgorod might continue to expel and recall her princes, and the dynasties of the South to dispute the throne of Kiev. The Russian States found themselves under the Mongol yoke, in much the same situation as that of the Christians of the Greco-Slav peninsula three centuries later, under the Ottomans. The Russians remained in possession of all their lands, which their nomad conquerors, encamped on the steppes of the East and South, disdained. They were, like their Danubian kinsmen, a sort of rayahs, over whom the authority of the khans was exerted with more or less rigor, but whom their conquerors never tried in any way to *Tatarize*. Let us see exactly in what consisted the obligations of the vanquished, and their relations with their conquerors, during the period of the Mongol yoke or *Tatarchtchina*.

1. The Russian princes were forced to visit the Horde, either as evidence of their submission, or to give the Khan opportunity of judging their disputes. We have seen how they had to go not only to the Khan of the Golden Horde, but often also to the Grand Khan at the extremity of Asia, on the borders of the Sakhalian or Amour. They met there the chiefs of the Mongol, Tatar, Thibetian and Bokharian hordes, and sometimes the ambassador of the Caliph of Bagdad, of the Pope, or of the King of France. The Grand Khans tried to play off against each other these ambassadors, who were astonished to meet at his court. Mangou Khan desired Saint Louis to recognize him as the master of the world, "for," said he, "when the universe has saluted me as sovereign, a happy tranquillity will reign on the earth." In the case of refusal, "neither deep seas nor inaccessible mountains" would place the King of France beyond the power of his wrath. To the princes of Asia and Russia he displayed the presents of the King of France, affecting to consider them as tributes and signs of submission. "We will send to seek him to confound you," he said to them, and Joinville assures us that this threat, and "the fear of the King of France," decided many to throw themselves on his mercy. This journey to the Grand Horde was terrible. The road went through deserts, or countries once rich, but changed by the Tatars into vast wastes. Few who went returned. Planus Carpinus, envoy of Innocent IV., saw in the steppes of the Kirghiz the dry bones of the boyards of the unhappy Jaroslaf, who had died of thirst in the sand. Planus Carpinus thus describes the Court of Bati on the Volga:—"It is crowded and brilliant. His army consists of 600,000 men, 150,000 of whom are Tatars, and 450,000 strangers, Christians as well as infidels. On Good Friday we were conducted to his tent, between two fires, because the Tatars pretend that a fire purifies everything, and robs even poison of its danger. We had to make many prostrations, and enter the tent without touching the threshold. Bati was on his throne with one of his wives; his brothers, his children, and the Tatar lords were seated on benches; the rest of the assembly were on the ground, the men on the right, the women on the left. . . . The Khan and the lords of the Court emptied from time to time cups of gold and silver, while the musicians made the air ring with their melodies. Bati has a bright complexion; he is affable with his men, but inspires general terror." The Court of the Grand Khan was still more magnificent. Planus Carpinus found there a Russian named Koum, who was the favorite and special goldsmith of Gaïouk or Kouïouk, and Rubruquis discovered a Parisian goldsmith, named Guillaume. Much money was

needed for success, either at the Court of the Grand Khan or of Bati. Presents had to be distributed to the Tatar princes, to the favorites; above all to the wives and the mother of the Khan. At this terrible tribunal the Russian princes had to struggle with intrigues and corruption; the heads of the pleaders were often the stakes of these dreadful trials. The most dangerous enemies they encountered at the Tatar Court were not the barbarians, but the Russians, their rivals. The history of the Russian princes at the Horde is very tragic. Thus Michael of Tchernigof perished at the Horde of Saraï in 1246, and Michael of Tver in 1319, the one assassinated by the renegade Doman, the other by the renegade Romanetz, at the instigation and under the eyes of the Grand Prince of Moscow.

2. The conquered people were obliged to pay a capitation tax, which weighed as heavily on the poor as on the rich. The tribute was paid either in money or in furs; those who were unable to furnish it became slaves. The Khans had for some time farmed out this revenue to some Khiva merchants, who collected it with the utmost rigor, and whom they protected by appointing superior agents called *baskaks*, with strong guards to support them. The excesses of these tax-gatherers excited many revolts: in 1262, that of Souzdal; in 1284, that of Kursk; in 1318, that of Kolomna; in 1327, that of Tver, where the inhabitants slew the *baskak* Chevkai, and brought down on themselves frightful reprisals. Later, the princes of Moscow themselves farmed not only the tax from their own subjects, but also from neighboring countries. They became the farmers-general of the invaders. This was the origin of their riches and their power.

3. Besides the tribute, the Russians had to furnish to their master the blood-tax, a military contingent. Already at the time of the Huns and Avars, we have seen Slavs and Goths accompany the Asiatic hordes, form their vanguards, and be as it were the hounds of Baïan. In the 13th century, the Russian princes furnished to the Tatars select troops, especially a solid infantry, and marched in their armies at the head of their *drou-jinas*. It was thus that in 1276 Boris of Rostof, Gleb of Biélozersk, Feodor of Iaroslavl, and Andrew of Gorodetz followed Mangou Khan in a war against the tribes of the Caucasus, and sacked Dediakof in Daghestan, the capital of the Iasses. The Mongols scrupulously reserved to them their part of the booty. The same Russian princes took part in an expedition against an adventurer named Lachan by the Greek historians, formerly a keeper of pigs, who had raised Bulgaria. The descendants of Monomachus behaved still more dishonorably in the troubles

in the interior of Russia. They excited the Mongols against their countrymen and aided the invaders. Prince Andrew, son of Alexander Nevski, pillaged in 1281, in concert with the Tatars, the provinces of Vladimir, Souzdal, Mourom, Moscow, and Peréiaslavl, which he was disputing with Dmitri, his elder brother. He helped the barbarians to profane churches and convents. In 1327 it was the princes of Moscow and Souzdal who directed the military execution against Tver. In 1284, two Olgovitches reigned in the land of Koursk ; one of them, Oleg, put the other to death in the name of the Khan. Servitude had so much abased all characters, that even the annalists share the general degradation. They blame, not Oleg the murderer, but Sviatoslaf the victim. Was it not his unbridled conduct that caused the anger of the Khan ?

4. No prince could ascend the throne without having received the investiture and the *iarlikh*, or letters patent, from the Khan. The proud Novgorodians themselves rejected Michael, their prince, saying, "It is true we have chosen Michael, but on the condition that he should show us the *iarlikh*."

4. No Russian State dared to make war without being authorized to do so. In 1269 the Novgorodians asked leave to march against Revel. In 1303, in an assembly of princes, and in the presence of the Metropolitan Maximus, a decree of the Khan Tokhta was read, enjoining the princes to put an end to their dissensions, and to content themselves with their appanages, it being the will of the Grand Khan that the Grand Principality should enjoy peace. When the Mongol ambassadors brought a letter from their sovereign, the Russian princes were obliged to meet them on foot, prostrate themselves, spread precious carpets under their feet, present them with a cup filled with gold pieces, and listen, kneeling, while the *iarlikh* was read.

Even while the Tatars conquered the Russians, they respected their bravery. Matrimonial alliances were contracted between their princes. About 1272, Gleb, prince of Biélozersk, took a wife out the Khan's family, which already professed Christianity, and Feodor of Riazan became the son-in-law of the Khan of the Nogais, who assigned to the young couple a palace in Saraï. In 1318 the Grand Prince George married Kontchaka, sister of Uzbek Khan, who was baptized by the name of Agatha. Towards the end of the 14th century, the Tatars were no longer the rude shepherds of the steppes. Mingled with sedentary and more cultivated races, they rebuilt fresh cities on the ruins of those they had destroyed ; Krym in the Crimea, Kazan, Astrakhan, and Saraï. They had acquired a taste for luxury and

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF RURIK, TO THE TATAR INVASION.

RURIK, Sineous, Trouvor, Oleg.
-† 873. -† 864. -† 884.

Igor, -† 945 = Olga.

Sviatoslaf, -† 973.

Iaropolk, -† 980.

Sviatopolk I., -† 1019.

Vladimir, -† 1015.

Oleg, -† 973.

Isiaslaf, son of Rogneda,
founder of the Princes
of Polotsk,
-† 1001.

Four other sons.
Gleb,
prince of
Mourom,
-† 1015.

Sviatoslaf,
prince of the
Drevlians,
-† 1015.
Tmourakan,
-† 1036.

Boris,
prince of
Rostof,
-† 1015.

Vladimir, -† 1052. Isiaslaf I., -† 1073.

Vsevolod I., -† 1093.

Igor, -† 1030.

Rostislaf, -† 1065. Sviatopolk II.

David, -† 1112.

Vassilko, -† 1124. Volodar,
-† 1124,
founder of the
princes of Galitch.

Rostislaf. Euphrasia = Henry IV.
or V.

Oleg, -† 1115, Iaroslaf, -† 1129, Four sons. Gytha, = Vladimir = Wife
founder of the of daughter Monomachus, name
princes of Riazan, of -† 125.
Mourom, and Prons. Harold of England.

Vladimirko, -† 1153. Iaroslaf. Roman,
Iaroslaf Osmomysl, -† 1188,
Vladimir.

Iaropolk, George, Vlatcheslaf. Andrew. Euphemia
-† 1132. -† 1139. Dolgorouki. = Leo, a
Greek prince.

Isiaslaf II., -† 1154,
founder of the princes of
Volhynia.

Rostislaf, -† 1168,
founder of the
princes of Smolensk.

Vsevolod III., -† 1213.
Big Nest.

Mstislaf II., -† 1170.

Mstislaf the Brave, -† 1179.

Andrew Bogolioubski,
-† 1174.
Constantine,
-† 1219.
founder of the
princes of Rostof

Ivan,
founder
of the
princes of
Starodoub.

Iaroslaf, -† 1247.

Roman, -† 1205.

Daniel, king of
Galitch, -† 1236.

Mstislaf the Bold,
-† 1228.
David of
Toropetz,
-† 1226.
Pakof.

Vsevolod,
prince of
Belsk,
-† 1195.

magnificence, honored the national poets who sang their exploits, piqued themselves on their chivalry and even on their gallantry. Notwithstanding the difference of religion, a reconciliation was taking place between the aristocracy of the two countries, between the Russian *kniazes* and the Tatar *mourzas*.

The Russian historians are not entirely agreed as to the nature and degree of influence exerted by the Mongol yoke on the Russian development. Karamsin and M. Kostomarof believe it to have been considerable. "Perhaps," says the former "our national character still presents some blots which are derived from the Mongol barbarism." M. Solovief, on the contrary, affirms that the Tatars hardly influenced it more than the Patzinaks or Polovtsi. M. Bestoujef-Rioumine estimates the influence to have been specially exerted on the financial administration and military organization. On one side the Tatars established the capitation-tax, which has remained in the financial system of Russia; on the other, the conquered race had a natural tendency to adopt the military system of the victors. The Russian or Mongol princes formed a caste of soldiers henceforth quite distinct from Western chivalry, to which the Russian heroes of the 12th century belonged. The warriors of Daniel of Galitch, it is said, astounded the Poles and Hungarians by the Oriental character of their equipment. Short stirrups, very high saddles, a long caftan or floating dress, a sort of turban surmounted by an aigret, sabres and poniards in their belts, a bow and arrows—such was the military costume of a Russian prince of the 15th century.

On the other side, many of the peculiarities in which the Mongol influence is thought traceable may be attributed as well or better to purely Slav traditions, or imitations of Byzantine manners. If the Muscovite princes inclined to autocracy, it was not that they formed themselves on the model of the Grand Khan, but that they naturally adopted imperial ideas of absolutism imported from Constantinople. It is always the Roman Emperor of Tzargrad, and not the leader of Asiatic shepherds, who is their typical monarch. If from this time the Russian penal law makes more frequent use of the pain of death and corporal punishment, it is not only the result of imitation of the Tatars, but of the evergrowing influence of Byzantine laws, and the progressive triumph of their principles over those of the ancient code of Iaroslaf. Now these laws so very easily admitted torture, flogging, mutilation, the stake, &c., that there is no need to explain anything by Mongol usages. The habit of prostration, of beating the forehead, of affecting the servile submission, is certainly Oriental, but it is also Byzantine. The seclusion of

women was customary in ancient Russia, moulded by Greek missionaries, and the Russian *terem* proceeds more certainly from the Hellenic *gynæceum* than from the Oriental *harem*; all the more because the Tatar women, before the conversion of the Mongols to Islamism, do not appear to have been secluded. If the Russians of the 17th century seem strange to us in their long robes and Oriental fashions, we must remember that the French and Italians of the 15th century, dressed by Venetian merchants, displayed the same taste. Only in France fashions made advances, while in Russia, isolated from the rest of Europe they remained stationary.

From a social point of view, two Russian expressions seem to date from the Tatar invasion: *tcherne*, or the *black people*, to designate the lower orders; and *krestianine*, signifying the peasant, that is, the Christian *par excellence*, who was always a stranger to the Mongol customs adopted for a short time by the aristocracy. As to the amount of Mongol or Tatar blood mixed with the blood of the Russians, it must have been very small: the aristocracy of the two countries may have contracted marriages, a certain number of *mourzas* may have become Russian princes by their conversion to orthodoxy, but the two races, as a whole, remained strangers. Even to-day, while the autochthonous Finns continue to be Russified, the Tatar cantons, even though converted to Christianity, are still Tatar.

If the Mongol yoke has influenced the Russian development, it is very indirectly. 1. In separating Russia from the West, in making her a political dependency of Asia, it perpetuated in the country that Byzantine half civilization whose inferiority to European civilization became daily more obvious. If the Russians of the 17th century differ so much from Western nations, it is above all because they have remained at the point whence all set out. 2. The Tatar conquest also favored indirectly the establishment of absolute power. The Muscovite princes, responsible to the Khan for the public tranquillity and the collection of the tax, being all the while watched and supported by the *baskaks*, could the more easily annihilate the independence of the towns, the resistance of the second order of princes, the turbulence of the boyards, and the privileges of the free peasants. The Grand Prince of Moscow had no consideration for his subjects because no man had any consideration for him, and because his life was always at stake. The Mongol tyranny bore with a frightful weight on all the Russian hierarchy, and subjected more closely the nobles to the princes, and the peasants to the nobles. "The princes of Moscow," says Karamsin, "took the humble title of servants of the khans, and it was by this

means that they became powerful monarchs." No doubt the Russian principalities would always have ended by losing themselves in the same dominion, but Russian unity would have been made, like French unity, without the entire destruction of local autonomies, the privileges of the towns, and the rights of the subjects. It was the crushing weight of the Mongol domination that stifled all the germs of political liberty. We may say with Mr. Wallace, that "the first Tzars of Muscovy were the political descendants, not of the Russian princes, but of the Tatar khans."

3. A third indirect result of the conquest was the growth of the power and riches of the Church. In spite of the saintly legends about the martyrdom of certain princes, the Tatars were a tolerant nation. Rubruquis saw in the presence of the Grand Khan Mangou, Nestorians, Mussulmans, and Shamans celebrating their own particular worships.

Kouïouk had a Christian chapel near his palace ; Khoubilaï regularly took part in the feast of Easter. In 1261 the Khan of Saraï authorized the erection of a church and orthodox bishopric in his capital. The Mongols had no sectarian hatred against bishops and priests. With a sure political instinct, the Tatars, like the Sultans of Stamboul, understood that these men could agitate or calm the people. After the first fury of the conquest was passed, they applied themselves to gaining them over. They excepted priests and monks from the capitation-tax ; they received them well at the Horde, and gave pardons at their intercession. They settled disputes of orthodox prelates, and established the peace in the Church that they imposed on the State. In 1313 the Khan Uzbek, at the prayer of Peter, Metropolitan of Moscow, confirmed the privileges of the Church and forbade her being deprived of her goods, "for," says the edict, "these possessions are sacred, because they belong to men whose prayers preserve our lives and strengthen our armies." The right of justice in the Church was formally recognized. Sacrilege was punished by death.

The convents also increased in numbers and riches. They filled enormously : were they not the safest asylums ? Their peasants and servants multiplied : was not the protection of the Church the surest ? Gifts of land were showered on them, as in France in the year 1000. It was thus that the great ecclesiastical patrimony of Russia, a wealthy reservoir of revenues and capital, was constituted, on which more than once in national crises the Russian sovereigns were glad to draw. The Church, which, even in her weakness, had steadily tended to unity and autocracy, was to place at the service of the crown a power which had become enormous. The Metropolitans of Moscow were nearly always the faithful allies of the Grand Princes.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LITHUANIANS: CONQUEST OF WESTERN RUSSIA (1240-1430)

The Lithuanians—Conquests of Mindvog (1240-1263), of Gedimin (1315-1340), and of Olgerd (1345-1377)—Jagellon—Union of Lithuania with Poland (1386)—The Grand Prince Vitovt (1392-1430)—Battles of the Vorskla (1399), and of Tannenberg (1410).

THE LITHUANIANS—CONQUESTS OF MINDVOG (1240-1263), OF GEDIMIN (1315-1340), AND OF OLGERD (1345-1377).

THE Lithuanian tribes had already been greatly broken up by the German conquest. Russians, Korsi, Semigalli, and Letts had been brought into subjection either by the Teutonic or Livonian knights. Two among the tribes, the Jmouds and the Lithuanians properly so called, had preserved in the deep forests and marshes of the Niemen their proud independence, their ferocity, and their ancient gods. A Russian tradition affirms that they formerly had paid the Russians the only tribute their poverty could afford—bark and brooms. Jmouds and Lithuanians were divided, like the ancient Slavs, into rival and jealous tribes. Although more than once they marched from their forests, blowing long trumpets, careering on rough ponies—though they had made many incursions into the Russian territory—they were not really dangerous. This old Aryan people, whom European influences had never modified, had preserved from the time they dwelt in Asia a powerful sacerdotal caste,—the *vaidelotes* above whom were the *krivites*, whose chief, the *krive-kriveito*, was high-priest of the nation. Their principal divinity was Perkun, the god of thunder, analogous to the Perun of the Russians. The sacred fire, the *znitch*, burned constantly before this idol. They had also priestesses, the wild Velledas, like that Birouta who, captured by Kestout, became the mother of the great Vitovt. The time had come when the Lithuanians must perish like the Prussians or Letts, if they did not succeed in uniting against Germany. The emigrants from the countries already conquered would doubtless lend them new strength and energy. A wily

barbarian, Mindvog, created Lithuanian unity at the beginning of the 13th century in much the same way as Clovis—by exterminating the princes. “He began,” says a chronicle, “by slaying his brothers and his sons, chased the survivors from the country, and reigned alone over the land of Lithuania.” Thence he led his savage warriors against the Russian principalities, now enfeebled by the Mongol invasions, and conquered Grodno and Novogrodek. Happily Western Russia had two great men at its head, Alexander Nevski and Daniel of Volhynia. Threatened on one side by these princes, on the other by the knights of Livonia, the Lithuanians bethought themselves of hastening to the Pope and embracing the Catholic faith. A legate of Innocent IV. and the *landmeister* of the Teutonic Order came to Grodno, escorted by a brilliant suite of cavaliers. In presence of an immense concourse of people, Mindvog received baptism with his wife, and was consecrated King of Lithuania (1252). The danger passed, and Rome was forgotten. He and his new co-religionists did not agree, and he was forced to cede the Jmoud country to the Livonian knights. Sharing the irritation of his subjects, he washed off his baptism as the unfortunate Livonians had done, re-established paganism, invaded Mazovia, ravaged the lands of the Order, and defeated the *landmeister* in person. He had taken the wife of one of his princes named Dovmont, and had married her. Dovmont awaited him on the road, and assassinated him (1263), and then fled from the vengeance of Mindvog’s son to the Pskovians. He became their prince, was baptized, and defended them bravely against his pagan compatriots till he died, and was buried at the church of the Trinity. Voichel, son of Mindvog, in the first fervor of an ephemeral Christianity, had become a monk. When he heard of the murder of his father, he threw his cowl to the winds, and began a war of extermination with the confederates. Lithuania fell back into anarchy during the contest of the descendants of Mindvog with the rest of the princes who refused to accept their supremacy.

She recovered herself under the enterprising and energetic Gedimin (1315-1340), the real founder of her power. He turned the exhaustion and divisions of South Russia to his own profit; and to the conquests of his predecessors—Grodno, Pinsk, Brest, and Polotsk—soon added Tchernigof, and all Volhynia with Vladimir, under whose walls he defeated the Russians, aided though they were by an auxiliary army of Tatars (1321). As to Kief, it is not known in what year she fell under his power; in the universal disorder, this memorable event passed almost unnoticed. The old capital of Russia was,

however, destined to remain for 400 years—up to the time of Alexis Romanof—in the hands of strangers. The Russian populations willingly received this new master, who would free them from the heavy yoke of the Mongols and the unceasing civil wars. As he respected their internal constitution and the rights of the orthodox clergy, it appears that many towns readily opened their gates to him. Gedimin sought to legalize his conquests by contracting alliances with the house of St. Vladimir, allowed his sons to embrace the orthodox faith, and authorized the construction of Greek churches in his residences at Wilna and Novogrodek. In the North he had a perpetual struggle to sustain against the deadly enemies of his race, the military monks of Prussia and Livonia. Like Mindvog, he addressed himself to the Pope, John XXII., and informed him that he wished to preserve his independence, that he only asked protection for his religion, that he was surrounded by Franciscans and Dominicans to whom he gave full liberty to teach their doctrine, and that he was ready to recognize the Pope as supreme head of the Church, if he would arrest the depredations of the Germans. The French Pope sent him Bartholomew, Bishop of Alais, and Bernard, Abbot of Puy. In the interval he had been exasperated by renewed attacks of the Teutonic knights, and forced the two legates to fly. He had transferred his capital to Wilna on the Wilia, and the ruins of his castle may still be perceived on the height which overlooks the citadel. He drew thither by immunities German artists and artisans, and granted them the rights of Riga and the Hanseatic towns. A Russian quarter was also formed in his capital. He died and was buried according to the pagan rite: his body was burned in a caldron with his war-horse and his favorite groom.

After his death his sons Olgerd (1345–1377) and Kestout deprived two of their brothers of their appanages, and together governed Lithuania, now re-united into a single State. Olgerd humiliated Novgorod the Great, which had received another of his fugitive brothers, ravaged her territory, and forced her to put to death the possadnik who had been the cause of the war. He extended his possessions to the east and south, and conquered Vitepsk, Mohilef, Briansk, Novgorod-Severski, Kamenetz and Podolia; thus rendering himself master of nearly all the basin of the Dnieper, and obtaining a footing on the coast of the Black Sea, between the mouths of the Dnieper and the Dniester. With the republic of Pskof he maintained relations sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile; gave her help against the Germans, and sent his son Andrew to govern her, and oc-

asionally arrested her merchants and laid waste her territory. The Poles disputed Volhynia with him, oppressed the orthodox faith, and changed the Greek into Latin churches. Olgerd then made advances to Simeon the Proud, Grand Prince of Moscow, and, though a pagan, married Juliana, princess of Tver. Under Simeon's successors the Lithuanian army three times took the road to Moscow, and, without the check imposed on him by the Poles and the two German orders, Olgerd might have made the conquest of Eastern Russia. In 1368 he had annihilated the Mongol hordes which infested the Lower Dnieper, and, more destructive than even these barbarians, completed the ruin of Cherson in the Crimea.

JAGELLON—UNION OF LITHUANIA AND POLAND (1386).

Although Olgerd had reconstituted the Lithuanian unity, he fell back into the old error, and divided his States between his sons and his brother, the brave Kestout, who had been his faithful associate. One of his sons, *Jagailo* or *Jagellon* (1377-1434), cruelly repaired the fault of his father. He made his uncle Kestout prisoner by treachery, and caused him to be put to death. His brothers and cousins escaped a similar fate by flying to neighboring states. In spite of this the bloody pagan was the Apostle of Lithuania. For a long while Christianity had sought to penetrate by two different channels,—under the Latin form from Poland, and under the Greek form from Russia. The fierce war sustained by the Lithuanians against the military monks of the North had rendered Catholicism particularly hateful to them. Under Olgerd the people of Wilna had risen, and fourteen Franciscans were slain. On the other side the larger part of the Lithuanian conquests was composed of Russian territory, and Lithuania underwent the influence of the Russian religion as well as of the Russian language. Russian became the official tongue; it even seemed as if orthodoxy was to become the ruling faith, and the victors were to be absorbed by the vanquished, and Russified by their conquest. An unexpected event turned the natural course of history. The Angevin and French dynasty in Poland had lately been extinguished in the person of Louis of Hungary, whose only heir was his daughter Hedwiga. The Polish nobles felt that the best way of putting a stop to the eternal warfare with the Lithuanians was by marrying their queen to the powerful Prince of Wilna. The heart of Hedwiga is said to have been elsewhere engaged; but the Catholic clergy set forth her consent to this union as a duty, the

fulfilment of which was to insure in Lithuania proper the triumph of the Latin faith, and thus to separate it from the Lithuanian Russian provinces which still remained orthodox.

In 1386 Jagellon went to Cracow and received baptism and the crown of Poland.

The conversion of the Lithuanians was then conducted after a fashion as summary as that of the Russians in the time of Vladimir. They were divided into groups, and the priest then sprinkled them with holy water, pronouncing, as he did so, a name of the Latin Calendar. To one group he gave the name of Peter, to another that of Paul or John. Jagellon overthrew the idol Perkun, extinguished the sacred fire that burned in the castle of Wilna, killed the holy serpents, and cut down the magic woods. The people, however, worshipped their gods for some time longer; like the Northmen who were converted by the Carolingians, many Lithuanians presented themselves more than once to be baptized, in order to receive again and again the white tunic of the neophyte. By transferring his capital to Cracow, in deference to his new subjects, Jagellon necessarily irritated his old subjects. To the determined pagans the orthodox allied themselves, provoked by the king's propaganda in favor of Catholicism. Lithuania believed that by her union with Poland she had forfeited her independence.

THE GRAND PRINCE VITOVY (1392-1430)—BATTLES OF THE VORSKLA (1399), AND OF TANNENBERG (1410).

Vitovy, son of the hero Kestout and the priestess Birouta, put himself at the head of the malcontents. He allied himself with the Teutonic knights, and twice besieged the Polish garrison in the Castle of Wilna. Weary of war, Jagellon ended by ceding him Lithuania with the title of Grand Prince (1392).

Vitovy (1392-1430), brother-in-law of the Grand Prince of Moscow (Vassili Dmitriévitch), took up the plans of Olgerd for the subjugation of the north-east of Russia. Sviatoslaf, the last prince but one of Smolensk, had made himself hated, even in that iron century, by his cruelties. Fighting in the Russian territory, he took pleasure in impaling and burning alive women and children. He was killed in 1387 in a battle against the Lithuanians, and his son Ioury was only the shadow of a Grand Prince of Smolensk, under the guardianship of Vitovy. The latter, who combined perfidy with the courage and energy of his father, made himself master of the town by a stratagem worthy of Cæsar Borgia. He contrived to induce the prince and his

brothers to visit him in his tent, embraced and pressed them in his arms, and then declared them prisoners of war, while his army surprised and pillaged Smolensk. This queenly city on the Upper Dneiper was lost to Russia. The Lithuanian Empire now bordered on the ancient Souzdal and the principality of Riazan. These two countries, with Novgorod and Pskof, were the only ones which had preserved their independence. It seemed as if one campaign would suffice to annihilate the Russian name. But Vitovt cherished great projects, in which the conquest of Moscow was only an incident. He had already fought against the Mongols, and with the prisoners taken in the environs of Azof, had peopled many villages round Wilna, where their posterity still exist. He took under his protection the Khan Tokhtamych, whom Timour Koutlouï had expelled from Saraï, and resolved to subjugate the Golden Horde, to instal a vassal there, and finally add to the conquest of the Tatar Empire that of Moscow and Riazan. The army that he assembled under the walls of Kief was perhaps the most important that had marched against the infidels since the first crusade. To his Lithuanian troops he had united the Polish contingent sent by Jagellon under the famous voïevodes Spitko of Cracow, John of Mazovia, Sandivog of Ostorog, Dobrogost of Samotoul, and the *droujinas* of the Russian princes, Gleb of Smolensk, Michael and Dmitri of Volhynia, the Mongols of Tokhtamych, and five hundred knights, "iron men," richly armed, sent by the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. He came up with the enemy on the banks of the Vorskla, an affluent of the Dnieper, that runs near Pultowa. It was almost the battle-field where fought in 1709 the heroes of the North. To Timour's proposals of peace, Vitovt answered that God had designed him to be master of the world, and that the Khan must recognize him as *his father*, pay him tribute, and place his armorial bearings on the Mongol coins. The Khan only negotiated to gain time till the bulk of the Tatar army, commanded by Ediger, came up. Ediger, in his turn, ironically summoned Vitovt to acknowledge him as father, and to place his arms on the Lithuanian coins. Vitovt, who hoped to make up for his deficiency in numbers by his artillery, gave the signal for battle. A manœuvre of the Tatars on the rear of the enemy assured them the victory. Two-thirds of the Lithuanian army, with the princes of Smolensk and Volhynia, remained on the field of battle. The remnant was pursued by Timour to the Dnieper. He levied war contributions on Kief and the Monastery of the Catacombs (1399). So fell the prestige of Vitovt. Even the princes of Riazan thought that they might safely insult

his frontiers. But he was still formidable, and the Grand Prince of Moscow, after having tried to attack him, judged it more prudent to make peace.

When Vitovt began to recover from his disaster, he directed a still more famous expedition against the Teutonic knights. The Grand Prince of Lithuania had more than once found himself at issue with the two German orders. About this time the Teutonic knights had lost their early energy, thanks to the development of the system of fiefs, and to the progress of the commercial towns. In 1409 the Jmouds and Oriental Prussia, after having protested against the severity of the yoke imposed on them, revolted, counting on Vitovt to support them. A new Grand Master, the warlike Ulrich of Jungingen, refused the mediation of Vitovt's suzerain, the King of Poland. Upon this the united forces of Poland and Lithuania, with 40,000 Tatars and 21,000 Bohemian, Hungarian, Moravian and Silesian mercenaries, making a total of 97,000 infantry, 66,000 cavalry, and 60 cannons, entered Prussia. The Grand Master had only 57,000 infantry and 26,000 cavalry, with which to oppose them. The battle of Tannenberg (1410), gained chiefly by Vitovt, who broke the German centre and left wing, was a blow from which the power of the Teutonic Order never recovered. The Grand Master and nearly all the high dignitaries, 200 Knights of the Order, and 400 foreign knights, besides 4000 soldiers, were killed. Nearly all the princes of Western Russia took part in the combat, and the contingent of Smolensk especially distinguished itself. The Jmoud country was freed from the Teutonic rule and united to Lithuania.

Three years afterwards (1413) the Congress of Horodlo on the Bug, between Jagellon, accompanied by the Polish *pans*, and Vitovt, accompanied by his Lithuanian chiefs, took place. It was settled that the Lithuanian Catholics should receive the rights and privileges of the Polish *schliachta*; and that the representatives of the two countries should unite in a common diet to elect the Kings of Poland and the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, and decide important affairs. Vitovt soon had differences with his own subjects: the Jmouds, so refractory under the Teutonic rule, were pagans and Lithuanians at heart. They hated Catholicism and the Polish domination. They rose and expelled the monks. Vitovt could only govern them by force.

The Russian provinces of Lithuania were orthodox, and depended upon the Metropolitan of Moscow. Vitovt wished to shake off his religious supremacy, and demanded of the Patriarch of Constantinople a special metropolitan for Western Russia. In spite of the Patriarch's refusal, he convoked a council of

orthodox prelates: a learned Bulgarian monk, Gregory Tsamblak, was elected Metropolitan of Kief. Thus Russia had two religious chiefs, as she had two Grand Princes—the Metropolitan of Eastern Russia, and the Metropolitan of Western Russia; one at Moscow, the other at Kief. Vitovt also wished to free himself on the western side, and deprive Poland of her supremacy over Lithuania. In 1429 he had an interview with the Emperor Sigismond, who promised to create him King of Lithuania. Vitovt, then eighty years of age, was at the height of his power. We see him at the fêtes of Troki and Wilna, attended by his grandson Vassili Vassiliévitch, Grand Prince of Moscow, who was accompanied by the Muscovite Metropolitan Photius, the Princes of Tver and Riazan, Jagellon, king of Poland, the Khan of the Crimea, the exiled Hospodar of Wallachia, the Grand Master of Prussia, the Landmeister of Livonia, and the ambassadors of the Emperor of the East. Daily were 700 oxen, 1400 sheep, and game in proportion, consumed. In the midst of these fêtes the ambitious old man had to swallow a bitter draught. The Poles had intrigued with the Pope, and he was forbidden to dream of royalty. The ambassadors of Sigismond were checked as they were bringing him the sceptre and the crown. Vitovt fell ill, and died of disappointment (1430).

After this Lithuania ceased to be formidable. We find it in turns governed by a Grand Duke of its own, united to Poland under Vladislas, separated again, then definitely placed under the Polish sceptre from 1501. Though henceforward it always had the same sovereign as Poland, it remained a State apart—the Grand Principality or Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Her Lithuanian and Russian provinces became steadily Polish, and the princely descendants of Rurik and St. Vladimir, or of Mindvog and Gedimin, assumed the manners and language of the Polish aristocracy.

CHAPTER XII.

THE GRAND PRINCES OF MOSCOW: ORGANIZATION OF EASTERN RUSSIA (1303-1462).

Origin of Moscow—Daniel—George Danielovitch (1303-1325) and Ivan Kalita (1328-1341)—Contest with the house of Tver—Simeon the Proud and Ivan the Débonnaire (1341-1359)—Dmitri Donskoï (1363-1389)—Battle of Koulikovo—Vassili Dmitriévitch and Vassili the Blind (1389-1462).

 ORIGIN OF MOSCOW—DANIEL.

WHILST Western Russia grouped herself around the Lithuanian State, which had given the conquered Russian provinces a new capital in Wilna, and soon involved them in her own union with Poland, Eastern Russia grouped herself around Moscow. When this double concentration on the Moskowa and on the Wilna should be accomplished, Great Russia, proud of her national and religious unity, and Lithuanian Russia (or rather a foreign State composed of the Russian, Lithuanian, and Polish races, and of three religions, the Greek, Roman, and Protestant, besides the Jewish), would find themselves face to face. The contest of these two sister-enemies will fill many centuries of the history of the North. To other sovereigns, in other centuries, will fall the task of reconstituting the Russian unity in its fullest extent. The honor of the princes of Moscow is to have created the living germ which became Great Russia.

Around Moscow, under the Mongol yoke, a race was formed, patient and resigned, yet energetic and enterprising, born to endure bad fortune and profit by good, which in the long run was to get the upper hand over Western Russia and Lithuania. There a dynasty of princes grew, politic and persevering, prudent and pitiless, of gloomy and terrible mien, whose foreheads were marked by the seal of fatality. They were the founders of the Russian empire, as the Capetians were of the French monarchy.

The means used by the sovereigns of Russia were very

different. Here we shall find no sympathetic figures like that of Louis VI. careering proudly in the narrow domains of France, capturing rebel castles in the face of the sun—of a Louis IX., true mirror of chivalry, the noblest incarnation of the kingly ideal. The princes of Moscow gained their ends by intrigue, corruption, the purchase of consciences, servility to the khans, perfidy to their equals, murder, and treachery. They were at once the tax-gatherers and the police of the khans. But they created the germ of the Russian monarchy, and made it grow. Henceforward we have a fixed centre around which gathers that scattered history of Russia which we have had to follow in so many different places—in Novgorod and Pskof, in Livonia and in Lithuania, at Smolensk and in Galicia, at Tchernigof and at Kief, at Vladimir and at Riazan. The mutilation of Russia, conquered on the west by the Lithuanians, enslaved on the east by the Mongols, was to facilitate the work of organization. In this diminished fatherland the sovereigns of Moscow could play more easily the part of Grand Princes.

The extent of country which had by the middle of the 15th century escaped the Lithuanian conquest was very small. Without counting Smolensk, whose days were numbered, there remained the following principalities :—1. Riazan, with its appanages of Pronsk and Peréiaslavl-Riazanski ; 2. Souzdal, with the towns of Vladimir, Nijni-Novgorod, Souzdal, Galitch in Souzdal, Kostroma, and Gorodetz ; 3. Tver, situated on the Upper Volga, and chiefly made up of bailiwicks taken from Novgorod by the Grand Princes of Souzdal, with the towns of Rjef, Kachine, and Zoubtsof ; 4. Moscow, shut in on the north by Tver, on the east by Souzdal, on the south by Riazan, nearly stifled by its powerful neighbors, like the France of the Capetians between the formidable States of English Normandy, Flanders, and Champagne.

The name of Moscow appears for the first time in the chronicles at the date of 1147. It is there said that the Grand Prince George Dolgorouki, having arrived on the domain of a boyard named Stephen Koutchko, caused him to be put to death on some pretext, and that, struck by the position of one of the villages situated on a height washed by the Moskowa, the very spot whereon the Kremlin now stands, he built the city of Moscow. In the Capitol of ancient Rome the founder, Romulus, discovered the head of a man ; the Capitol of Moscow, destined to become the centre of an empire, was sprinkled in its beginning by human blood. The name of a still-existing church, "St. Saviour of the Pines" (*Spass na Borou*), preserves the memory of the thick forests that then clothed both banks of the Moskowa,

on the space now covered by an immense capital. During the century following its foundation, Moscow remained an obscure and insignificant village of Souzdal. The chroniclers do not allude to it except to mention that it was burned by the Tatars (1237), or that a brother of Alexander Nevski, Michael of Moscow, was killed there in a battle with the Lithuanians. The real founder of the principality of the name was Daniel, a son of Alexander Nevski, who had received this small town and a few villages as his appanage. He increased his State by an important town, Peréiaslavl-Zaliesski, that belonged to one of his nephews, and by the addition of Kolomna, which he took from the Riazanese. At his death in 1303 he was the first to be buried in the church of Saint Michael the Archangel, which till the time of Peter the Great remained the burying-place of the Russian princes. He was followed, in due course, by his brothers George and Ivan.

GEORGE DANIELOVITCH (1303-1325) AND IVAN KALITA (1328-1341)—STRUGGLE WITH THE HOUSE OF TVER.

The first act of George Danielovitch (1303-1325) was to capture Mojaïsk from the Prince of Smolensk, and to take the latter prisoner. Almost at the same time began the bloody struggle with the house of Tver, which, transmitted from father to son, lasted for eighty years. When Andrew Alexandrovitch, Grand Prince of Souzdal, died in 1304, two competitors presented themselves—Michael of Tver, cousin-german of the deceased, and his nephew George of Moscow. The claim of Michael was incontestable; was he not the *eldest* of the family? The boyards of Vladimir and the citizens of Novgorod did not hesitate to acknowledge him as Grand Prince; at Sarai Tokhta the khan declared in his favor, and ordered him to be installed. Michael, who had on his side the national law and the sovereign will of the Mongols, could also use force; he twice besieged Moscow, and obliged the son of Daniel to leave him in peace. In this young man he had an implacable enemy. The chronicles, indignant at the revolt of George against the old hereditary custom, unanimously pronounced against him. While making due allowance for their efforts to blacken his character, we cannot help seeing that he was not a man to shrink from any crime. His father had taken the Prince of Riazan prisoner. He had him assassinated in his dungeon, and would have taken possession of his territories, if the Khan had not ordered the rights of the young heir to be respected. Then George caused himself to

be recognized as Prince of Novgorod, to the prejudice of Michael, but the army of Tver and Vladimir defeated that furnished him by the republic. An unexpected event suddenly changed the face of things. The Khan Tokhta died; George managed to gain the good graces of his successor Uzbek, so that the latter gave him his sister Lontchaka in marriage, and, reversing the decision of Tokhta, adjudged him the grand principality. The son of Daniel returned to Russia with a Mongol army, commanded by the *baskak* Kavgadi. Michael consented, say the chronicles, to cede Vladimir, if his hereditary appanage were respected; but George began to lay waste the country of Tver, and war was inevitable. Michael triumphed completely. The Tatar wife of George, his brother Boris, the Mongol general Kavgadi, and nearly all the officers of the Khan, fell into his hands. Michael covered his prisoners with attentions dictated by prudence. Kavgadi, released with honor, swore to be his friend, but, as the sister of the Khan died, the enemies of the Prince of Tver set on foot a report that he had poisoned her. The cause of the two princes was carried before the tribunal of the Khan. Whilst the indefatigable Muscovite went in person, with his hands full of presents, to the Horde, Michael had the imprudence to send his son, a boy of twelve years old, in his place. Finding George was occupied in accusing, intriguing, and corrupting, Michael at last made up his mind to follow him. Not unprepared for the lot that awaited him, he made his will, and distributed appanages among his children. He was accused of having drawn his sword against a *baskak*, envoy of the Khan, and of having poisoned Kontchaka. These accusations were so manifestly absurd, that Uzbek deferred judgment. This, however, did not meet George's views, and, by means of intrigues, he obtained the arrest of his kinsman. The Khan now set out for some months' hunting in the Caucasus. Michael was dragged in the train of the court, loaded with irons, from the Saraï to Dediakof in Daghestan. One day he was put in the pillory in the market of a thickly-populated town, and the spectators crowded to see him, saying, "This prisoner was, a short time ago, a powerful prince in his own country." The boyards of Michael had told him to escape; he refused, not wishing his people to suffer for him. George was so energetic, and scattered about so much money, that, finally, the death-warrant was signed. One of Michael's pages entered the tent which served him as a prison, in great alarm, to tell him that George and Kavgadi were approaching, followed by a multitude of people. "I know the reason," replied the prince; and he sent his young son Constantine to one of the Khan's wives, who had promised to take him

under her protection. His two enemies took their stand near his tent, dismissed the boyards of Tver, and sent their hired ruffians to assassinate the prince. They threw him down, and trampled him under their feet. As in the case of Michael of Tchernigof, it was not a Mongol that stabbed him and tore out his heart, but a renegade named Romanetz. When George and Kavgadi entered and contemplated the naked corpse, "What," said the Tatar, "will you allow the body of your uncle to be outraged?" One of George's servants threw a mantle over the victim (1319). Michael was bewailed by the Tverians. His body, incorruptible as that of a martyr, was afterwards deposited in a silver bier in the cathedral of Tver. He became a saint, and the patron of his city. On the walls of the cathedral, ancient and modern pictures recall his martyrdom, and condemn the crime of the Muscovite. All the contemporary chronicles warmly take his part against the assassin. Karamsin has made himself the echo of their apologies and curses. But at the same time that Michael became a saint, George became the all-powerful sovereign of Moscow, Souzdal, and Novgorod. The tragic fate of Michael foretold the ruin of Tver.

Some years afterwards, things were reversed at the Horde. Dmitri of the terrible eyes, son of the unhappy Michael, obtained the title of Grand Prince, and the *baskak* Seventch Bonga was charged to place him on the throne of Vladimir. George found himself obliged to go again to Saraï; there the two rivals, Dmitri of Tver and George of Moscow, met. Dmitri had his father to avenge; his sword leaped from the scabbard, and the Prince of Moscow fell mortally wounded (1325). All that his friends could obtain was that Dmitri should be put to death. The latter was succeeded in Vladimir by his brother Alexander.

Unluckily for the house of Tver, the following year the Tverians, exasperated by the *baskak* Chevkal, rose in rebellion and murdered him and all his suite. Alexander, instead of imitating the firm prudence of his Muscovite neighbors, allowed himself to be carried away by the popular passion. It was he who assaulted the palace of the *baskak*, and lighted the fire. After such an action, he had no pity to expect from the Khan; and if Uzbek could have forgotten the insult to his majesty, the princes of Moscow would have kept him in mind of it. The brother of George, Ivan Kalita, offered to complete the ruin of Tver. Uzbek promised him the title of Grand Prince, and gave him an army of 50,000 Tatars, to whom were joined the contingents of Moscow and Souzdal. Alexander, who had not had the wisdom to resist his people, had likewise not the courage to defend them

and die with them. He fled with his brothers, to Pskof and Ladoga. Pitiless was the vengeance of the Khan, and the vengeance of Moscow. Tver, Kachine, and Torjok were sacked. Novgorod had to buy herself off by a war indemnity. Not content with exterminating the Tverians, Uzbek put to death at the same time the Prince of Riazan, son of that Prince Iaroslaf whom George Danielovitch had murdered in prison. The Horde and Moscow seemed to have the same enemies—they struck in concert. It is remarkable that it was in the blood of the martyrs Michael of Tver and Dmitri “with the terrible eyes,” that “holy Russia” came to her growth.

Ivan Kalita (1328–1341) became Grand Prince, and made the journey to the Horde with Constantine, son of Michael, who had replaced the fugitive Alexander on the throne of Tver. Ivan was well received, but Uzbek commanded him to make Alexander appear before him. The ambassadors of the Grand Prince went to Pskof, to conjure Alexander to appear, or to summon the Pskovians to deliver him up. “Do not expose,” they said, “a Christian people to the wrath of the infidels.” But the Pskovians, touched by the prayers of the Prince of Tver, replied, “Do not go to the Horde, my lord; whatever happens, we will die with thee.” As magnanimous as the Novgorodians at the time of Alexander Nevski, as heroically absurd, they ordered the ambassadors to be gone, took up arms, and built a new fortress near Izborsk. Ivan assembled an army and persuaded the Metropolitan Theognostus to place Alexander and the Pskovians under an interdict. Thus men saw a Christian prince persecute one of his kinsmen by order of the Tatars, and a metropolitan excommunicate the Christians to force them to obey the Khan. The Pskovians, though alarmed, would not yield an inch; but Alexander left them and took refuge in Lithuania. Then they said to the Grand Prince, “Alexander is gone; all Pskof swears it, from the smallest to the greatest, popes, monks, nuns, orphans, women, and children” (1329).

Alexander afterwards returned, and was again recognized by them as their prince, but still regretted his good city of Tver. The protection of the Lithuanian Gedimin was too dangerous and too burdensome. Alexander thought it would be easier to bend the terrible Uzbek. He went to the Horde with his boyards. “Lord, all-powerful Tzar,” he said to Uzbek, “if I have done anything against you, I have come hither to receive of you life or death. Do as God inspires you; I am ready for either.” The Khan pardoned him, and Alexander returned to Tver. Ivan Kalita had hoped he had forever got rid of him. In Alexander’s absence he was the master of Russia, had interfered in

the affairs of Tver, married one of his daughters to Vladimir of Iaroslavl and another to Constantine of Rostof, brother of the banished prince. The return of Alexander gave a chief to those who were discontented with Ivan. Instead of declaring war, Ivan preferred to resort to his ordinary means. He flew to the Horde, and there represented Alexander as the most dangerous enemy of the Mongols. In consequence of these insinuations, Alexander was summoned before the Khan; this time he was beheaded, with his son Feodor. The rivalry with Moscow had already cost four princes of the house of Tver their lives. Uzbek, who had only confidence in Moscow, and who wished to govern the rest of Russia by terror, about this time put the Prince of Starodoub to death. The princes Constantine and Vassili of Tver, sons, brothers, and uncles of the victims, felt that they could only maintain themselves by obedience to their terrible father-in-law. As a proof of submission they sent to Kalita the great bell of the cathedral of Tver. The princes of Riazan and Souzdal were also obliged to fight under his standards. Novgorod, threatened by him, began the course which afterwards proved so fatal to her, and might have proved the ruin of Russia; she allied herself with Lithuania, accepted as prince, Narimond, a son of Gedimin, and gave him the Novgorodian possessions in Ingria and Carelia, as hereditary appanages. She tried also to make friends with the Grand Prince of Moscow, but Ivan only desired to restrict her liberties, and exacted, in the name of the Khan, a double capitation-tax.

This unwarlike prince, at the same time as he strengthened his supremacy, acquired by purchase the towns of Ouglitch, Galitch, Biélozersk, and lands in the neighborhoods of Kostroma, Vladimir, and Rostof. He was at once Prince of Moscow and Grand Prince of Vladimir; but Moscow was his inheritance, of which he could not legally be despoiled by the Khan, while Vladimir could be given to another house. It was thus that in Germany the archduchy of Austria was hereditary, whilst the imperial crown might legally pass to another family. It may therefore be imagined how Kalita chose to sacrifice Vladimir to Moscow, as the Hapsburgs sacrificed Frankfort to Vienna. His Tverian rivals, the two grand princes, his predecessors, had acted in the same way. Michael and Dmitri of Tver had hardly appeared at Vladimir, except to be crowned in the cathedral. They lived habitually in their appanage towns, one at Tver, the other at Peréiaslavl. Under Kalita, Vladimir remained the legal capital of Russia; Moscow was the real capital, and Kalita was working to make her the capital *de jure* as well as *de facto*. The Metropolitan of Vladimir, Peter, who had an affection for

Moscow, often resided there. His successor, Theognostus, established himself there completely. Then the religious supremacy which had first belonged to Kief, and next to Vladimir, passed to Moscow. Kalita did his best to give it the prestige of a metropolis. He built magnificent churches in the Kremlin, among others that of the Assumption, the *Ouspienski sobor*. The first Metropolitans of Moscow, thanks to him and his successors, were beatified. St. Alexis and St. Peter are reckoned among the patron-saints of Russia. It is related that the Metropolitan Peter himself marked out the place of his tomb in the new church, and that he said to Ivan, "God will bless thee, and elevate thee above all the other princes, and raise this town above all other towns. Thy race will reign in this place during many centuries; their hands will conquer all their enemies; the saints will make their dwelling here, and here shall my bones repose."

What made the chief glory of Kief the ancient metropolis was the famous Petcherski monastery, with its holy catacombs and the tombs of so many ascetics and wonder-workers. Moscow had also her heritage of virtues and glorious austerity. Under Kalita's successor, not far from the capital, in a deep forest, where he had at first no companion but a bear, on water-courses which were haunted only by the beavers, St. Sergius founded the Troïtsa monastery (the *Trinity*), which became one of the richest and most venerated of Eastern Russia. On its increase of wealth, it was obliged to be surrounded with ramparts; and its thick brick walls with a triple row of embrasures, its nine war-towers, and its still existing fortifications, were afterwards destined to brave the assaults of Catholics and infidels. The princes of Moscow, in spite of their perfidious and pitiless policy, were as pious as good King Robert—*dévots*, alms-givers, indefatigable in building churches and monasteries, in honoring the clergy, and in helping the poor. The surname of *Kalita* given to Ivan comes from the *kalita* or alms-bag he wore always at his girdle. This *kalita* may also have been Shylock's purse—the bag of a prince who was farmer-general and usurer who demanded from Novgorod double what he intended to pay on her behalf to Uzbek. Ivan liked to converse with the monks in his Convent of the Transfiguration. Like all the other princes of the house, he took care, when at the point of death, to be tonsured and adopt the religious dress and a new name.

If the princes of Moscow labored with fierce energy to bind together the Russian soil, they continued to divide it into appanages among their sons. Many causes contributed to prevent

the return of the former anarchy. These princes, as a rule, had few sons; they gradually got into the way of giving only very weak appanages to the younger ones, and these on condition of an absolute dependence on the eldest. Ivan, for example, had only three sons; he gave by far the larger share (Mojaisk and Kolomna) to Simeon, and forbade Moscow to be divided. The idea of the State as one and indivisible was certain to end by gaining the day.

SIMEON THE PROUD AND IVAN THE DEBONNAIRE (1341-1359).

Simeon the Proud (1341-1353) and Ivan II. (1353-1359) succeeded one after the other their father Kalita. They were all three contemporaries of the early Valois. At the news of the death of Ivan, many princes at once disputed the throne of Vladimir with his sons. Constantine of Tver, and Constantine of Souzdal, especially, were supported by the other princes who did not desire the title of Grand Prince to be perpetuated in the house of Moscow. They went to the Horde at the same time as Simeon and his two sons travelled thither. Simeon owed his success neither to his eloquence nor his arguments, but to the treasure of his father, which won over the infidels. After being crowned in the Cathedral of Vladimir, he swore to live in harmony with his two brothers, and exacted from them the same oath. While pushing his submission to the Khan to the verge of baseness, he domineered over the Russian princes with a haughtiness that gained for him the surname of "the Proud." He forced Novgorod to pay him a contribution, and, in his capacity of supreme head of Russia, confirmed the liberties of the republic. He was the first who assumed the title of "Grand Prince of all the Russias," which was little justified by the facts, as in 1341 Olgerd of Lithuania besieged the town of Mojaïsk, Simeon's own appanage. The friendship of St. Alexis, third Metropolitan of Moscow, gave him great moral aid. In his reign Boris, a Russian artist, cast bells for the cathedrals of Moscow and Novgorod; three churches of the Kremlin were adorned with new paintings—that of the *Assumption*, by Greek artists; that of *St. Michael*, by the Court painters; that of the *Transfiguration*, by a foreigner named Goiten. Paper replaced parchment: and it was on paper that Simeon's will was written. Russia then still maintained her old relations with Byzantium, and entered into new ones with Europe. Simeon died of the famous "black death" or "black pestilence," which at this time desolated the West.

Ivan II., brother and successor of "the Proud," deserves,

on the contrary, the surname of "the Débonnaire." He was of a different type from the sinister princes of Souzdal, and was pacific and gentle. The anarchy into which Russia fell during the six years of his reign, shows how little his virtues were those of his century. Without attempting to avenge himself, Ivan permitted Oleg of Riazan to insult his territory, burn his villages of the Lopasnia, and ill-treat his lieutenant. He allowed the Novgorodians to despise his authority and obey Constantine of Souzdal; he let the Grand Duke Olgerd occupy Rjef, and Andrew of Lithuania menace Pskof. He interfered neither in the civil wars of the princes of Riazan, nor in those of the principality of Tver, nor in the troubles excited at Novgorod by the rivalry of the Slavonian quarters and that of St. Sophia, nor in the storm raised in the Church by the Patriarch of Constantinople, who dared to consecrate metropolitan a rival of St. Alexis. The murder of one of his officers, Alexis, military governor of Moscow, remained unpunished. In this weakness of the prince, the churchmen naturally came to the front, and took up the part abandoned by him. Moses, Archbishop of Novgorod, quelled a revolt in the republic; St. Alexis reconciled the princes of Tver, and acquired, by a miraculous cure, great power in the Horde, by which he profited to protect his people and his prince. At the death of Ivan II., the title of Grand Prince, which his three predecessors had made such efforts to perpetuate in the house of Moscow, passed to that of Souzdal. Dmitri of Souzdal (1359-1362), furnished with the *iarlikh*, made his solemn entry into Vladimir. It was again St. Alexis who saved the supremacy of Moscow. After having blessed the Grand Prince in Vladimir, he returned to his care of the young children of Ivan II., and to Moscow, which had for a moment ceased to be the capital. It was by his counsel that Dmitri Ivanovitch, at the age of twelve, dared to declare himself the rival of Dmitri of Souzdal, and determined to appeal to the tribunal of the Khan. The Golden Horde was then a prey to civil wars; the ferocious Mamaï harassed Mourout, but as the latter reigned at Sarai, and seemed the legitimate successor of Bati, it was to him that the Souzdalian and Muscovite boyards addressed themselves. Mourout adjudged the Grand Principality to the grandson of Kalita, whom a Muscovite army led to be consecrated in Vladimir.

DMITRI DONSKOI (1363-1389)—THE BATTLE OF KOULIKOVO.

Dmitri Ivanovitch (1363-1389) is distinguished from nearly all the Souzdal princes by a warlike and chivalrous character

worthy of the West. He proves that the Russian soul had been only repressed, not rendered depraved and servile by the Tatar yoke, and that Slav chivalry only awaited an opportunity to raise the cry of war, and make their swords flash like the *preux chevaliers* of Louis IX. or of John the Good. Dmitri had at once to sustain a series of wars against the neighboring princes; notably against Dmitri of Souzdal, Michael of Tver, and Oleg of Riazan. As changes took place at the Horde, Dmitri of Souzdal obtained from the Khan Mourout a reversal of his first decision, and returned to Vladimir. The Prince of Moscow, who feared this feeble Khan no longer, did not hesitate to take up arms, and to expel his rival from Vladimir. A treaty was agreed on between them. The Souzdalian appanage of Nijni-Novgorod having become vacant, Dmitri supported his ancient enemy against his competitor Boris. Like his grandfather Kalita, who had caused Novgorod to be excommunicated, Dmitri Ivanovitch entreated St. Sergius, the founder of the Troïtsa Monastery, to lay Nijni-Novgorod under an interdict. Then Boris yielded, and Dmitri of Souzdal, now Prince of Nijni-Novgorod, gave the Prince of Moscow his daughter Eudoxia in marriage, and henceforward remained his friend. Dmitri Ivanovitch deprived the rebel princes of Starodoub and Galitch of their appanages, and forced Constantine Borissovitch to recognize his supremacy. He made, under the guarantee of St. Alexis, a treaty with his cousin, Vladimir Andriévitch, by which he undertook to hand over to him the appanage that Kalita had secured to his father, and by which Vladimir engaged to acknowledge him as his father and his Grand Prince. Vladimir kept his word, and was always the bravest lieutenant and the right arm of Dmitri.

The struggle now recommenced with the house of Tver. Michael Alexandrovitch, whose father had been killed at the Horde, disputed the throne with one of his uncles. The Grand Prince and the Metropolitan of Moscow took the part of the latter. Michael paid no attention to this decision, took Tver with a Lithuanian army, besieged his uncle in Kachine, and obliged him to renounce his claims. He then took the title of Grand Prince of Tver. It was chiefly the alliance with Olgerd, the husband of his sister Juliana, that rendered him formidable. Thrice—in 1368, in 1371, and in 1372—Olgerd conducted his brother-in-law, burning and pillaging on his way, up to the walls of the Kremlin on Moscow. Neither the Lithuanian nor the Muscovite army on any of these occasions fought a decisive battle. The boyards of Dmitri felt that a lost battle would be the ruin of Russia; while Olgerd was too old and experienced to

stake all on a hazard. At last, in 1375, after the death of his brother-in-law, Michael found himself besieged in Tver by the united forces of all the vassals and allies of Dmitri and of the Novgorodians who had the sack of Torjok and the devastation of their territory to avenge. Reduced to extremities, and abandoned by Lithuania, he was constrained to sign a treaty by which he engaged to regard Dmitri as his "elder brother," to renounce all claim to Novgorod and Vladimir, not to disquiet the allies of Moscow, and to imitate Dmitri's conduct towards the Tatars, whether he continued to pay tribute or he declared war.

Another enemy, not less dangerous, was Oleg of Riazan, who had formerly braved Ivan the Débonnaire. In 1371, the Muscovites defeated Oleg, and installed a prince of Pronsk in his capital, who was not, however, strong enough to maintain his position. If Tver was sometimes supported by Lithuania, Riazan had often the Horde as an ally.

The empire of Kiptchak was gradually falling to pieces. Many competitors disputed the throne of Saraï. The Tatars acted after their kind, and invaded the Russian territory in disorderly style. It is true it was no longer a point of honor with the Christian princes to submit to them. Oleg of Riazan himself united with the princes of Pronsk and Kozelsk, and defied the *mourza* Tagaï, who had burnt Riazan. Dmitri of Souzdal, prince of Nijni-Novgorod, had defeated Boulat-Temir, who on his return to the Horde had been disavowed and put to death. Finally, Dmitri of Moscow had many times disobeyed the terrible Mamaï. He had, however, the courage to answer to the summons of the Khan, and the good fortune or the cleverness to return to Moscow safe and well (1371). In 1376 Dmitri sent a great expedition against Kazan by the Volga, and forced two Tatar princes to pay tribute. Conflicts multiplied between the Christians and the infidels. In this manner the princes of Souzdal exterminated a band of Mordvians, and delivered up their chiefs to be torn in pieces by the dogs of Novgorod; in return, Mamaï ordered the town to be burnt. In 1378, Dmitri of Moscow gained a brilliant victory over the lieutenant of Mamaï on the banks of the Voja in Riazan. In the first intoxication of victory, he cried, "Their time is past, and God is with us!" The Khan, in his blind fury, caused his anger to fall on Oleg of Riazan, the rival of Dmitri Ivanovitch, who fled, abandoning his lands to the ravages of the enemy.

It took Mamaï two years to mature his plans of vengeance, and he assembled in silence an immense host of Tatars, Turks, Polovtsi, Tcherkesses, Iasses, and Bourtanians or Caucasian Jews. Even the Genoese of Kaffa, settled in the Crimea and

on the territory of the Khan, furnished a contingent. In these critical circumstances for Russia, Oleg of Riazan, forgetting his grievances against the Tatars, and only remembering his mistrust and jealousy of Moscow, betrayed the common cause. While keeping on good terms with Dmitri, even while warning him of what was preparing, he secretly negotiated an alliance between the two most formidable enemies of Russia—Jagellon of Lithuania and Mamaï. The Grand Prince's army would probably be crushed between them; but Dmitri did not lose heart. The desire of vengeance awakened in the Russians with the force of religious enthusiasm. At the call of the Grand Prince, the princes of Rostof, Biélozersk, Iaroslavl, Starodoub, and Kachine, with their *droujinas*; the boyards of Vladimir, Nijni-Novgorod, Souzdal, Peréiaslavl-Zaliesski, Kostroma, Mourom, Dmitrof, Mojaïsk, Zvenigorod, Ouglitch, and Serpoukhof, at the head of their contingents, successively made their entrance into the Kremlin, amid the acclamations of the Muscovites. At Kostroma Dmitri was to be joined by two Lithuanian princes—Andrew and Dmitri—who brought him troops from Pskof and Briansk. The grand Prince, with his cousin Vladimir, went to the hermitage of Troitsa to ask the benediction of Saint Sergius. The latter predicted that he would gain the victory, but that it would be a bloody fight. He sent two of his monks, Alexander Peresvet and Oслиaba, formerly a brave boyard of Briansk, to accompany Dmitri. On their cowls he made the sign of the cross. "Behold," he cried, "a weapon which faileth never." The Prince of Tver had taken good care not to send his contingent, and the treason of the Prince of Riazan now became known. The hearts of the Russians beat with joy and enthusiasm at the thought of revenge. In spite of private jealousies, the princes were animated by the same ardor as the Spanish kings when they marched against the Moors, or the companions of Godfrey of Bouillon on the road for the Holy Land. Never had such an army been seen. Dmitri is said to have had 150,000 men.

They crossed the country of Riazan, then under a craven prince, and reached the banks of the Don. The princes debated as to whether it was necessary to cross the river immediately; but it was urgent to dispose of the Mongols before having on their hands Jagellon, who had already arrived at Odœf, fifteen leagues off. A letter which Dmitri received from Saint Sergius, recommending him to "go forwards," decided the matter. The Don was crossed, and they found themselves on the plain of Koulikovo (*the Field of Woodcocks*), watered by the Nepriadva. The centre was occupied by the princes of Lithuania and Smolensk, with the *droujina* of Dmitri; the right was

commanded by the princes of Rostof and Starodoub, the left by those of Iaroslavl and Vologda; the reserve by Prince Vladimir, the brave Dmitri of Volhynia, and the princes of Briansk and Kachine. The Mongols soon came up, and the battle began. It was bloody and dubious. The enemy had already cut to pieces the *droujina* of the Grand Prince, when Vladimir and Dmitri of Volhynia, who had lain in ambush, suddenly attacked the Tatars. Mamaï, from the top of a *kourgan*, contemplated the flight of his army. His camp, his chariots, and his camels were all captured. The Mongols were pursued to the Métcha, in which many drowned themselves. If the barbarians lost, as they are said to have done, 100,000 men, the Russian loss was also very severe. They counted among the dead the two monks of Saint Sergius; one of them, Peresvet was discovered in the arms of a Patzinak giant, who had fought, with him hand to hand, and perished along with him. For a long while Dmitri could not be found; at last he was seen in a swoon, his armor bloody and broken. This memorable battle of Koulikovo has been related in more than one way by the Russian historians. With the annalists, properly so called, the official historiographers of the Grand Prince, Dmitri is the hero. In the poetical recitals which were inspired by the account of the pope Sophronius, it is Saint Sergius who at each moment supports the courage of Dmitri, whom they represent with rather too much humility for a general-in-chief. The battle of the Don, which gained for Dmitri the surname of *Donskoï*, and for Vladimir that of the Brave, is as celebrated in Russia as that of Las Navas de Tolosa in Spain. It showed the Russians that they could vanquish the invincible; and the Mongol yoke, even after they again fell under it, did not seem inevitable. Dmitri had heroically broken the tradition of slavery; he had proclaimed the future freedom (1380).

Unhappily the event showed the advantages of the policy of resignation over the policy of chivalry—of the patience of the hero of the Neva over the bravery of the hero of the Don. A man appeared at this moment at the head of the Mongols, who was as formidable as Genghis Khan—Tamerlane, the conqueror of the two Bokharas, of Hindostan, of Iran, and of Asia Minor. Tokhtamysh, one of his generals, caused Mamaï to be put to death, and announced to Dmitri that he had triumphed over their common enemy; then he summoned the Russian princes to present themselves at the Horde. Dmitri refused. Was it in vain that the blood of the Christians had flowed at Koulikovo? The Khan assembled an immense army. Dmitri found no longer the same wisdom or energy among his coun-

cillors. Not knowing what to do, he left Moscow and went to assemble an army at Kostroma. Tokhtamych marched straight on the capital, and during three days tried to carry the walls of the Kremlin by assault. Then he had recourse to a *ruse*, and affected to enter in a negotiation. At last the Tatars surprised the gates, and delivered up Moscow to fire and sword. A tolerably exact calculation proves that 24,000 men perished, beside the precious documents and earliest archives of the principality.

Vladimir, Mojaïsk, Iourief, and other towns of Souzdal suffered the same fate. When Tokhtamych had retired, Dmitri came and wept over the ruins of his capital. "Our fathers," he cried, "who never triumphed over the Tatars, were less unhappy than we." Bitter morrow of victory! However, although Russia had to resign herself to her Tatar collectors, she felt that the Horde would never recover its former power.

Dmitri longed at least to revenge himself on the perfidious Oleg. The latter escaped him, but Riazan, which was regarded as a harbor for traitors, was sacked. Michaelof Tver merited the same chastisement; he had refused to fight Mamaï, and was one of the first to fly to the Horde of Tokhtamych. The war continued with Oleg of Riazan, who ravaged the territory of Kolomna. Saint Sergius again intervened, entreated and threatened Oleg, and finally induced him to conclude a "perpetual peace" with Dmitri, and to cement it by the marriage of his son Feodor with Sophia, daughter of Dmitri.

The Novgorod adventurers, the "Good Companions," had about this time committed many ravages on the territories of the Grand Principalities. They insulted Iaroslav and Kostroma in 1371, and Kostroma and Nijni-Novgorod in 1375, pillaging as far as Saraï and Astrakhan, sparing neither infidels nor Christians. Novgorod continued to furnish appanages to the Lithuanian princes, to despise the political authority of the Grand Prince, and the religious supremacy of the Metropolitan. Dmitri marched against the republic with the contingents of twenty-five provinces. Novgorod had to pay an indemnity for the glorious deeds of the Good Companions, and to engage to furnish a yearly tribute.

When Dmitri died, the principality of Moscow was by far the most considerable of the States of the North-east, since it extended on the south to Kalouga and Kasimof, and included on the north-east Biélozersk and Galitch. As to Vladimir, Dmitri, in his will, calls it his patrimony. He has been reproached for having limited himself to the sack of Tver and Riazan, without hastening their final annexation. If Dmitri gave appanages to

his five younger sons, he at least established the principle of inheritance in a direct line instead of the ancient principle of collateral succession. He had signed a treaty with his cousin Vladimir, by which the latter renounced his rights as "eldest of the family," engaging to consider Vassili, eldest son of Dmitri, as his "elder brother." In the reign of Donskoï the monk Stephen founded the first church in the country of the Permians, confuted their priests and sorcerers, overthrew the idols of Voïssel and the *Old Golden Woman* who held two infants in her arms, put a stop to the sacrifice of reindeer, built schools, and died Bishop of Permia. A certain Andrew, probably a Genoese by birth, settled on the Petchora. Russia entered into relations with the West by means of the Genoese of Kaffa and Azof; coins of silver and copper, with the image of a knight, replaced the *kounes*, or marten-skins. About 1389 the first cannons appeared in the Russian army. Moscow continued to adorn herself, and the monasteries of the Miracle, of Andronii, and of Simeon were built.

VASSILI DMITRIEVITCH AND VASSILI THE BLIND (1389-1465).

Vassili Dmitriévitch (1389-1425), the contemporary of Charles VI. of France, succeeded his father without opposition as Grand Prince of Moscow and Vladimir. The preponderance of the first of these towns over the second became more and more marked. The situation of both was equally advantageous; the one on the Moskowa, the other on the Kliazma, affluents of the Oka. Vladimir, like Moscow, had its kremlin on a high hill, commanding a vast extent of country. Both cities were in communication with the great Russian artery, the Volga; but were far enough from it to escape the piracies of the Good Companions. Vladimir had been in other respects as favored as Moscow. Andrew Boglioubski had ornamented the former, as Ivan Kalita had embellished the second. Vladimir, to which the title of Grand Principality was attached, seemed even better fitted than Moscow to be the capital of Russia. It was almost an historical accident that decided in favor of the latter. At the present day Vladimir is merely a simple seat of government with a population of 14,000, while Moscow is a metropolis with 600,000 souls.

With regard to Novgorod, the Grand Prince of Moscow began to look upon it from the point of view of a sovereign, and called the city "his patrimony." The Novgorodians on their side appealed to the charter of Iaroslaf the Great, which formally con-

ceded them the right to choose their princes. In the last reigns they had been accustomed to have recourse to a bargain. The republicans recognized the sovereign of Moscow as their prince, if the latter would consent to certain conditions,—the final homage rendered to the ancient Slav freedom. After the fall of Alexander of Tver (1328), no Russian prince could compete with the house of Moscow for the throne of Novgorod. The only possible rivals were the Grand Princes of Lithuania. Now with Lithuania it was not only a competition of candidates, but it was a great national and religious question. Moscow would prefer to ruin Novgorod rather than allow her to pass into the hands of the most dangerous enemy of Russian orthodoxy. We may say that after 1328 Novgorod had no longer a special prince, but only a boyard of Moscow, who represented the Grand Prince. The power of the latter was sometimes exerted with vigor. In 1393 Novgorod having revolted against Moscow, Vassili sent in his troops, and seventy inhabitants of Torjok, accused of having put to death one of his men, were cut to pieces.

Vassili Dmitriévitch then, on his accession to the throne, found his power considerably strengthened, as Vladimir on the Kliazma and Novgorod the Great, the objects of so many bloody contests with the Russian princes, had in some ways already become integral parts of his dominions. If he went to the Horde in 1392, it was less to obtain the confirmation of this triple crown than to acquire new territories. From the Khan Tokhtamych he bought a *iarlikh*, which put him in possession of the three appanages of Mourom, Nijni-Novgorod, and Souzdal. The boyards of Moscow and the ambassador of the Khan betook themselves to Nijni. Boris, the last titular prince of the two latter appanages, was betrayed by his men, who persuaded him to open the gates, and delivered him up to the soldiers of the Grand Prince. Then, with the ringing of all the bells in the town, Vassili of Moscow was proclaimed Prince of Nijni and Souzdal.

This prince, who lived on such good terms with the Horde, was witness, however, of two Tatar invasions of Russia. Tamerlane, conqueror of the Ottoman Turks at Anticyra, attacked his old favorite Tokhtamych, and pillaged the Golden Horde. He continued to move towards the West, putting the Russian territory to fire and sword. Moscow was threatened with an invasion as terrible as that of Bati. The famous Virgin of Vladimir, brought by Andrew Bogolioubski from Vychehorod, was taken solemnly to Moscow. The Tatars reached Eletz on the Don, and made its princes prisoners. There they stopped, and suddenly retreated. Accustomed to the rich booty of Bokhara and Hindostan, and dreaming of Constantinople and Egypt, they

found, no doubt, that the desert steppes and deep forests only offered a very meagre prey. They indemnified themselves by the pillage of Azof, where Egyptian, Venetian, Genoese, Catalan and Biscayan merchants had accumulated great wealth, and by the destruction of Astrakhan and Sarai (1395.)

The irruption of Tamerlane resulted in the more rapid dissolution of the Golden Horde. We have seen that Vitovt took advantage of it to organize against the Mongols his great crusade of the Vorskla (1399). Vassili Dmitriévitch had taken good care not to interfere in the war between Lithuania and the Kiptchaks. His Western neighbors appeared to him more dangerous than those of the East; with the latter the payment of the tribute still sufficed, with the former the stake was the existence of Russia. Vassili profited by the defeat of the one and the disorganization of the other, and was careful to irritate neither party. As the Horde was then disputed by many competitors, he forbore to pay the tribute, affecting not to know which was the legitimate Khan. Ediger, the vanquisher of Vitovt, resolved to reduce the Russian vassals to obedience. He lulled the prudence of the Muscovites to rest by spreading the rumor that he was assembling troops for a war against Lithuania. Suddenly they heard that he had entered the Grand Principality. Vassili imitated the conduct of his father in similar circumstances. He retired to Kostroma to assemble an army, and confided the defence of Moscow to Vladimir the Brave. Defended by artillery, the Kremlin could withstand the attack of a large force, but the dense population caused fears of famine. Ediger burnt the towns in the flat country while blockading Moscow. Ivan, prince of Tver, showed on this occasion more greatness of soul and political wisdom than his father Michael. He abstained from coming to the help of the Tatars against his formidable suzerain. In these circumstances Ediger learnt that his master Boulat himself feared an attack at the Horde by his Oriental enemies. To cover his forced retreat he addressed a haughty letter to the Grand Prince, summoning him to pay tribute; he obtained three thousand roubles from the Muscovite boyards as a war indemnity (1408).

Vitovt of Lithuania, whose daughter Sophia Vassili had married, was a still more dangerous enemy. Great caution was necessary in all dealings with him. Vassili saw the hand of his father-in-law, in the troubles of Novgorod, everywhere; at Pskof, where Vitovt had taken the title of Grand Prince; at Smolensk, which he had united to Lithuania; at Tver, where he supported Michael against the Grand Prince. Like Olgerd, Vitovt marched thrice against Moscow. Each of the two rivals had too many

other enemies to dispose of, to risk in one battle the fortunes of Moscow or Lithuania. In 1408 they signed a treaty by which the Ougra was fixed on as the limit of the two Grand Principalities, leaving Smolensk to Vitovt, and restoring Kozelsk to Russia. Besides Mourom and Souzdal, Vassili had united to his domains many appanages of the country of Tchernigof, such as Toroussa, Novossil, Kozelsk, and Peremysl. In the quarrels with Novgorod, generally occasioned by the exploits of the Good Companions or by commercial rivalry, he had appropriated vast territories on the Dwina; among others, Vologda. In an expedition against the republic of Viatka he had reduced it to submission, and made one of his brothers its prince. He had imposed a treaty on Feodor Olgivitch, prince of Riazan, by which the latter undertook to look on him as a father, and to make no alliance to his hurt. Vassili on his side ceded to him Toula and the title of Grand Prince. The Oka formed the boundary of the two States. He made, no doubt, a similar treaty with Ivan, prince of Tver. One of his daughters had married the Emperor John Palæologus.

The reign of Vassili the Blind (1425-1462), contemporary with Charles VII. of France, marks a pause in the development of the Grand Principality. A civil war of twenty years broke out in the bosom of the family of *Donskoi*. One of his sons, George, or Iouri, whom he had made Prince of Roussa and Zvenigorod, attempted to revert to the ancient national law, and invoked his right as "eldest" against his nephew, Vassili Vassiliévitch. Vassili's other uncles declared in favor of the young prince. In 1431 it was necessary to carry the dispute to the Horde. Each of the two parties set forth his right to the Khan Oulou-Makhmet. Vsevolojiski, a boyard of the Prince of Moscow, found the best of arguments for his master. "My Lord Tzar," he said to Makhmet, "let me speak—me, the slave of the Grand Prince. My master the Grand Prince prays for the throne of the Grand Principality, which is thy property, having no other title but thy protection, thy investiture, and thy *iarlikh*. Thou art master, and can dispose of it according to thy good pleasure. My lord the Prince Iouri Dmitriévitch, his uncle, claims the Grand Principality by the act and the will of his father, but not as a favor from the All-powerful." In this contest of baseness the prize was adjudged to the Prince of Moscow. The Khan ordered Iouri to lead his nephew's horse by the bridle. A Tatar *baskak* was present at the coronation of the Grand Prince, which took place, for the first time, not at Vladimir, but at the Assumption in Moscow. From this time Vladimir lost her privileges as the capital, although, in the enumeration

of their titles, the Grand Princes continued to inscribe the name of Vladimir before that of Moscow.

Vassili owed his throne to the clever boyard, Vsevoljski. He had promised to marry his daughter, but his own mother, Sophia, the proud Lithuanian, daughter of the great Vitovt, made him contract an alliance with the Princess Maria, granddaughter of Vladimir the Brave. The irritated boyard left Vassili's service, and retired to his enemy, Iouri, whose resentment against his nephew he fanned. Another circumstance exasperated Iouri; his two sons, Vassili the Squinting, and Chemiaka, assisted at the marriage of the Grand Prince. The Princess Sophia recognized round the waist of Vassili the Squinting a belt of gold which had belonged to Dmitri Donskoï. She had the imprudence, publicly and with open scandal, to take it from the son of Iouri. On this affront, the two princes at once left the banqueting-hall, and retired to their father. The latter instantly took up arms, and departed for Peréiaslavl. The Prince of Moscow could hardly assemble any troops, and fell into the hands of his uncle at Kostroma, (1433). Vassili tried in vain to soften him by his tears. The Squinter and Chemiaka wished their prisoner to be put to death, but by the self interested counsel of the boyard Morozof, Iouri allowed his nephew to live, and gave him the appanage of Kostroma, while he took for himself the Grand Principality. The affection of the Muscovites for their prince was so great, that they abandoned their city *en masse*, and crowded into Kostroma. Iouri saw that his nephew was still powerful, reproached Morozof for his perfidious advice, and had him stabbed by his two sons. "Thou hast ruined our father," they said. The usurper was indeed unable to remain in Moscow, and sent to tell his nephew he might come and take possession of it. The boyards pressed around Vassili on his return to his capital, "as bees press around their queen." The war, however, continued: thanks to the cowardice of Vassili, Iouri again took the Kremlin, and made prisoners the wife and mother of the Grand Prince, while the Squinter and Chemiaka occupied Vladimir, and marched on Nijni-Novgorod.

Iouri had hardly been recognized as Grand Prince of Novgorod, when he died suddenly. His sons then made peace with Vassili, but immediately took up arms again. In one of the many reverses of this civil war, Vassili the Squinting fell into the hands of the Grand Prince, who had his eyes put out in an excess of fury (1436). Then, by one of those changes common to violent and impulsive natures, he passed from anger to dismay; and to atone for his crime against his cousin, set free Chemiaka, whom he had made prisoner at the same time.

Chemiaka promised to serve him, but served him very badly. In a battle with the Tatars, his desertion caused the rout of the Russian army (siege of Biélef, in Lithuania). In 1441 the war began again between the Grand Prince and Chemiaka. The latter, with some thousands of Free-lances and Good Companions, suddenly undertook the siege of Moscow. Zenobius, superior of the Troïtsa monastery, succeeded once more in reconciling them. Chemiaka displayed his ordinary duplicity on the occasion of a military incursion of the Tatars of Kazan. The Grand Prince waited in vain for the succors that had been promised him, and it was with only 1500 men that he finally took the field, so much had the discords between the descendants of Dmitri Donskoï weakened the Grand Principality, loosened the ties of obedience among the vassals, and degraded that Russia which had armed 150,000 men against Mamaï. Vassili, covered with fifteen wounds, fell into the hands of the barbarians, and was led prisoner to Kazan.

Moscow was in despair. The Prince of Tver insulted her territory; Chemiaka intrigued at the Horde to get himself nominated Grand Prince. All at once the Tzar of Kazan took it into his head to liberate his prisoners for a small ransom. Vassili re-entered his capital amid the acclamations of his people. Chemiaka had done enough to fear the vengeance of the Grand Prince; in the interests of his own safety, Vassili must be overthrown. Following the example of his father and grandfather, Vassili went to the Troïtsa monastery to return thanks to Saint Sergius for his deliverance. He had few companions and Chemiaka and his associates surprised the Kremlin in his absence, and captured his wife, his mother, and his treasures. Then he flew to Troïtsa, where his accomplice, Ivan of Mojaïsk, discovered the Grand Prince, who was hidden in the principal church near the tomb of Saint Sergius. He was brought back to Moscow, and ten years after the blinding of Vassili the Squinting, Chemiaka avenged his brother by putting out the eyes of the Grand Prince (1446).

During his short reign at Moscow, Chemiaka had made himself hated by the people and the boyards, who were faithful at bottom to their unhappy prince. In the popular language, a "judgment of Chemiaka" became the synonym for a crying wrong. Presently Vassili's partisans assembled troops in Lithuania, joined those of the two Tatar *tzarevitchies*, and marched against the usurper. At this period, Russia was infested by armed bands, the relics of the great Tatar and Lithuanian wars, Lithuanian adventurers, *tzarevitchies* banished from the Horde, Novgorodian Good Companions, Free-lances

of all races. They ravaged the flat country, attacked the strongest towns, and their chiefs sometimes created ephemeral principalities for themselves. As the Asiatic element predominated in them, they might be termed *Great Mongol Companies*, analogous to the *Great English* or the *French Companies* that, about the year 1444, Charles VII. sent to Alsace and Switzerland. Serving Chemiaka or the Grand Prince indifferently, they did their best to perpetuate the quarrel. Chemiaka wished to march against his enemies. Hardly had he left Moscow when the city broke into revolt, and Vassili entered in triumph. Chemiaka fled, and accepted a reconciliation with his victim (1447). Incapable of repose, he again took up arms, was completely defeated near Galitch by the Muscovites and Tatars (1450), and fled to Novgorod, where he is said to have died three years after, by poison. All his appanages were reunited to the royal domain.

Disembarrassed of this dangerous enemy, Vassili the Blind hastened to take up the work of his predecessors. Novgorod had not ceased to give asylum to his enemies, to despise the authority of his lieutenants, to contest his right of final appeal and the supremacy of the Metropolitan. A Muscovite army reduced her to reason; she was forced to annul all the acts of the *vetcha* which tended to limit the authority of the Grand Prince, to pay him a heavy indemnity, and to promise to set no seal but that of Vassili on her deeds. Pskof received one of his sons as her prince. The republic of Viatka had to pay tribute, and to furnish a military contingent. The Prince of Riazan having just died, Vassili took his young heir to Moscow, under pretence of bringing him up, and sent his lieutenant to govern the appanage. Vassili of Borovsk, grandson of Vladimir the Brave, had rendered him important services, but none the less was he imprisoned, and his possessions swallowed up in the Grand Principality. The authority of the Grand Prince began to be exercised on his subordinates with new rigor; and the rebels, real or supposed, were subjected to the knout, tortures, mutilations, and refined cruelties. Vassili, who had suffered so much from the appanaged princes Iouri and Chemiaka—who was so energetic in destroying the appanages around him—could not free himself from the yoke of custom, and began to dismember the principality which he had aggrandized, in favor of his four younger sons. However, to avoid all contests about the title of Grand Prince, and to ensure the succession of the direct line, he had, since the year 1449, associated with himself his eldest son, Ivan.

Memorable events had agitated the orthodox world during

his reign. In 1439, Pope Eugenius IV. assembled the Council of Florence to discuss the union of the two Churches. The Greek Emperor, John Palæologus, who hoped to obtain the help of the Pope against the Ottomans, had sent the bishops of his communion; Isidore, Metropolitan of Moscow, was also present. It was in vain that the Emperor of Constantinople, three vicars of the Patriarchs of the East, seventeen metropolitans, and a multitude of bishops signed the act of union. The Greek world listened to the energetic protest of Mark, the old bishop of Ephesus, and rejected the union with Rome. Isidore announced at Kief and Moscow that he had signed the act of reconciliation; the appearance of the Latin cross at the Assumption in the Kremlin, the name of Pope Eugenius in the public prayers, and the reading of the formal document, astonished the Russians. Vassili, who piqued himself on his theology, also raised his voice, began a polemic against Isidore, and so overwhelmed him with insults, that the "false shepherd" thought it prudent to fly to Rome. This check to the union heralded the fall of the Greek empire. In 1453, Mahomet II. entered Constantinople. There was no longer a Christian Tzar; Moscow became the great metropolis of orthodoxy. She was heir of Constantinople. Soon the monks, the artists, the literary men of Constantinople were to bring to her, as to the rest of Europe, the Renaissance.

CHAPTER XIII.

IVAN THE GREAT, THE UNITER OF THE RUSSIAN LAND
(1462-1505).

Submission of Novgorod—Annexation of Tver, Rostof, and Iaroslavl—Wars with the Great Horde and Kazan—End of the Tatar yoke—Wars with Lithuania—Western Russia as far as the Soja reconquered—Marriage with Sophia Palæologus—Greeks and Italians at the Court of Moscow.

SUBMISSION OF NOVGOROD—ANNEXATION OF THE PRINCIPALITIES
OF TVER, ROSTOF, AND IAROSLAVL.

AT the death of Vassili the Blind, Russia was all but stifled between the great Lithuanian empire and the vast possessions of the Mongols. To the north, she had two restless neighbors, the Livonian Order and Sweden. In spite of the labors of eight Muscovite princes, the little Russian State could not yet make its unity a fact; Riazan and Tver, though weakened, still existed. Novgorod and Pskof hesitated between the Grand Princes of Moscow and Lithuania. The heirs of Kalita, by creating new appanages, incessantly destroyed the unity after which they toiled, by means of a pitiless policy. Muscovy, which touches on no sea, had only intermittent relations with the centres of European civilization. It was, however, the time when the nations of the West began to be organized. Charles VII. and Louis XI. in France, Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain, the Tudors in England, Frederic III. and Maximilian in Austria, labored to build up powerful States from the ruins of feudal anarchy. European civilization made unheard-of strides; the Renaissance began, printing spread, Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama discovered new worlds. Was not Russia also going to achieve her unity, to take part in the great European movement? The man who was to restore her to herself, to free her from the Mongol yoke, to put her into relations with the West,—this man was expected. It had all been predicted. When a son named Ivan was born in 1440 to Vassili the Blind, an old monk had a revelation about it in Novgorod the Great.

He came and said to his archbishop: "Truly it is to-day that the Grand Prince triumphs; God has given him an heir; I behold this child making himself illustrious by glorious deeds. He will subdue princes and peoples. But woe to Novgorod! Novgorod will fall at his feet, and never rise up again."

Ivan III., whose reign of forty-three years was to permit him to realize the expectations of Russia, was a cold, imperious, calculating prince, the very type of the Souzdalian and Muscovite princes. Disliking war, he allowed doubts to be thrown upon his courage. He was victorious in Lithuania, in Livonia and Siberia, almost without leaving the Kremlin. His father had taken long journeys, which led him into many sad adventures, but Stephen of Moldavia said of Ivan: "Ivan is a strange man; he stays quietly at home and triumphs over his enemies, while I, though always on horseback, cannot defend my country." It was the verdict of Edward III. on Charles V. Ivan exhausted his enemies by negotiations and delay, and never employed force till it was absolutely necessary. His devotion was mixed with hypocrisy. He wept for his relatives whom he put to death, as Louis XI. bewailed the Duc de Guienne. Born a despot, "he had," says Karamsin, "penetrated the secret of autocracy, and became a formidable deity in the eyes of the Russians." His glance caused women to faint. When he slept after his meals, it was wonderful to see the frightened respect of the boyards for the sleep of the master. He inflicted cruel punishments and tortures on all rebels, even on those of the highest rank; he mutilated the counsellors of his son, whipped Prince Oukhtomski and the archimandrite of a powerful monastery, and burned alive two Poles in an iron cage on the Moskowa, for having conspired against him. He had already won the surname of "Terrible," which his grandson was to bear even more justly.

Ivan's first effort was directed against Novgorod the Great. The republic of the Ilmen was dying in the anarchy of the aristocracy, the dissensions of the people, the Church, and especially of the boyards. It is of this epoch that M. Biélaef has said, that "parties in Novgorod had become so complicated, that often it is difficult to perceive from what motive this or that faction excited troubles and revolts." They thought themselves able to despise the authority of a new prince, and had the imprudence to neglect the complaints and suggestions made in a tolerably moderate tone by Ivan III. He then signified to the Pskovians that they would have to second him in an expedition against the rebels. This the Pskovians did not wish to do, foreseeing that the fall of Novgorod would drag them down also.

They offered their mediation to their "elder sister"—it was rejected, and they were obliged to proceed. Ivan III. often received, however, the Archbishop of Novgorod, Theophilus, in his palace at Moscow, and continued to negotiate. He had a large party in Novgorod, but the opposing faction was the bolder. Marfa, the widow of the possadnik Boretski, mother of two grown-up sons, put herself at the head of the anti-Muscovite party. Ready and eloquent speech, immense wealth, an audacity equal to everything, had given her a great influence with the people and the boyards. This intrepid woman was the last incarnation of Novgorodian liberty. To save the republic, Marfa wished to throw it into the arms of the King of Poland, Casimir IV. She contended also that the Archbishop of Novgorod should be nominated by the Metropolitan of Kief, not by the Metropolitan of Moscow. In her devotion to Novgorod, she thus betrayed the cause of Russia and orthodoxy. The sittings of the *vetché*, amid the opposition of the two parties, degenerated into violent tumults. Some cried, "The king;" others, "Long live orthodox Moscow! long live the Grand Prince Ivan and our father the Metropolitan Philip!" The friends of Marfa finally won the day. Novgorod handed herself over to the King of Poland by a formal act in which she stipulated for the same rights as she had enjoyed under her ancient princes. Ivan III. tried once more to recall the citizens to obedience, and he sent them an ambassador, but the party of Marfa was always the more numerous or the more noisy. At last Ivan decided to begin the war. His voïevodes made the conquest of the territory of the Dwina; the Muscovites, supported by the Tatar cavalry, cruelly ravaged the territory of the "perfidious" Novgorodians; after the battle of Korostyne, they cut off the noses and lips of the prisoners. The republicans had fallen from their ancient valor; Marfa had hastily enrolled ill-disciplined artisans. At the battle of the Chelona, 5000 Muscovites defeated 30,000 Novgorodians. At Roussa the Grand Prince caused many boyards to be beheaded, one of whom was a son of Marfa, and sent others as prisoners into Muscovy. Ivan III. always advanced, fighting and negotiating. Novgorod submitted, paid a war indemnity, and, if she still remained a republic, she was a republic dependent on the good pleasure of the Prince (1470).

From that time Ivan labored entirely to reduce the town, and his party in Novgorod increased. If the people complained of the injustice of his lieutenants, he blamed the insufficiency of the ancient laws of the city. He tried to excite the animosity of the lower classes against the boyards. It was by the invitation of the former that he came in 1475 to hold a solemn court

in Novgorod. Great and small immediately crowded to his tribunal, to beg for justice one against the other. Ivan saw how much his own cause was strengthened by these divisions. An act of authority that he tried, succeeded completely. Marfa's second son, the possadnik, and many boyards were loaded with chains, and sent to Moscow. No one dared to protest. On his return to his capital, a multitude of complainants hastened after him; he forced them all to appear before him. Since Rurik, say the annalists, such a violation of Novgorod's liberty had never been known. Profiting by a documentary error made by the envoys of the town, he declared himself *sovereign* (goçoudar) of Novgorod, instead of *lord* (gospodine). Now if this interpretation were accepted, the subjection of the republic, which was only a matter of fact, would become a matter of law. The party of Marfa made a last effort to reject this *sovereignty*; the friends of the Grand Prince were massacred. Ivan declared that the Novgorodians, after having accorded him the title of *goçoudar*, had the effrontery to deny it. Then the Metropolitan, the bishops, the boyards, all Moscow, advised him to make war. Accordingly it was preached as a Holy War against the allies of the Pope and Lithuania. All the forces of Russia were put in motion, and many boyards of Novgorod appeared at the camp of the Grand Prince. The city was blockaded, and starved out. In vain the partisans of Marfa shouted the old war-cry: "Let us die for liberty and Saint Sophia!" They were forced to capitulate. Ivan guaranteed to them their persons and possessions, their ancient jurisdiction, and exemption from the Muscovite service; but the *vetché* and the possadnik were abolished forever. The belfry was reduced to silence. The Republic of Novgorod had ceased to exist (1478).

Marfa and the principal oligarchs were transported to Moscow, and their goods confiscated. Many times afterwards, there were party agitations, which were quelled by Ivan III. and his successor, by numerous transportations. In 1481 some boyards were tortured and put to death. Eight thousand Novgorodians were transplanted to the towns of Souzdal. Ivan III. struck another terrible blow at the prosperity of the city when, in 1495, after a quarrel with the people of Revel, he caused the merchants of forty-nine Hanseatic towns to be arrested at Novgorod, pillaged the "German market," and removed wares to the value of £40,000 to Moscow. The covetous Grand Prince doubtless did not see he was killing the hen with the golden eggs. A long while elapsed before the merchants of the West again made their appearance in Novgorod. Pskof, more docile, had preserved her *vetché* and her ancient institutions.

Whilst he was destroying the liberty of Novgorod, Ivan deprived her of her colonies, and undertook on his own account the conquest of Northern Russia. By this time Muscovy extended as far as Finland, the White Sea and the Icy Ocean, and had already obtained a footing in Asia. Ivan had conquered Permian in 1472, by which means he became master of the "silver beyond the Kama," which the Novgorodians had hitherto got in the course of trade. In 1489, Viatka, which had fallen for a short time into the power of the Tatars of Kazan, was reconquered, and lost her republican organization. In 1499 the voïevodes of Oustiougue, of the Dwina and of Viatka, advanced as far as the Petchora, and built a fortress on the banks of the river. In the depth of winter, in sledges drawn by dogs, they passed the defiles of the Ourals, in the teeth of the wind and snow, slew 50 of the Samoyedes, and captured 200 reindeer; invaded the territory of the Vogouls and Ougrians, the Finnish brethren of the Magyars; took 40 enclosures of palisades, made 50 princes prisoners, and returned to Moscow, after having reduced this unknown country, supposed by the geographers of antiquity to be the home of so many wonders and monsters. Russia, like the maritime nations of the West, had discovered a new world.

The cultivated provinces of Central Russia were more important than the deserts of the North. Here there were no immense territories to be conquered, but only the territories of the smaller appanaged princes to be grafted on to the already united mass. Ivan III. might have dethroned the young Prince of Riazan, whom his father had brought to Moscow, but he preferred to give him the hand of his sister, Anne Vassilievna, and send him back to his territories (1464). The absorption of the principalities of Riazan and Novgorod-Severski was reserved for his successor. He showed the same moderation about Tver, but in 1482 Prince Michael, who had only maintained his position on sufferance, had the imprudence to ally himself with Lithuania. Ivan hailed this pretext with joy, and marched in person against Tver, accompanied by the celebrated Aristotele Fioraventi of Bologna, grand master of his artillery. Michael took to flight; and Ivan began to organize his new subjects. A principality which could furnish 40,000 soldiers was united to Moscow without a blow. In like manner he obtained possession of Vereia and of Biélozersk, and deprived the princes of Rostof and Iaroslavl of their ancient rights of sovereignty.

His father, by giving appanages to his brothers, had prepared for him a new and ungrateful task, but Ivan undertook it without scruple. When his brother Iouri died, he wept much for him, but at once laid hands on his towns of Dmitrof, Mojaïsk, and

Serpoukhof, thereby causing his other brothers, who hoped to share the spoil, great discontent (1468). Andrew was accused of an understanding with Lithuania, and thrown into prison, where he died (1493). The Grand Prince convoked the Metropolitan and bishops to his palace, appeared before them with downcast eyes, his face sorrowful and bathed in tears, humbly accused himself of having been too cruel to his unhappy brother, and submitted to their pastoral admonitions; but he confiscated Andrew's appanage notwithstanding, and that of his brother Boris, who died a short time after, thus reuniting all the domains of his father. He acquired the surname of "Binder of the Russian Land," a name which his eight predecessors equally merited. It was owing to their earlier labors that Ivan was able to become the greatest and most powerful of these "Binders." He avoided their errors, and if later he gave appanages to his own children, it was only on condition that they should remain subjects of their eldest brother, and that they should neither have the right to coin money nor to exercise a separate diplomacy.

WARS WITH THE GREAT HORDE AND KAZAN—END OF THE TATAR YOKE.

The empire of the Horde was at last dissolved. The principal States which had risen from its *débris* were the Tazarate of Kazan, that of Saraï or Astrakhan, the Horde of the Nogaïs, and the Khanate of the Crimea. Kazan and the Crimea particularly presented strange ethnographical amalgamations. The Tzarate of Kazan had been founded in the reign of Vassili the Blind on the ruins of the ancient Bulgaria on the Volga, formerly so flourishing and civilized, by a banished prince of the Horde. It was the same Makhmet who had tried to establish himself at Belef, and had defeated Chemiaka. The Mongols had mixed with the ancient Bulgars, and reconstituted an important centre of commerce and civilization. The rule of the Tzarate extended over the Finnish tribes of the Mordvians, the Tchouvaches, and the Tcheremisses, as well as the Bachkirs and Metcheraks. The Khanate of the Crimea had been founded almost at the same date, by a descendant of Genghis Khan, named Azi. A peasant named Ghirei having saved him from death, Azi added his benefactor's name to his own, and henceforward the title belonged to all the khans of the Crimea. The Mongols, on arriving at the peninsula, found it occupied by the remains of the ancient Tauric, Hellenic, and Gothic races; by Armenians, Jews, and Jewish Kharaites, who pretended to have settled B.C. 500 on the rocks

and in the Troglodyte cities of Tchoufout-Kalé and Mangoup-Kalé, and finally by the Genoese of Kaffa. The Jews and Italians excepted, a large part of the ancient population was absorbed by the Asiatic invaders. Thus while the Tatars of the steppes of the Northern Crimea are pure Mongols, those of the mountains of the south seem to be chiefly Taurians, Goths, and Islamized Greeks. As to the great Horde of Saraï, that was almost entirely composed of nomads, such as the Nogaïs and other Turco-Tatar races.

Anarchy and rivalry reigned in the heart of each of these States. The princes of Kazan, Saraï, and the Crimea came to seek an asylum from the Grand Prince, who made use of them to perpetuate these divisions. In 1473 Ivan constituted the town of Novgorod of Riazan into a fief for one Mustafa; others served in the armies, and aided Ivan against Novgorod and Lithuania. Towards the khans and the tzars, especially those of the Great Horde or Saraï, the sovereign of Moscow held himself on the defensive, repelling the attacks of adventurers, but taking care not to provoke them; avoiding the payment of the tribute, but disposed to send them presents. At the same time he schemed for alliances against the Khan of Saraï, and despatched to the Turkoman Oussoum-Hassan, master of Persia and enemy of the Mongols, his Italian ambassador, Marco Ruffo (1477). A more solid friendship united him with Mengli-Ghirei, Khan of the Crimea, and lasted all their lives. Mengli was as serviceable to him against Lithuania as against the Horde.

In 1478, having carefully taken all his measures, he openly rebelled. When the Khan Akhmet sent his ambassadors with his image to receive the tribute, Ivan III. trampled the image of the Khan under his feet, and put all the envoys to death, excepting one, who conveyed the news to the Horde. This act, so very little in accordance with the well-known prudence of Ivan, is not to be found in all the chronicles. When Akhmet took the field, Ivan occupied a strong position on the Oka, with a more numerous and better-organized army than that of Dmitri Donskoï. His 150,000 men and powerful artillery did not, however, prevent him from reflecting much on the hazard of battles. He even returned to reflect at Moscow, and it needed all the clamors of the people to induce him to leave it. "What!" exclaimed the Muscovites, "he has overtaxed us, and refused to pay tribute to the Horde, and now that he has irritated the Khan, he declines to fight!" Ivan wished to consult his mother, his boyards, and his bishops. "March bravely against the enemy," was the unanimous reply. "Is it the part of mortals to fear death?" said old Archbishop Vassian. "We cannot

escape destiny." Ivan desired, at least, to send his young son Ivan back to Moscow, but the prince heroically disobeyed. The Grand Prince finally decided to return to the army, blessed by his mother and the Metropolitan, who promised him the victory as to a David or to a Constantine, reminding him that "a good shepherd will lay down his life for his sheep." Ivan, who did not feel himself made of the stuff of a Constantine, kept his army immovable on the Oka and the Ougra; the two forces contenting themselves with sending arrows and insults across the river. Ivan closed his ears to the warlike counsel of his boyards, and rather listened to the prudent advice of his two favorites—"fat and powerful lords," says the chronicle. However, he refused the proposition of the Khan, who offered to pardon him if he would either come himself or send one of his men to kiss his stirrup. At last monks and white-haired bishops lost all patience. Vassian addressed a bellicose letter to the Grand Prince, invoking the memories of Igor, Sviatoslaf, of Vladimir Monomachus, and Dmitri Donskoï. Ivan assured him that this letter "filled his heart with joy, courage, and strength; but another fortnight passed in inaction. On the fifteenth day the rivers were covered with ice; the Grand Prince gave the order to retreat. An inexplicable panic seized the two armies—Russians and Tatars both fled, when no man pursued. The Khan never stopped till he reached the Horde (1480). Such was the last invasion of the horsemen of the Kiptchak. It was in this unheroic way that Russia broke at last the Mongol yoke under which she had groaned for three centuries. Like Louis XI., Ivan III. had his battle of Montlhéry; but if he fought less, he gained far more. The Horde, attacked by the Khans of the Crimea, survived its decay but a short time. Akhmet was put to death by one of his own men.

Hostility increased between Kazan and Moscow. In 1467 and 1469 Ivan III. had organized two expeditions against Bulgaria. In 1487, seven years after having shaken off the supremacy of the Great Horde, the Muscovite voïevodes marched against the same Kazan, where the father of their Grand Prince had been held a captive. After a siege of seven weeks the city was taken, and the sovereign Alegam made prisoner. A tzar of Kazan was then seen a prisoner in Moscow! Ivan III. added the title of Prince of Bulgaria to those he already bore; but feeling that the Mussulman city was not yet ripe for annexation, he gave the crown to a nephew of his friend the Khan of the Crimea. The people were forced to take the oath of fidelity to him. The conquest of the land of Arsk, in Bulgaria itself, and the establishment of a Russian garrison in the fortress, allowed

him to watch from close by all that passed in Kazan. The Khan of the Crimea did not care to protest against the captivity of the Tzar Alegam, his nephew's enemy, but the princes of the Chiban and the Nogaïs, who were related to him, and who beheld Islamism humiliated in his person, despatched an embassy to the Grand Prince. The latter refused to release his prisoner, but replied so graciously that the envoys could hardly be angry. He sent to those zealous kinsmen clothes of Flanders, fishes' teeth, and gerfalcons, and did not forget the wives of the *mourzas*, whom he called his sisters. At the same time, wishing to make these Asiatics feel that times had changed, he took care never personally to compromise himself with the Nogaï envoys, and only to communicate with them by means of treasurers, secretaries, and other officers of the second rank.

WARS WITH LITHUANIA—WESTERN RUSSIA UP TO THE SOJA RECONQUERED.

Lithuania and Poland united remained, after all, Ivan's great enemy. This composite State plays the same part in Russian history as the Burgundy of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold in that of France. Made up in a great degree of Russian as well as of Polish and Lithuanian elements, it was many times on the point of annihilating Russia, in the same way as Burgundy, composed of French, Batavian, and German provinces, had been on the point of annihilating the French nation. Lithuania was incorporated with Poland in the same manner as the States of Burgundy, unfortunately for France, were incorporated with Austria.

At the beginning of Ivan's reign the King Casimir IV. was sovereign of the two united States, and neglected no means of disquieting the Grand Prince. The latter, on his part, incited his ally Mengli to invade the Lithuanian possessions; and the Crimean Tatars pillaged Kief and the Monastery of the Catacombs (1482). When, ten years after, Casimir died (1492), leaving Poland to his eldest son Albert, and Lithuania to Alexander, the second son, Ivan III. resolved to turn the division to account. He had obtained the friendship of the Turkish Sultan Bajazet II., of Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, of the active Stephen of Moldavia, the determined enemy of the Lithuanians; but, above all, he counted on Mengli. Mengli had held Lithuania in check while Ivan had got rid of the Mongols; now he was to play the same part with the Horde, while the Grand Prince settled old scores with Alexander, but without interfering with the Tatar incursions in the Ukraine. The dis-

covery at Moscow of a Polish plot against the life of the Grand Prince spread rumors of war. In the same way that he had been able to utilize the Mongol refugees against the Horde, he found the Lithuanian princes and other great personages entering into relations with him. It was then that Belski, afterwards so famous, obtained a footing in Russia, that the Prince of Mazovia sent an embassy to Ivan III., and the princes of Viazma, Vorotinsk, Belef, and Mezetsk did him homage.

The war was popular in Moscow, for its object was to break the yoke imposed by the Polish Catholics on the orthodox Russian people. In White Russia the Muscovites were to awake old national and religious sympathies. "Lithuania," said the ambassadors of Ivan III. to the plenipotentiaries of Alexander, "Lithuania has profited by the misfortunes of Russia to take our territory, but to-day things have changed." Peace was made after a short war (1494). The frontier of Muscovy was carried to the Desna, and comprehended the appanages of the princes who had taken service with Ivan, with Mstislavl, Obolensk, Kozelsk, Vorotinsk, Peremysl, &c.

The peace seemed to be cemented by the marriage of Alexander with Helena, daughter of Ivan III.; but, on the contrary, this union proved the germ of a new war. The sovereign of Moscow had stipulated that his daughter was under no circumstances to change her religion, that she was to have a Greek chapel in the palace, and an orthodox almoner. Ivan himself gave his daughter the most pressing injunctions never to appear in the Catholic church, and gave her minute directions as to her toilet, her table, her mode of travelling, and her way of conducting herself towards her new subjects. At her departure he bestowed on her a collection of various pious books. His policy agreed with his conviction; it was necessary that in Lithuania orthodoxy should raise her lowered head, and reign with his daughter. Soon afterwards, he complained that Helena was forced to offend her conscience, that she was made to wear the Polish costume, that her domestics and orthodox almoners were dismissed, and their places filled with Catholics—that the Greek religion was persecuted, that the assassination of the Metropolitan of Kief had remained unpunished, and that he was to be succeeded by a man devoted to the Pope. Lithuania, at the beginning of the war, was further enfeebled by new defections. The princes of Bielsk, of Mossalsk, of Khotatof, the boyards of Mtsensk and of Serpeïsk, and finally the princes of Tchernigof and Starodoub, of Rylsk and Novgorod-Severski, declared for the Grand Prince of Moscow. All the country between the Desna and the Soja passed into the hands of the Russians, to

gether with Briansk, Poutivle, and Dorogbouge. They had only to show themselves to conquer. Alexander could not abandon the conquests of Olgerd, Vitovt, and Gedimin without striking a blow, but his army was cut to pieces at the battle of Vedrocha. Constantine Ostrojski, his voïevode, fell into the hands of the Muscovites, who tried to gain him over to their cause. The Lithuanians, however, kept the strongholds of Vitepsk, Polotsk, Orcha and Smolensk.

This prolonged struggle between Alexander and Ivan III. had set all Eastern Europe in a blaze. Alexander had made an alliance with the Livonian Order and the Great Horde. The Khan of the Crimea pitilessly devastated Gallicia and Volhynia. The Russian troops again defeated the Lithuanians near Mstislavl, but were forced to raise the siege of Smolensk. In the north, the Grand Prince of Moscow had stopped the Germans of Livonia from building the fortress of Ivangorod opposite Narva, and had seized the Hanseatic wares at Novgorod. The Grand Master, Hermann of Plettenberg, responded with joy to the appeal of the Lithuanians; and at the battle of Siritsa, near Izborsk, his formidable German artillery crushed an army of 40,000 Russians (1501). The latter took their revenge the following year on the *iron men* near Pskof. Schig-Akhmet, Kahn of the Great Horde, wished to make a diversion, but the Khan of the Crimea attacked him with fury, and in 1502 so completely extinguished his rule, that the ruins of Saraï, the capital of Bati, where the Russian princes had grovelled before the khans, were henceforward a home of serpents.

Alexander had just been elected King of Poland, and wished to finish this ruinous war. The celebrated Pope, Alexander VI., and the King of Hungary tried to mediate between the belligerent powers. As, however, neither of the two parties would abate any of their pretensions, a truce of six years only could be agreed on, during which time the Soja was to be the boundary, and the territories and towns of the princes who had gone over to Russia were to be abandoned to her (1503). What shows the good faith of Ivan III. is that, after the truce was signed, he obtained the promise from the Khan of the Crimea to continue his attacks against Lithuania.

MARRIAGE WITH SOPHIA PALÆOLOGUS (1472)—THE GREEKS AND ITALIANS AT THE COURT OF MOSCOW.

The acquisition of the Novgorodian possessions and the ap-
panages, the capture of Kazan, the fall of the Horde, and the

conquest of Lithuania up to the Soja, had doubled the extent of the Grand Principality, even without reckoning the immense territory it had gained on the north. An event not less important in its consequences was the marriage of Ivan III. with a Byzantine princess. Thomas Palæologus, a brother of the last Emperor, had taken refuge at the court of Rome. There he died, leaving a daughter named Sophia. The Pope wished to find her a husband, and the Cardinal Bessarion, who belonged to the Eastern Rite, advised Paul II. to offer her hand to the Grand Prince of Russia. A Greek named Iouri, and the two Friazini, relations of Friazine, minister of Ivan III., were sent on an embassy to Moscow. Ivan and his boyards accepted the proposal with enthusiasm; it was God, no doubt, who had given him so illustrious a wife; "a branch of the imperial tree which formerly overshadowed all orthodox Christianity." Sophia—dowered by the Pope, whose heart was always occupied with two things, the crusade against the Turks, and the re-union of the two Churches—went from Rome to Lübeck, from Lübeck by sea to Revel, and was received in triumph at Pskof, Novgorod, and the other towns subject to Moscow. This daughter of emperors was destined to have an enormous influence on Ivan. It was she, no doubt, who taught him to "penetrate the secret of autocracy." She bore the Mongol yoke with less patience than the Russians, who were accustomed to servitude. She incited Ivan to shake it off. "How long am I to be the slave of the Tatars?" she would often ask. With Sophia a multitude of Greek emigrants came to Moscow, not only from Rome, but from Constantinople and Greece; among them were Demetrio Ralo, Theodore Lascaris, Demetrios Trakhaniotes. They gave to Russia statesmen, diplomatists, engineers, artists and theologians. They brought her Greek books, the priceless inheritance of ancient civilization. These manuscripts were first be ginnings of the present "Library of the Patriarchs."

Ivan III. was the heir of the Emperors of Byzantium and the Roman Cæsars. He took for the new arms of Russia the two-headed eagle which in its archaic form is still to be found in the "Palais à facettes" of the Kremlin. Moscow succeeded to Byzantium as Byzantium had succeeded to Rome. Having become the only metropolis of orthodoxy, it was incumbent on her to protect the Greek Christians of the entire East, and to prepare the revenge against Islamism for the work of 1453. With the Greeks came Italians: Aristotele Fioraventi of Bologna, who was Ivan III.'s architect, military engineer, and master of artillery; Marco Ruffo, his ambassador in Persia; Pietro

Antonio, who built his imperial palace ; the metal-founder, Paul Bossio, besides architects and arquebusiers.

Ivan entered into relations with Venice when Trevisani, envoy of the republic, on his way to the Horde, tried to traverse *incognito* the States of the Grand Prince, and was arrested and condemned to death. The Senate interfered, and the imprudent diplomatist was set at liberty. Ivan sent in his turn a Russian ambassador, Simeon Tolbouzine, charged to bind the two countries in friendly ties, and to bring back some skilful architect from Italy. He was followed in 1499 by Demetrius Ralo and Golokhvastof. Contarini, the Venetian ambassador, returned from Persia with a French ecclesiastic named Louis, who called himself envoy of the Duke of Burgundy, and the Patriarch of Antioch. He stopped at Moscow, and was kindly received by Ivan. He himself was much struck by the Grand Prince. "When, in speaking, I respectfully stepped back," relates Contarini, "the Grand Prince always drew near, and gave particular attention to my remarks." Ivan III.—whether to secure himself allies against Poland, or to obtain from Germany artists and handicraftsmen—exchanged more than one embassy with Frederic III. and Maximilian of Austria, Matthias of Hungary, and the Pope. When attacked by Sweden, he negotiated an alliance with Denmark. Plehtchéef was the first Russian ambassador at Constantinople under Bajazet II. From the East came envoys of Georgia and even of Djagatai (Turkestan and Tatar Siberia).

The prince who, born vassal of a nomad race, founded the greatness of Russia, may be compared with one of the greatest of French kings, Louis XI. What the latter accomplished in the case of appanaged feudalism, Ivan succeeded in doing in that of appanaged principalities. He was pitiless towards the smaller Russian dynasties, as the King of France was to Armagnac or Saint Pol. He detached a slice from Lithuania, as his Western contemporary managed to dismember Burgundy. He put an end to the Mongol invasions, as Louis did to the English wars. He repulsed, without striking a blow, the last incursion of the khans, as Louis XI. sweetly dismissed the last embarkation of the English under Edward IV. Both had the same taste for foreigners, especially industrious Italians, and for useful arts. Both explored the metallic riches of their States. They each created a diplomacy ; the one by means of Comynes, the other by means of Greeks, and Russians as supple as Greeks. They strengthened the national army, and gave it a permanent character ; they both owed the success against the minor princes to

their artillery. Ivan III. had his brothers Bureau in Aristotele Fioraventi.

Louis XI., who wished to put an end to the anarchy of the law and to the thefts of chicanery, meditated a real code, or *grand costumier*, which would put the old laws in harmony with the new order of things. This is precisely what Ivan did in his *Oulogenia* (1497). In comparing it with the *Rousskaïa Pravda* of Iaroslaf, we are able to gauge the amount of change caused in the national laws by the influence of Byzantium, the example of the Tatars, and the progress of autocracy. Corporal penalties have notably increased : for homicide, death ; for theft, whipping in a public place. Torture was making its way in the procedure. The judicial duel was still admitted, only now it could hardly become mortal ; each of the combatants had a cuirass, and was armed only with a short club. Women, minors, and ecclesiastics were represented by a champion. In the same way as the end and aim of the policy of Ivan was the suppression of appanages, that of his code was to efface the privileges, the legal and judicial peculiarities of the different provinces.

For three generations the throne had been inherited in the direct line. When, however, Ivan, eldest son of Ivan III., died, the latter hesitated long between his grandson Dmitri Ivanovitch, and his second son Vassili. His wife supported Vassili ; his daughter-in-law Helena, Ivan's widow, her own son. The court was divided, and both parties were absorbed in their intrigues. Ivan III. at first proclaimed Dmitri, threw Vassili in prison, and disgraced his wife. Then he changed his mind, imprisoned his daughter-in-law and his grandson in their turn, and proclaimed Vassili his heir. The hereditary right of the West was not established in Russia without many struggles.

CHAPTER XIV.

VASSILI IVANOVITCH (1505-1533).

Reunion of Pskof, Riazan, and Novgorod-Severski—Wars with Lithuania—Acquisition of Smolensk—Wars with the Tatars—Diplomatic relations with Europe.

REUNION OF PSKOF, RIAZAN, AND NOVGOROD-SEVERSKI—WARS WITH LITHUANIA—ACQUISITION OF SMOLENSK.

THE reign of Vassili Ivanovitch may seem somewhat pale between those of the two Ivans—the two “*Terribles*,”—his father and son. It was likewise of shorter duration, lasting only twenty-eight years (1505-1533), but was the continuation of the one, and the preparation for the other: the movement which was bearing Russia towards unity and autocracy was not retarded under Vassili Ivanovitch.

There were still three States which had preserved a certain independence—the Republic of Pskof, and the Principalities of Riazan and Novgorod-Severski. The quarrels still continued at Pskof between the citizens and the peasants, the aristocracy and the lower classes. The whole of Pskof was in conflict with her *nameistnik*, or the royal lieutenant. Vassili came to hold his court at Novgorod, and summoned the magistrates of Pskof to appear before him. When they arrived, he arrested them. A merchant of Pskof, who was on his way to Novgorod, returned with the news to his compatriots. Instantly the bell of the *vetché* began to ring, and the cry was heard, “Let us raise the shield against the Grand Prince. Let us shut the gates of the town.” The more prudent tried to restrain the people. “What can we do? Our brothers, our magistrates, our boyards, and all our chief men are in the hands of the Prince.” The imprisoned Pskovians sent a messenger to implore their fellow-citizens not to attempt a useless resistance, and to avoid the shedding of blood. The latter then despatched one of their number to the Grand Prince, and charged him to say, “My lord, we are not your enemies. After God, it is you that have power over all

your subjects." Vassili Ivanovitch sent them one of his *diaks*, or secretaries, who was admitted into the assembly of the citizens, saluted them in the name of the Grand Prince, and informed them that his master imposed on them two conditions : the first was that the towns subject to Pskof should receive his *manifest-niks* ; the second was the suppression of the *vetché* and its bell. For a long while they could give him no answer—their sobs and tears choked them. At last they demanded twenty-four hours to deliberate. The day and night passed in lamentations. "The infants at the breast," says the annalist, "alone could refrain from tears." Next day the people met for the last time, and the first magistrate of the city thus spoke to Dalmatof, *diak* of the Grand Prince : "It is written in our Chronicles that our ancestors took oaths to the Grand Prince. The Pskovians swore never to rebel against our lord who is at Moscow, never to ally themselves with Lithuania, with Poland, nor with the Germans, otherwise the wrath of God would be upon them, bringing with it famine, fires, floods, and the invasion of the infidels. If the Grand Prince, on his part, did not observe his vow, he dared the same consequences. Now our town and our bell are in the power of God and the prince. As for us, we have kept our oath." Dalmatof had the great bell, symbol of the independence of the republic, taken down, and carried to Novgorod, amid the general despair. Then Vassili Ivanovitch came to visit his "patrimony of Pskof." He installed his men and boyards in the upper town, transplanted 300 families of the aristocracy into the cities of the interior, and established 300 Muscovite families in their place. When he went away, he left a garrison of 5000 *dietiboyarskié*, and 500 Novgorod artillerymen (1510). "Alas!" cries the annalist, "glorious city of Pskof the Great, wherefore this lamentation and tears?" And the noble city of Pskof replies : "How can I but weep and lament? An eagle, a many-winged eagle, with claws like a lion, has swooped down upon me. He has taken captive the three cedars of Lebanon—my beauty, my riches, my children! Our land is a desert, our city ruined, our commerce destroyed. Our brothers have been carried away to a place where our fathers never dwelt, nor our grandfathers, nor our great-grandfathers."

Ivan, prince of Riazan, was accused about 1521 of having made an alliance with the Khan of the Crimea. He was summoned to Moscow, and imprisoned. He managed to escape into Lithuania, where he died in obscurity. This fertile country, whose rich harvests "looked like waving forests," was united to the Grand Principality. A certain number of Riazanese were transported to Muscovite soil. Vassili Chemiakine reigned at

Novgorod-Severski; he was the grandson of the Chemiaka who had put out the eyes of Vassili Vassiliévitch. About 1523 he was thrown into prison, on the accusation of an understanding with Poland, where he died. There was now only one Russia. A jester of the Grand Prince had predicted the fall of the last appanaged prince. He had gone through the streets of Moscow armed with a broom, crying "that it was time to clean the empire of what remained of this ordure." Vassili, like the most of his predecessors, had little tenderness for his family. His nephew Dmitri, whom his grandfather had for a moment destined to occupy the throne, and who by Western laws was the rightful heir, died in prison. One of Vassili's brothers, feeling the yoke press too heavily on him, tried to escape, but was brought back.

The son of Ivan the Great continued the struggle with Lithuania. He had attempted, at the death of Alexander, to get himself nominated Grand Prince of Wilna, and the reconciliation of Muscovite and Lithuanian Russia would have changed the destinies of the North. Sigismond I. reunited the two crowns of Wilna and Poland. An unimportant war ended in 1506 by a "perpetual peace," and Vassili renounced all claims on Kief and Smolensk. The perpetual peace lasted three years, which were filled by the recriminations of the two parties. Vassili accused Sigismond of never having sent back all the prisoners, of pillaging the Muscovite merchants, of maltreating the widow of Alexander, daughter of Ivan III.; of tempting Simeon, Vassili's brother, to fly to Poland; and of inciting the Crimean Tatars to ravage Russia. He declared that "as long as his horse was in marching condition, and his sword cut sharp, there should be neither peace nor truce with Lithuania." Smolensk was instantly attacked; part of her inhabitants were on the side of Russia, and offered to submit to the Grand Prince. A volley of artillery knocked down the ramparts of her Kremlin, which towers over the Dnieper. The Polish voïevode was compelled by the people to capitulate. "Spare your patrimony," said they to the Grand Prince. The Bishop of Smolensk blessed Vassili, and the inhabitants took the oaths of fidelity to him (1514). "The taking of Smolensk," says a Russian chronicler, "was like a brilliant fête-day for Russia; for the capture of the property of another can only flatter an ambitious prince, but to gain possession of what is one's own is ever a cause of joy." Many of the Lithuanians, however, remained undecided; the name of Russia and of orthodoxy brought them into communion with Moscow, but the Muscovites appeared very barbarous by the side of the Poles, and their turbulent nobility were better

suited to Polish anarchy than to Russian autocracy. A Glinski, one of a Podolian family, who went over to Vassili at this time, played the traitor. Constantine Ostrojski, whom Vassili had tried to gain over to the cause of orthodoxy, fled from Moscow: and it was he who, in 1514, inflicted on the Russian voïevodes the bloody defeat of Orcha. "The next day," says Karamsin, "he celebrated the victory that he had won over a people of the same religion as himself, and it was in the Russian tongue that he gave thanks to God for having destroyed the Russians." Even the contemporaries felt vaguely that a struggle between Lithuanian Russia and Moscow was a kind of civil war. Had not Vassili tried to unite the two principalities?

As in the time of Ivan III., the duel of the two States made itself felt throughout Europe, and occasioned a great diplomatic movement. Now, Sigismond had the Tatars of the Crimea on his side; Vassili opposed them with the Tatars of Astrakhan. Sigismond reckoned on Sweden. Vassili negotiated with Denmark. The King had gained over to his cause the Dnieper Cossacks, whose name already began to be heard in history, and who had been powerfully organized by Dachkovitch. But Vassili secured the friendship of the Teutonic Order, who even consented to invade Polish Prussia; of Maximilian of Austria, who signed a treaty of partition of the Polish territory; of the Hospodar of Wallachia; and finally of the Sultan Selim, to whom he sent embassy after embassy. Negotiations were set on foot in consequence of the defeat of Constantine Ostrojski before Smolensk, in the battle of Opotchka. Maximilian of Austria undertook the office of mediator; his ambassador, Herberstein, the same who has left us the curious book entitled '*Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii*,' promised that Vassili should cede Smolensk, and quoted to him the disinterestedness of King Pyrrhus and other great men of antiquity. Pope Leo X. intervened without greater success, though he counselled Vassili to leave Lithuania alone, and to turn his thoughts to Constantinople, the inheritance of his mother, Sophia Palæologus. At last in 1522, the negotiations opened and terminated in the truce of 1526. Vassili pronounced a discourse on the subject, in which he expressed his friendship for his noble mediators, the Pope, the Emperor, and the Archduke of Austria (Clement VII., Charles V., and Ferdinand), but Russia kept Smolensk.

WARS WITH THE TATARS—DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH EUROPE.

The Tatars were still dangerous. Mengli-Ghirei, the ancient ally of Ivan III., had declared for Lithuania against Vassili,

Perhaps the old Khan might have lost the authority necessary to restrain his sons and mourzas, who only wished to pillage the Russian territory. Under his successor, Makhmet Ghirei, the Crimea became a deadly enemy of Russia. Kazan, on expelling the *protégé* of Ivan III., had elected a prince hostile to Moscow. Two expeditions directed against the rebel city failed completely. At the death of the Tzar of Kazan, the principality became the apple of discord between the Khan of the Crimea and the Grand Prince. The Russians, however, had succeeded, and installed their client, Schig-Alei, a Mussulman brutalized by idleness and pleasures, whose enormous stomach gave him a grotesque appearance; but he was overthrown by the intrigues of the Khan of the Crimea, and a kinsman of the Ghirei was placed on the throne. In support of their candidate, the Taurians prepared, in 1521, a great invasion of Russia. They crushed the Russian voïevodes on the banks of the Oka, ravaged the Grand Principality, looked on Moscow from the Hill of Sparrows, and made themselves drunk with hydromel found in the cellars of the Grand Prince. At the Kremlin there was a formidable array of artillery, but no powder. Herberstein assures us that the powerful son of Ivan III. humiliated himself, as in the time of Ivan Kalita, to save his capital, sent presents to the Khan, and signed a treaty by which he professed himself his tributary; but that in his retreat, Makhmet Ghirei was received with cannonballs by the voïevode of Riazan, who took from him the humiliating treaty. Though the Russian honor was saved by the cannonade of Riazan, this invasion cost Russia dear. All the flat country was a prey to the flames. A multitude of people, especially women and children, had been carried off by the barbarians. Many perished on the journey; the rest were sold in whole troops in the markets of Kaffa and Astrakhan. The following year Vassili assembled on the Oka a formidable army, with an imposing artillery, and sent a challenge to the Khan of the Crimea summoning him to accept an honorable fight in the open country. The Tatar answered that he knew the way to Russia, and never consulted his enemies as to when he was to fight. A short time after, Makhmet conquered the Tzarate of Astrakhan, but was assassinated by Mamaï, Prince of the Nogais.

The Tatars of the Crimea were, thanks to the vast southern steppes, nearly beyond Russian enterprises; but it was still possible to attain Kazan. In order to profit by the dissensions of the Hordes of the South, two new expeditions were fitted out in 1523 and 1524 against this town, but both were unsuccessful. Vassili discovered a more certain way of ruining his enemies—he established a fair at Makarief on the Volga, and by this means

destroyed that of Kazan. It was this fair of Makarief that was afterwards transported to Nijni-Novgorod, and draws more than 100,000 strangers from Europe and Asia.

Day by day Russia took a more important place in Europe. Vassili exchanged embassies with all the sovereigns of the West, except those of France and England. He was the correspondent of Leo X. and Clement VII.; of Maximilian and Charles V.; of Gustavus Vasa, founder of a new dynasty; of Sultan Selim, conqueror of Egypt; and of Suleiman the Magnificent. In the East, the Great Mogul of India, Baber, descendant of Tamerlane, sought his friendship. Autocracy daily became stronger. Vassili governed without consulting his council of boyards. "*Moltchi smerd!*" (Be silent, rustic!) he said one day to a great lord, who dared to raise an objection. Prince Vassili Kholmaski, who was married to one of his sisters, was thrown into prison for indocility. The boyard Beklemychef having complained that "the Grand Prince decided all the questions alone, shut up, with two others, in his bed-chamber," had his head cut off. The Metropolitan Varlaam was deposed and banished to a monastery. Herberstein asserts already, that no European sovereign is obeyed like the Grand Prince of Moscow. This growing power was manifested externally by the splendor of the court, which naturally did not preclude the worst barbaric taste. In the reception of his ambassadors, Vassili displayed unheard-of luxury; many hundreds of horsemen accompanied him when he hunted. The throne of the Prince was guarded by young nobles, the *ryndis*, with their head-dresses of high caps of white fur, dressed in long caftans of white satin, armed with silver hatchets. The lists of his masters of the horse, his cup-bearers, chamberlains, &c., are already very long. Strangers continued, though in small numbers, to come to Moscow. The most illustrious of them was Maximus, surnamed the Greek, a monk of Mount Athos, and a native of Arta, in Albania. In his youth he had studied at Venice and at Florence, and been the friend of Lascaris and Aldus Manutius. He had remained the sincere admirer of Savonarola. Vassili had sent for him with other Greeks to translate the Greek books into Slavonic, and put his library in order. Maximus is said to have been astonished to find in the Kremlin such a large number of ancient manuscripts; he vowed that neither Italy nor in Greece was to be found such a rich collection. After having finished the translation of the Psalter, he wished to return to Mount Athos. Vassili retained him, made him his favorite, and often granted him the lives of condemned boyards. His works, his science, as well as his favor, gained him the hatred of ignorant and fan-

atical monks. The Metropolitan Daniel declared against him. When Vassili repudiated against her will his wife Solomonias, because of her sterility, the *philosopher*, it seems, ventured to blame the prince, who then abandoned him to his enemies. Denounced before an ecclesiastical tribunal, accused of heresy and of false interpretation of the sacred books, he was banished to a monastery at Tver. Later he obtained leave to retire to that of Troïtsa, where there is still shown the tomb of the man who was, in Russia, one of the apostles of the Renaissance.

CHAPTER XV.

IVAN THE TERRIBLE (1533-1584.)

Minority of Ivan IV.—He takes the title of Tzar (1547)—Conquest of Kazan (1552), and of Astrakhan (1554)—Contests with the Livonian Order, Poland, the Tatars, Sweden, and the Russian aristocracy—The English in Russia—Conquest of Siberia.

MINORITY OF IVAN IV.—HE TAKES THE TITLE OF TZAR (1547).

THE *rôle* and the character of Ivan IV. have been and still are very differently estimated by Russian historians. Karamsin, who has not subjected to a criticism sufficiently severe the narratives and documents from which he has drawn his information, has seen in him a prince who was born cruel and vicious, but was miraculously brought back into the paths of virtue. Under the guidance of two excellent ministers he gave some years of repose to Russia; then abandoning himself to his passions—astounded Europe and the empire with what the historian calls the “seven periods of massacres.” M. Kostomarof supports the verdict of Karamsin. Another school represented by M. Solovief and M. Zabiéline, has shown more mistrust of the partial accounts of Kourbski, leader of the oligarchic party, of Guagnini, courtier of the King of Poland, of Taube and Kruse, traitors to the sovereign whom they served. Above all, they have taken into consideration the time and the environment of Ivan the Terrible. This party concerns itself less with his morality as an individual, than with the part he played as the agent of the historical development of Russia. Did not the French historians for a while refuse to recognize the immense services rendered by Louis XI. in the great work of consolidating the unity of France, and the creation of a modern State? He has been justified at last by an attentive examination of documents and facts.

At the time that Ivan IV. succeeded his father, the struggle of the central power with the forces of the past had changed its character. The old Russian States which had for so long held in check the new power of Moscow—the principalities of Tver.

Riazan, Souzdal and Novgorod-Severski—and the republics of Novgorod, Pskof, and Viatka, had lost their independence; their possessions had gone to swell those of Moscow. All North and East Russia is now united under the sceptre of the Grand Prince. To the perpetual contests with Tver, Riazan, and Novgorod succeed the great foreign wars; the crusades against Lithuania, the Tatars, the Swedes, the Livonian knights.

Precisely because the work of Great Russian unity was accomplished, the internal resistance to the authority of the Prince became stronger. The descendants of the princely families which had been dispossessed by money or force of arms, and the retainers of these ancient reigning houses, enlisted in the service of the master of Moscow. The Court of the latter was full of uncrowned nobles, Belskis, Chouïskis, Kourbskis, Vorotinskis, descendants of the appanaged princes, proud of the blood of Rurik which ran in their veins. Others sprang from Gedimin, the Lithuanian, or from baptized Tatar *mourzas*. All these, as well as the powerful boyards of Tver, Riazan, and Novgorod, became the boyards of the Grand Prince. There was only one Court for all to serve—that of Moscow. When Russia was divided into sovereign States, discontented boyards were free to change their master, to pass from the service of Tchernigof to that of Kief, or from the service of Souzdal to that of Novgorod. Now, where could they go? Outside of Moscow there was nothing but foreign sovereigns, the enemies of Russia. To make use of the ancient right of changing your master, was to pass over to the enemy to be a traitor. To change and betray became synonyms. From the Russian word *izmiēni* (change) is derived the word *izmiēnik* (to betray). The Russian boyard could go neither to the Germans, to the Swedes, nor to the Tatars; he could only go to the Grand Duke of Lithuania, but that was exactly the worst sort of *change* the blackest of treasons. The Prince of Moscow knew well that the war with Lithuania—that State which was Polish in the west, and exercised, by means of its Russian provinces in the east, a dangerous fascination on the subjects of Moscow—was a struggle for existence. Lithuania, was an internal as well as an external enemy, with links and sympathies with the heart of the Russian State, even in the palace of the Tzar himself, and her formidable hand is found in all intrigues and conspiracies. The external struggle with Lithuania, and the internal struggle with the Russian oligarchy, are different phases of the same contest, the heaviest and most perilous of all sustained by the Grand Princes of Moscow. The dispossessed princes, the boyards of the ancier. independent States, had renounced the strife with him on the battle-field, but they

continued to combat his authority in his own Court. There are no more wars of States against State; henceforth the war is intestine, that of oligarchy against autocracy. Resigned to being sovereign princes no longer, the boyard princes of Moscow were not yet content to be only subjects. The narrower area intensified the violence of the contest. The Court of Moscow was a fenced-in field, from which none could go out without changing the Muscovite for the Lithuanian master—without *betraying*. Hence the passionate character of the struggle between the two principles under Ivan IV. Besides, the sovereigns of Moscow who had destroyed, after so many efforts, the Russian States that held Moscow in check, committed the same fault as the Capetians or the early Valois. In constituting appanages for the younger branches, they built up with one hand what they pulled down with the other; to the sovereign princes of the 11th century succeeded the princes of the blood the appanaged princes of the 15th and 16th centuries. These also had their domain, &c., their boyards, their *dicti boyarskie* (men-at-arms.) They were the brothers, uncles, cousins of the Grand Prince, who became the chiefs of the vanquished oligarchy and organized the coalition of the forces of the past against him. They stood to him as the Capetians of Burgundy, Berri, Bourbon, and Orleans, stood to the Capetian kings, Charles VII., Louis XI., and Charles VIII.

Vassili Ivanovitch left two sons, Ivan and Iouri, under the guardianship of his second wife, Helena Glinski. She had come into Russia with a family of Podolian nobles, proscribed by Sigismond, and accused of having plotted against his life. Helena Glinski had subdued her old husband Vassili, not only by her beauty, but by her free and attractive manners, an independence of spirit and character, and a variety of accomplishments not to be found among the Russian women of that day, condemned as they were to seclusion. She was almost a Western. Vassili was able to leave her, on his death-bed, with the guardianship of her sons, and the care of strengthening his work and that of his ancestors. This energetic woman knew how to put down all attempts of princely and oligarchic reaction against the autocracy of the Grand Prince. One of her husband's brothers, Iouri Ivanovitch, convicted of rebellion, was thrown into prison, where he died. Helena's own uncle, Michael Glinski, an ambitious and turbulent Podolian, after having enjoyed her confidence for some time, was likewise arrested and died in confinement. Andrew Ivanovitch, another brother of the late Tzar, tried to escape into Poland to obtain the support of Sigismond; he was stopped on the way, and imprisoned. Lithuania at-

tempted to come to his aid, by taking up arms for the rebels of the interior. This unimportant war was ended in 1537 by a truce. The Tatars of Kazan and the Crimea suffered many defeats; and to place Moscow beyond the possibility of being seized by a *coup de main*, Helena enclosed with ramparts the quarter known by the name of Katai-gorod. As she could not entirely rely either on the boyards or on the princes, nor even on her own relations, she gave all her confidence to the master of the horse, Telepnef, whom the public voice charged with being her lover. A government as energetic against its internal as against its foreign enemies, gave little satisfaction to the oligarchic party. In 1538 Helena died, the victim of poison.

The boyards then took possession of the government, after having put to death the master of the horse, and imprisoned his sister Agrafena, Ivan's nurse. The chief power was disputed specially by two families—the Chouïskis and the Belskis. Russia became a prey to anarchy, the governments and the voïevodies were given by turns to the creatures of these two families, and the people were cruelly oppressed; the two factions even elevated and deposed at will the Metropolitan of Moscow. At last, Andrew Chouïski overthrew the government of the Belskis, and finally deposed the Metropolitan.

Whilst the nobles were thus intriguing for the supreme power, Vassili's two sons were left by themselves. Iouri, the younger, was feeble in intellect, but Ivan, like Peter the Great, whom in many points he resembled, was a highly-gifted boy. He suffered keenly from the contempt in which his turbulent subjects held him. "We and our brother Iouri," he afterwards writes, "were treated like foreigners, like the children of beggars. We were ill-clothed, we were cold and hungry." They saw the boyards pillage the treasures and luxurious furniture of the palace; Chouïski even threw himself in Ivan's presence on the bed of the late Tzar. The empire was plundered as well as the palace. "They wandered everywhere," continues Ivan IV., "in the towns and villages, cruelly tormenting the people, inflicting all kinds of evils on them, exacting fines without mercy from the inhabitants. Of our subjects they have made their slaves; of their slaves, the nobles of the State." He had seen all whom he loved torn from him—his nurse Agrafena; the master of the horse, Telepnef, who had been put to death; and his favorite Voronzof, who was roughly handled and nearly killed by the boyards. It was enough for a courtier to take pains to please him, for him instantly to become an object of mistrust to the oligarchs. Ivan, like a neglected child, badly educated, never disciplined, had to be his own master. He read

much, without method—the Bible, the Lives of the Saints, the Byzantine Chroniclers translated into Slavonic—whatever came in his way. Above all, he thought. He had imbibed from his reading a high idea of what it was to be a king, and knew well that he was the rightful master. These very boyards, so insolent towards him in private—did he not see them in public ceremonies, at receptions of ambassadors, rival each other in affected respect and servility? It was he who, seated on his throne, received the compliments of the foreign envoys; his signature was necessary to give the force of law to actions the most contrary to his will. These were no vain forms, but involved real power. Ivan, however, dissembled. After the Christmas fêtes of 1543, he suddenly summoned his boyards before him, addressed them in a menacing tone, and reproached them sternly for their manner of governing. “There were among them,” he added, “many guilty ones; but this time he would content himself with making one example.” He then ordered his guards to seize Andrew Chouiski, the chief of the government, and there and then had him torn to pieces by hounds. Some of the most turbulent and the most compromised were banished to distant towns. The author of this *coup d’état* was thirteen years old.

According to the invariable custom of Muscovite sovereigns, Ivan surrounded himself by his maternal relations, those on his father’s side being naturally objects of suspicion. Then began what was called a *vremia*; that is a *season* of favor.” The relatives of the Prince, the men of the *season* (*vremenchchiki*), the Glinskis, were charged to provide for the administration of the empire. In January 1547, Ivan ordered the Metropolitan Macarius to proceed with his coronation. He assumed at the ceremony not only the title of Grand Prince, but that of Tzar. The first title no longer answered to the new power of the sovereign of Moscow, who counted among his *domestics*, princes and even Grand Princes. The name of Tzar is that which the books in the Slavonic language, ordinarily read by Ivan, give to the kings of Judæa, Assyria, Egypt, Babylon and to the emperors of Rome and Constantinople. Now, was not Ivan in some sort the heir of the Tzar Nebuchadnezzar, the Tzar Pharaoh, the Tzar Ahasuerus, and the Tzar David, since Russia was the sixth empire spoken of in the Apocalypse? Through his grandmother Sophia Palæologus, he was connected with the family of the Tzar of Byzantium; through his ancestor Vladimir Monomachus, he belonged to the Porphyrogeniti; and through Constantine the Great, to Cæsar. If Constantinople had been the second, Moscow was the third Rome—living heir of the Eternal

City. We may imagine what prestige was added to the dignity of the Russian sovereign by this dazzling title, borrowed from Biblical antiquity, from Roman majesty, from the orthodox sovereigns of Byzantium. It recalled at the same time the recently acquired freedom of Russia ; the Slavonic authors likewise bestowed this august title on the Mongol khans, suzerains of the Muscovite princes. Now that fortune smiled upon Russia, it well became her prince to call himself "Tzar." Shortly after, Ivan, whose deserted youth had been soiled by debauchery, confirmed his return to virtue by his marriage with Anastasia, of that family of Romanof whose future destiny was to be so brilliant. His Court was increased by *vréménchtchiki* chosen from the relatives of the Tzarina.

The vanquished party naturally would not consent to be set aside without a struggle for revenge. Fortune soon gave them an opportunity. For four years Ivan had governed absolutely, supported by his connections, the Glinskis and the Romanofs, and it was many years since Russia had been so tranquil. Suddenly, in 1547, a terrible fire broke out and destroyed a great part of Moscow, and 1700 people perished. The Tzar took refuge at Vorobief, and thence contemplated with terror the destruction of his capital. An inquiry was made, and the boyards took advantage of it to insinuate to the people that it was the Glinskis who had burnt Moscow. "It is the Princess Anne Glinski," repeated voices among the crowd, "who, with her two sons, has made enchantments ; she has taken human hearts, and plunged them in water, and with this water has sprinkled the houses. This is the cause of the destruction of Moscow." The enraged multitude burst into the palace of the Glinskis. One of them, Iouri, was stabbed in the porch of the Assumption. Then the rioters proceeded to Vorobief, and demanded Ivan's uncle, the old Glinski. The sovereign's own life was in danger ; it was necessary to use force to disperse the rébels.

The events which followed are unintelligible from the dramatized recital of Karamsin, but very clear if we keep to the logic of facts. Ivan could hardly be ignorant who had raised this revolt, and he was not the man to give himself up to his ancient guardians. But his nervous, impressionable nature had been greatly struck by the spectacle under his eyes. Under the influence of this terror he examined his conscience, and resolved to amend his life. He took the priest Silvester, who had dwelt in his palace for nine years, and had a great reputation for virtue, as his spiritual director ; he gave him at the same time the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. Alexis Adachef, one of the smaller nobility, was charged with receiving

petitions, and the supervision of the interior and of the war. As long as the two new favorites confined themselves to their offices, the Court was tranquil. It was the happiest period of the reign of Ivan IV. The municipal administration was re-organized in the interior (1551). A new code (*Soudebnik*) was prepared, and a council assembled, whose hundred articles (*Stoglaf*) were occupied with Church reforms. In foreign affairs Russia conquered her ancient masters.

CONQUEST OF KAZAN (1552), AND OF ASTRAKHAN (1554).

The kingdom of Kazan continued to be distracted by two opposing influences—that of Russia and that of the Khan of the Crimea. The latter seemed the stronger, and Safa-Ghirei, candidate for the Crimea, distinguished his accession by ravaging the Russian territory; the Khan supported him in these incursions by advancing with the whole Crimean horde as far as the *ka*. When Safa died, leaving a son who was a minor, the Muscovite party took the upper hand in Kazan and bestowed the crown on Schig-Alei. He made himself detested by his new subjects, and things came to such a pass that the Kazanese appeared to prefer the direct rule of Moscow to this disguised subordination. At the request of the inhabitants Ivan recalled Schig-Alei, and sent them a viceroy, Mikoulinski. Suddenly a rumor was spread in Kazan that Mikoulinski was approaching with Russian troops with the object of exterminating the population. A rebellion broke out. The gates of Moscow were shut on the Muscovites, and men demanded a prince of the Nogai Tatars. Ediger-Makhment was proclaimed Tzar of Kazan.

Ivan determined to make an end of this Mussulman city. In June 1552, the same year that Henry II. obtained possession of the three bishoprics, the Tzar took the field. He was at once checked by the news that the Khan of the Crimea, wishing to save Kazan by a diversion, had invaded Moscow. Ivan advanced against him as far as the *Oka*; there he learnt that the barbarians, not being able to take *Toula*, had hastily retired. Upon this, Ivan's infantry, with 150,000 men and 150 pieces of cannon, descended the *Volga* in boats, while the cavalry followed along the banks, and directed their course to Kazan. The creation of advanced posts had diminished the distance that separated Kazan from *Nijni-Novgorod*. His father had founded *Makarief* and *Vassilsoursk* on the *Volga*; and he himself had established in 1551 the warlike colony of *Sviajsk* on the *Sviaga*. Later he founded those of *Kosmodemiansk* and *Tcheboksary*.

At the beginning of September Ivan encamped under Kazan and surrounded it by a line of circumvallation, which cut off all communication between the town and the cavalry of the Mourza Iapantcha, which had taken the field. The garrison of Kazan, numbering 30,000 Tatars and 2500 Nogais, defended themselves energetically and incessantly, and managed by their *sorties* to hinder the work of the assailants. The Tzar repeatedly offered them honorable terms; he even hung up his prisoners on gibbets to frighten the Kazanese into surrendering, but the besieged only shot arrows against these unhappy wretches, crying that "it was better for them to receive death from the clean hands of their countrymen than to perish by the impure hands of Christians." The Russian army had to struggle with the unchained elements as well as with their enemies. The fleet, which bore their provisions and powder, was destroyed by a tempest. The voïevodes wished to raise the siege, but Ivan re-animated their failing courage. Prolonged rains flooded the Muscovite camp, caused, it was said, by the sorcerers of Kazan, who stood on the walls, their robes girt up, insulting the besiegers by their words and gestures. Ivan sent to Moscow for a miraculous cross, which dispersed the enchantments.

Ivan had secured the services of a German engineer, who laid mines under the very walls of the town. The ramparts of wood and bricks at many points fell with a great noise, and the Russian army entered the town by the breaches. A fierce hand-to-hand fight took place in the streets and around the palace. The bravest of the Kazanese, after having tried to defend their prince, cut their way through, but, pursued by the light cavalry, few escaped. In the town numbers were massacred: those only were spared who could be sold to slave-merchants. When the Tzar made his triumphal entry into the middle of these bloody ruins, he was moved, like Scipio at Carthage, by a feeling of pity for this great disaster. "They are not Christians," said he, weeping, "but yet they are men." The town was re-peopled by Russians, and even at the present day the Tatar population is confined to the faubourgs. In the Kremlin Ivan annihilated all the monuments of the Mongol past, and replaced them by churches and monasteries which attested his gratitude towards God and the triumph of the Cross over Islam.

The date of these events is already far distant, but they still live in the memory of the Russian people. Many epics are consecrated to this great victory. It is not only, as Karamsin says, because Kazan was the first fortress taken by the Russians after a siege according to the rules of war; it is because the capture of Kazan marks the culminating point in the history of the long

struggle of the Slavs against the Tatars—a struggle which began by the total subjugation of Russia by the Mongols, but which has continued to our own day, and probably will only end with the conquest of the Tatar races by the Russian Empire. The victory of Ivan the Terrible is the first great revenge of the vanquished over the vanquishers, the first triumph at the expense of the conquerors, the first stage reached by European civilization in taking the offensive towards Asia. In the Russian annals the expedition of Kazan occupies the same glorious place as the defeat of Abderahman in the history of the Franks, or Las Navas da Tolosa in the chronicles of Spain. It was more than a conquest—it was a crusade. During the assault Ivan did not cease to display the standard of the holy faith. It was remarked that the day the ramparts fell the Tzar was at church, and the deacon read the following verse from the Gospel for the day: “There shall be one flock, one shepherd.” It was with the cry of “God with us!” that the Russians precipitated themselves into the town. The triumph of Moscow mingled with that of Christianity and orthodoxy.

The political consequences of the taking of Kazan were considerable. The five Finnish or Mongol tribes who had been subject to this royal city—the Tcheremisses, the Mordvians, the Tchouvaches, whom M. Radlow considers the descendants of the Bulgars of Bolgary, the Votiaks and the Bachkirs—after a resistance of some years, were obliged to do homage to Moscow. Ivan sent them missionaries at the same time as his voïevodes.

The fall of the kingdom of Astrakhan soon followed that of Kazan. This great city was also divided between two parties. In 1554 Prince Iouri Pronski descended the Volga with 30,000 men, and established Derbych, the *protégé* of Russia, on the throne. Derbych, after a short time, was accused of having an understanding with the Khan of the Crimea; and Astrakhan was conquered a second time, and finally united to Russia. The Nogaïs, who wandered over the neighboring steppes, were forced to accept the Muscovite protection. Thus the Volga—that famous river whose banks sustain so many ruined cities, Itil capital of the Khazars, Bolgary capital of the Bulgars, Sarai capital of the Golden Horde—that keep the memory of the ancient races who have vanished from history; the Volga—that grand artery of Eastern commerce—now flowed in the whole of its course from its source to its mouth through the land of the Tzars.

Persian Asia was thrown open to Russian influence by means of the Caspian; and already the petty princes of the Caucasus, always fighting either among themselves or with the Tatars of

the Crimea, sought the alliance of the successors of the Greek Cæsars. In order to keep a firmer hold on the Horde of the Taurid, Ivan took under his protection one of the two warlike republics which had been formed in the neighborhood of the Crimea: the Cossacks of the Don declared themselves subjects of Moscow, the Cossacks of the Dnieper remained Poles.

WARS WITH THE LIVONIAN ORDER, POLAND, TATARS, SWEDEN, AND ARISTOCRATIC RUSSIA.

Russia, which felt the growth of her forces, felt equally the need of throwing open the Baltic at the same time as the Black Sea. The Baltic was even the more necessary to the Russians, as by it only could they communicate with Western Europe, and receive vessels, artillery, and engineers. Thence Muscovy awaited the increase of power that civilization could alone give her. Between Muscovy and the Baltic lay more than one enemy: Sweden, the Livonian knights, Lithuania, and Poland. In 1554 a war broke out about the rectification of the frontiers between Ivan the Terrible and the great Gustavus Vasa; but as the founder of the Swedish dynasty was not supported by his neighbors, the war was a short one. It terminated by a commercial treaty which opened India and China to the Swedish merchants by way of Russia; and to those of Russia, Flanders, England, and France, by way of Sweden. Moscow could not yet communicate with the West except through a jealous intermedi-
ary.

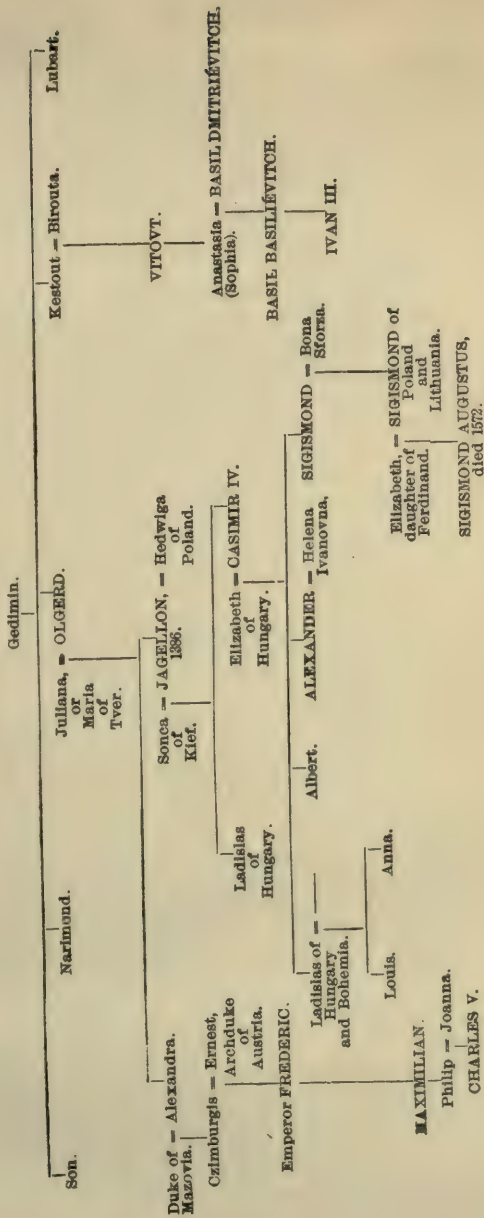
Ivan the Terrible, inspired by the same political and civilizing ideas as Peter the Great, wished to "open a window" into Europe. For this purpose he coveted the ports of the Narva, Revel and Riga, then in the hands of the Livonian Order, against which Ivan had some grievances. About 1547 Ivan had sent the Saxon Schlitte into Germany to engage for him a certain number of engineers and artizans, and Schlitte had managed to collect about a hundred people. The jealousy of the Germans then awoke; they feared that, as she became civilized, Russia would also become strong. The Livonian Order demanded of the Emperor Charles VI. the right to stop these strangers on their road. None ever reached Moscow. Ivan, then occupied with Kazan, was unable to avenge himself; but when in 1554 the envoys of the Order came to Moscow to solicit a renewal of the truce, he summoned them to pay tribute for Iourief, the ancient patrimony of the Russian princes. Such a demand meant war. In 1558 the Russian army took Narva, Neuhausen,

Dorpat, and seventeen other places. The Grand Master Kettler asked help of his neighbors. Poland alone responded to his appeal, and Sigismund Augustus II. concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the Livonian Order.

At this juncture an important revolution took place in the palace of the Tzar. Ivan's relations with his two counsellors Silvester and Adachef had singularly altered. They had disagreed with respect to the war with Livonia; they had desired that after the capture of Kazan and Astrakhan Ivan should turn in preference to the third Mussulman State, the Khanate of the Crimea. M. Kostomarof gives excellent reasons for this preference, but the reasons in favor of the opposite opinion are not less good. By conquering the Crimea the safety of the empire would be secured, and the conversion to Islamism, the complete Tatarization of the ancient Taurian tribes still professing Christianity, would be prevented; but by conquering Livonia an ancient patrimony of the Russian princes would be recovered and it would become possible to enter into direct relations with civilized Europe. The chances of success were equal. The Horde was then decimated by an epidemic, but the Livonian Order was in the act of dissolution by the result of the contest between Catholicism and Protestantism. The difficulties were equal. In attacking Livonia, Russia would come in contact with Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Germany; but behind the Crimea were the Turks, then at the height of their power, and much irritated by the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan. Peter the Great did not conquer Livonia till after twenty years hard fighting with the Powers of the North; but how many Russian expeditions against the Crimea have not been stopped by the distance, the difficulty of communication, the sandy deserts, and the extreme temperatures? Catherine the Great only conquered the Taurid in the decadence of the Turkish Empire, and after many campaigns, when she not only brought into play her armies of the Danube, but sent a fleet to the Archipelago. In reality both enterprises were premature; Russia had not yet strength to carry them through. Neither the Tzar nor his counsellors were completely in the right, but the obstinacy of the latter had a fatal result. To content everybody two wars were declared—which was to run the certain risk of a double check.

The misunderstanding between the Tzar and his two ministers dated from further back. Silvester abused his spiritual influence with the Tzar to multiply jobs of his own. He had ended by leaving him no liberty; and when Ivan's favorite son died, he told him brutally that it was a chastisement from Heaven for his indocility. He had entered into relations with

GENEALOGY OF THE PRINCELY HOUSES OF LITHUANIA AND POLAND.



boyards whom Ivan justly suspected ; he took their part against the Tzarina Anastasia, whom he represented as a second Empress Eudoxia, the persecutor of Chrysostom ; against the Glin-skis, and against the Romanofs. Adachef followed the same path. Like Haroun-al-Raschid's favorites, the Barmecides, these two ministers had ended by appropriating all the power of their master. Ivan had patience with them, believing them to be faithful ; but in 1553 he fell dangerously ill, and was thought to be at the point of death. Then the boyards resumed their old arrogance ; they obstinately refused to swear allegiance to the son of the Tzar, the young Dmitri, declaring that they would not obey his maternal relations, the Romanofs. The noisy discussions reached the bed of the sick man, and his entreaties were despised. The boyards approached Vladimir, cousin of Ivan IV., who had also refused to take the oaths, and it was known that the mother of this ambitious prince was distributing largesses to the army. Silvester took the part of Prince Vladimir against those boyards who remained faithful, and the family of Adachef joined with the mutineers. The faithful boyards even feared for the life of the Tzar ; Ivan could not be under any delusions as to the fate awaiting his wife and his son in case of his death.

"When God shall have worked His will on me," said Ivan to the few boyards gathered round him, "do not, I pray you, forget that you have sworn an oath to my son and to me ; do not let him fall into the hands of the boyards ; fly with him to some strange land, whithersoever God will conduct you. And you," he continued, addressing the Romanofs, "wherefore these terrors ? Do you think that the boyards will spare you ? You will fall the first : die then rather—since die you must—for my son and for his mother ; do not abandon my wife to the fury of the boyards." Ivan IV. recovered, but he preserved a lasting impression of these days of anguish. When we see him, later in his reign, give himself up to revenge, and to apparently inexplicable fury, we must think of the terrible vigils of 1553, of the scenes of rebellion and violence that troubled the peace of his sick chamber, of the obstinate refusals to take the desired vow of the declarations of hatred against the Tzarina and her relations, and of the intrigues woven round Vladimir against the Tzarévitch Dmitri.

He had no more confidence in his favorites ; both were banished from the Court. Silvester retired to the monastery of Saint Cyril, and was afterwards exiled to Solovetski. Adachef was appointed voïevode at Fellin in Livonia, and later was forced to live at Dorpat. But they left behind them a complete

administration, a perfect army of clients. They had peopled the Court, the governments, and the voievodies with their creatures. Their partisans were certain to agitate and plot for the return of their chiefs. Who knew how far these plots might go? A short time after Adachef's disgrace, that Anastasia whom he detested died suddenly. Ivan alleged that she was poisoned. Since the publication of M. Zabiéline's careful studies on the 'Private Life of the Tzarinas of Russia,' this allegation and others like it do not appear as inconceivable as they seemed to Karamsin. The intrigues of the friends of Adachef forced Ivan IV. many times to have recourse to severity, but at this epoch he was comparatively merciful.

"When the treachery of that dog Alexis Adachef and his accomplices was discovered," Ivan afterwards writes, "we let our anger be tempered with mercy; we did not condemn the guilty to capital punishments, but only banished them to our different towns. . . . Then we put no one to death. Those who belonged to the party of Silvester and Adachef we commanded to separate from them, and no longer to recognize them as chiefs. This promise we made them confirm by a vow, but they paid no heed to our injunction, and trampled their oath under foot. Not only did they not separate from the traitors, but they aided them by all possible means, and schemed to render them back their ancient power, and to set on foot against us a perfidious plot. Then only, seeing their wicked obstinacy and unconquerable spirit of rebellion, I inflicted on the guilty the penalty of their faults." Capital punishment was indeed rare at this epoch. Ivan usually contented himself with demanding a fresh oath from those who were arrested on the road to Lithuania, and exacted surety from them and their friends that they would not seek again to pass into Poland. Sometimes he condemned them to the easy durance of the monasteries.

What finally decided the Tzar to be more severe in his treatment was the defection of Prince Andrew Kourbski, who belonged to a family once royal, and descended from Rurik. He had distinguished himself against the Tatars on the Oka and at Kazan, and, being a zealous partizan of Adachef and Silvester, he was deeply irritated by their fall. Nominated general-in-chief of the army in Livonia, his carelessness allowed the Russians to suffer a shameful defeat. 15,000 Russians were beaten by 4000 Poles; and even, if the Polish historian Martin Belski is to be believed, 40,000 Russians by 1500 Poles. Kourbski had reason to fear the anger of the Tzar. He had been for some time negotiating with the King of Poland, being desirous of obtaining in Lithuania a command, lands, and advantages

equal to those he would lose. At last, abandoning his wife and children to the vengeance of the Tzar, he left Wenden and crossed into the Polish camp. Thence he sent to Ivan a letter by his servant Chipanof, whose foot, according to the tradition, Ivan nailed with his iron staff on to a step of the *red staircase*, while the message was being read to him.

"Tzar formerly glorified by God!" wrote Kourbski, "Tzar who formerly shone like the torch of orthodoxy, but who, for our sins, art now revealed to us in quite a different aspect, with a soiled and leprous conscience, such as we could not find even among barbarian infidels! Exposed to thy cruel persecution, with a heart filled with bitterness, I wish notwithstanding to say a few words to you. O Tzar, why hast thou put to death the strong ones of Israel? Why hast thou slain the valiant voïevodes given thee by God? Why hast thou shed their victorious blood, their only blood on the profaned pavement of the churches of God, during the sacred ceremonies? Why hast thou reddened the porch of the temple with the blood of the martyrs? In what were they guilty towards thee, O Tzar? Was it not their valor which overthrew, which laid at thy feet, those proud kingdoms of the Volga, before which thine ancestors were slaves? Is it not their zeal, their intelligence, to which, after God, thou owest the strong towns of the Germans? And behold thy gratitude to these unhappy ones! Thou hast exterminated whole families amongst us. Dost thou think thyself then immortal, O Tzar? or dost thou think (seduced by some heresy) that thou canst escape the incorruptible Judge, Jesus our God? No; He will judge the whole world, and chiefly such proud persecutors as thou art. My blood, which has already flowed for thee like water, will cry against thee to our Lord. God sees all consciences!" Kourbski then invokes the victims of Ivan, and shows them standing before the throne of God, demanding justice against their executioner. "Is it that in thy pride thou trustest in thy legions to keep thee in this ephemeral life, inventing against the human race new engines of torture to tear and disfigure the body of man, the image of the angels? Dost thou reckon on thy servile flatterers, on thy boon companions, on thy turbulent boyards, who make thee lose thy soul and body, entice thee to the debaucheries of Venus, and sacrifice their children to the vile rites worthy of Saturn? When my last day comes, I wish that this letter, watered with my tears, should be placed on my coffin." He ended by declaring himself a subject of Sigismund Augustus, "my sovereign, who, I hope, will load me with favors and consolations for my misfortunes." Thus Kourbski spoke "in the name of the strong ones

of Israel, of the living and the dead," that is, in the name of all the friends of Adachef; he made himself the organ of their wrath and complaints; he formulated their grievances, and exaggerated them; he demanded an account of the Tzar of his conduct towards them, threatening him with a higher tribunal, and dared to ask if he thought himself immortal; he refused Ivan all participation in the glory acquired at Kazan, insulted the boyards who surrounded him, and boasted of the crime which was the most unpardonable in the eyes of the Tzar—the recognition of the Polish sovereignty.

Kourbski's letter was a manifesto. It helped to irritate the suspicions of the Tzar, already only too disposed to imagine plots. Ivan, who thought himself a man of letters, and was really one of the most learned men in his empire, conceived it necessary to answer the letter of Kourbski with a long vindication, adorned with quotations from sacred and profane authors. The Tzar and his rebel subject exchanged many epistles of this kind. Ivan, who had begun by this time to justify his surname of Terrible, gave, besides, another answer to Kourbski's manifesto—the punishment of his supposed accomplices.

Ivan felt that he could no longer govern with a Court, a council of state (*douma*), and an administration which were filled with the friends of Adachef and Kourbski. Kourbski's conduct shows to what depths of treason their rancor could bring them. He was to return to devastate Russia with a Polish army! Was the life of the Tzar safe in the midst of such men? In December 1564 Ivan quitted Moscow with all his friends, servants, and treasures, and retired to the Slobode Alexandrof. He then wrote two letters to Moscow—one to the Archbishop, complaining of the plots and infidelity of the nobles, and the complicity of the clergy, who, abusing the *right of intercession*, prevented the sovereign from punishing the guilty; in the other he reassured the citizens and people of Moscow, by informing them that they were not included in his censure. The terror of the capital was great; the people trembled at the thought of falling again under the government of the oligarchs; the boyards feared what the people might do to them. Neither the one nor the other could resign themselves to the anger of the sovereign. The boyards and the clergy resolved to ask pardon, and, if necessary, to "carry their heads" to the Tzar. They went in procession to the Slobode Alexandrof, to beseech him to recall his abdication. Ivan consented to resume the crown, but on his own conditions. As he could neither govern with the actual administration nor destroy it, as he was forced to respect its vested interests, he made a sort of partition of the monarchy. The greater part of the

empire continued to be governed by the *douma* of the boyards, and constituted the *zemchtchira*, that is, the "rule of the country." Over this part of Russia Ivan only reserved a surveillance, and the right of punishing treason. The other part was placed under the "personal and individual" government of the Tzar, and formed the "*opritchnina*." Leaving the ancient Court, the ancient *douma*, and the ancient administration still in existence, Ivan IV. formed with his own creatures a new Court, a new council, and a new administration to which he confided the towns and villages that had fallen to his share. He surrounded himself with a special guard, called "the thousand of the Tzar," or the *opritchniki* who had adopted, as *armes parlantes*, a dog's head, and a broom suspended from their saddles. They were ready to bite the enemies of the Tzar, and to sweep treason off the Russian soil. This singular régime lasted seven years (1565-1572).

Ivan made great use of his right to punish traitors, or those whom he regarded as such. A perfect reign of terror hung over the Russian aristocracy, with alternations of calm and renewed fury. We know the names of his victims, but we do not always know their crimes. The writers hostile to Ivan IV., Kourbski, the Italian Guagnini, then in the service of the King of Poland, and the German refugees Taube and Kruse, are not always agreed on the subject.

About the facts which can be clearly proved, we can see that Ivan had real grievances against the nobles whom he put to death. On the side of the oligarchs the strife, though quiet and noiseless, was not less bloody. We ought not to be deceived by their demonstrations of humility and submission. With their foreheads in the dust, they could still conspire. We must beware of thinking Ivan's enemies were any better than himself. They were as cruel towards their inferiors as the Tzar was towards them. This aristocracy of slave-masters, habituated under the Tatar yoke to an insolent disdain of human life and feeling, was not superior in morality to its tyrant. It presented more than one type similar to the French monsters Gilles de Retz and the Sieur de Giac. Under very different colors, it was the same battle that raged in Russia and in France. But in France men fought in open day on the battle-fields of the Praguerie or of the League of the Public Good; in Russia the contest was carried on by silent plots, by noiseless attempts to poison or slay by magic, met by the axe of the executioner. In this sinister dialogue between the master and his subjects, it was naturally the master who spoke the loudest. In the absence of a sufficient number of authentic documents, we risk nothing by being a little more sceptical than Karamsin.

The principal episodes of this autocratic reign of terror are.

1. The deposition and perhaps the murder of St. Philip, Archbishop of Moscow, guilty of having nobly interceded for the condemned, and of hating the *opritchiniki*.
2. The execution of Alexandra, widow of Iroui and sister-in-law of Ivan; of Prince Vladimir and his mother, the ambitious Euphrosyne, who thus expiated their intrigues of 1553. We must remark that Ivan, whatever Kourbski may say, spared Vladimir's children, and largely provided for them.
3. The chastisement of Novgorod, where the aristocratic party had entertained, it seemed to Ivan, the project of opening the gates to the King of Poland, and where the Tzar, according to his own testimony, put to death 1505 persons.
4. The great execution in the Red Place in 1571, where a certain number of Muscovites and Novgorodians were slain, and where many of Ivan's new favorites, notably Viazemski and the Basmanofs, underwent the same penalty as his old enemies.

A curious memorial has been left us of the vengeance of "the Terrible"; it is the synodical letter of the Monastery of St. Cyril, in which Ivan asks for each of his victims by name the prayers of the Church. This list shows a total of 3470 victims, of whom 986 are mentioned by name. Many of these names are followed by this sinister statement,—“with his wife,” “with his wife and children,” “with his daughters,” “with his sons.” It was this that Kourbski called “the extermination of entire families” (*vsiorodno*). The constitution of the Russian family at this epoch was so strong, that the death of the head necessarily involved that of the other members. Other collective indications are not less significant. For example: “Kazarine Doubrovski and his two sons, with ten men who came to their help.” “Twenty men of the village of Kolmenskoé;” “eighty of Matveiché;” these were no doubt peasants and *dicti-boyarskie* who tried to defend their masters. There is this mention relative to Novgorod: “Remember, Lord, the souls of thy servants, to the number of 1505 persons, Novgorodians.” Had not Louis XI. tender feelings of this nature? He prayed with fervor for the soul of his brother, the Duke de Berri.

Other records demonstrate that Ivan the Terrible thought he had serious reasons to fear for his life. His curious correspondence with Queen Elizabeth of England proves this, as he obtains of her the formal promise that in case of misfortune he is to find in England a safe asylum and the free exercise of his worship (1570). There is besides his will of 1572, which contemplates the case of his being “proscribed by his boyards and expelled by them from the throne, and being obliged to wander

from country to country," and recommends to his sons to live on good terms with each other after his death, to learn how to restrain and reward their subjects, and above all to be on the watch against them.

During this terrible intestine strife, the war with Livonia and her ally the King of Poland continued. Notwithstanding the help of the latter, the Knights were everywhere beaten, and their fortresses taken by the Russian troops.

At last, ruined by so many blows, this famous Order dissolved. The Isle of *Œsel* sold itself to Denmark; Revel gave itself to the Swedes; Livonia was ceded by the Grand Master to Poland; Kettler reserved to himself Courland and Semigallia, which were erected into a hereditary duchy. There were no more Livonian knights, but Poland, as heir of the quarrels of Livonia, became more than ever ardent in the struggle. The Russians sustained their new reputation. In 1563 Ivan the Terrible, with a numerous army and many guns, besieged and took Polotsk, a very important position from its proximity to Livonia and its situation on the Dwina, the grand commercial route to Riga. In spite of a victory at Orcha, the King of Poland demanded a truce (1566).

Ivan at this moment offered a strange spectacle to Russia. To deliberate on the request of Sigismond he assembled a counsel, composed of the higher clergy, the territorial boyards on the frontiers of Lithuania (and well acquainted with the local topography), and finally the merchants of Moscow and Smolensk. This despot, who founded autocracy in blood, convoked real States-general; he made an appeal to their opinion, as he had many times before, when from the stone tribune of *Lobnoe miesto* he harangued the three orders. The Assembly decided that the King of Poland's conditions could not be accepted, and offered men and money for the continuation of the war. This was prolonged for four years, and ended in a truce. The Tzar, who saw difficulties accumulating in Livonia, conceived an expedient to enable him to escape them. No longer hoping to be able directly to unite the Baltic ports to his empire, he offered the title of King of Livonia to the Danish Prince Magnus, and made him marry a daughter of the same Prince Vladimir whom he had put to death. Magnus, nominal King of Livonia, soon perceived that he was only an instrument of Muscovite policy. He intrigued against the Tzar and was dethroned, Ivan the Terrible took Wenden in person, which Magnus had garrisoned, and massacred the German soldiers to the last man.

Unfortunately the war with Poland was complicated by the raids of the Tatars of the Crimea. Sigismond did not cease to

work upon the Khan, who well understood that his cause was allied with that of Poland. The Tzar, however, overpowered the Khan, took Kief, and established towns on the Dnieper. And what could the Tatars gain there, after all? Had not Ivan overthrown two Mongol kingdoms? The Sultan of Stamboul, Selim II., was ready to join in the Holy War for Kazan and Astrakhan. In 1569, 17,000 Turks, commanded by Kassim Pacha, and 50,000 Tatars, led by the Khan, besieged Astrakhan. The operations dragged on; the Pacha wished to pass the winter there, but a sedition broke out in the army. He was obliged to raise the siege, and lost many of his men in the steppes of the desert. Two years after, the Khan Devlet-Ghirei invaded Russia with 20,000 men. Was he aided by the treachery of the voïevodes? He crossed the Oka, and suddenly appeared under the walls of Moscow. He burned the faubourgs and the fire spread to the town, which, except the Kremlin, was completely reduced to ashes. A foreign author gives the evidently exaggerated number of 800,000 victims. The Khan retired with more than 100,000 prisoners, and despatched the following insolent message to Ivan: "I burn, I ravage everything because of Kazan and Astrakhan. I came to you and I burnt Moscow. I wished to have your crown and your head, but you did not show yourself; you declined a battle, and you dare to call yourself a Tzar of Moscow. Will you live at peace with me? Yield me up Kazan and Astrakhan. If you have only money to offer me, it would be useless, were it the riches of the whole world. What I want is Kazan and Astrakhan. As to the roads to your empire, I have seen them—I know them." He returned the following year (1572), but Prince Michael Vorotinski met him on the banks of the Lopasnia, and inflicted on him a complete defeat.

The same year (that of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew) died Sigismond Augustus II., king of Poland. His reign was especially memorable for the union of Lublin (1569), in virtue of which Poland and Lithuania were henceforth to form only one State under an elective prince. Thus Poland enfeebled royal power at home, just when it acquired in Russia an extraordinary degree of energy. A party of nobles was formed at Warsaw who wished to elect the son of Ivan the Terrible as King of Poland. This was to prepare for the reunion of the two great Slav empires, separated less by language than religion, whose growing antagonism could only terminate in the ruin of one of them, to the great advantage of the German race. Ivan coveted the crown, not for his son, but for himself. Let us see him court the Polish ambassadors, and try to defend himself against the

accusations of cruelty and tyranny which the banished Muscovites brought against him.

"If your *pans*, who are now without a king," said he to the Polish envoy Voropaï, "desire me for their sovereign, they will see what a good protector and kind master they will find in me. Many among you say that I am cruel. It is true that I am cruel and irascible—I do not deny it; but to whom, I ask you, am I cruel? I am cruel towards anyone that is cruel to me. The good! ah, I would give them in a moment the chain and the robe that I wear! It is nothing wonderful that your princes love their subjects, if their subjects love them. Mine have delivered me over to the Tatars of the Crimea. My voïevodes did not even warn me of the arrival of the enemy. Perhaps it was difficult for them to vanquish a force so superior to them in numbers; but even if they had lost some thousands of men, and only brought me a whip or a cane of the Tatars, I should have been grateful. Think of the enormity of their treason towards me. If some of them were afterwards chastised, it was for their crimes they were punished. I ask you—do you spare traitors?" Ivan then spoke of his grievances against Kourbski, and ended by promising "to observe the laws, to respect and even to extend the liberties and franchises of Poland."

The ambassador of France at Warsaw finally carried the day, and Henri de Valois, duc d'Anjou, was proclaimed king. He did not stay long in Poland, and, after his flight to the West, a new Diet assembled, and the intrigues of the rival Courts began again.

Stephen Batory, voïevode of Transylvania, was elected king. He was a young, ambitious, and energetic prince, and no more formidable enemy to Ivan the Terrible in his old age could have been chosen. It was now not only a question of the conquest of Livonia which was pursued so laboriously in the face of so many obstacles, but, in placing the crown on his head, Batory had sworn to give back to Poland the towns conquered from her by the Muscovite princes. It was now a contest between the semi-barbarous army of Russia, her almost feudal soldiery, her Tatar cavalry, her tactics of routine, and her feeble artillery, and a really European army, a well-directed artillery, compact regiments of German mercenaries, and Hungarian veterans, seasoned by many combats. Ivan awaited his enemy in Livonia, when suddenly Batory appeared before Polotsk and took it, in spite of a vigorous resistance. The Russian gunners hung themselves by their guns in despair. This and the following years were marked by the capture of many Russian fortresses. Batory, the hero of the North—the Charles XII. of the century

of Ivan the Terrible—seemed ready to annihilate the work of a long reign, and to check the first effort of Russia to escape from a state of barbarism. The Swedes on their side, commanded by De la Gardie, took Kexholm in Carelia, and invaded Esthonia. Old Pskovian and Novgorodian Russia was invaded. In 1581 Batory besieged Pskof, whilst De la Gardie captured Narva, Ivangorod, Iam, and Koporié. But Pskof marked the limit of Batory's successes. This little town was defended with so much energy by Ivan Chouïski, that, after a three months' siege and many assaults, Poles and Hungarians had to confess themselves vanquished.

Ivan had ceased to appear at the head of his troops, thinking that a prince who is not sure of his peers would be foolish if he risked himself in a battle; a conclusion to which Louis XI. had come at Monthléry. There still remained diplomacy to direct. Threatened by Batory, he had recourse to an expedient. He implored the mediation of Pope Gregory XIII. between the Catholic king and himself. The Pontiff sent to Moscow the Jesuit Antonio Possevino, with orders at the same time to negotiate the union with the two Churches. The account of Possevino shows us Ivan the Terrible in his true colors; almost free-thinking, curious, and sometimes humorous, with ideas of tolerance remarkable for his time. If the Pope's envoy failed in the religious part of his mission, he at least succeeded in concluding a truce between the two sovereigns, by which Ivan had to cede Polotsk and all Livonia. This bold enterprise for opening the Baltic Sea, which preceded by 150 years that of Peter the Great, had fallen miserably to the ground. The fruit of thirty years' efforts and sacrifices was lost (1582).

THE ENGLISH IN RUSSIA—CONQUEST OF SIBERIA.

Writers hostile to Ivan love to contrast the end of his reign—his *personal* government—with his early years, when Silvester and Adachef were in power. In the first period there was nothing but success; Kazan and Astrakhan were conquered. In the second period the Russians were vanquished by the Poles and Swedes; were expelled from Livonia; they lost Polotsk, and saw Moscow burnt by the Khan of the Crimea. The meaning of these facts really is that the Russian arms were triumphant in the East against barbarians ignorant of the military art, and unfortunate in the West, where they had to contend with the artillery, the tactics, the discipline, and the troops of Europe. Ivan needed more wit to be defeated as he was in Livonia, than

to win as he did in Kazan. It is no dishonor for the Russia of the 16th century to have failed in this great undertaking, since Peter, with all his genius, spent twenty-five years in the same task. This unlucky period of the reign of Ivan was not without fruit for the grandeur and civilization of Russia. The Germans closed to her the Baltic, the English opened for her the White Sea.

Under Edward VI. a company of merchant venturers was formed for the discovery of "regions, kingdoms, islands, and places unknown and unvisited by the highway of the sea." Sebastian Cabot, chief pilot of England, was nominated governor for life. Three vessels, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby and Chancellor, set sail towards the north-east, towards that strange sea spoken of by Tacitus—"a sluggish mere and motionless—which forms the girdle of the world, where you hear the sound of sun-rising!" That sea must lead, men thought, to China. On the coasts of Scandinavia near Vardehuus, a frightful tempest arose and dispersed the squadron. Willoughby disappeared with the 'Buona Speranza' and the 'Buona Confidenza.' Some fishermen afterwards found the two ships in a bay of the White Sea, where they had been nipped by the ice, and all the sailors who manned them were dead of cold and hunger. Chancellor, with the 'Edward Bonaventura,' succeeded in doubling Laponia and the Holy Cape, penetrated first into an unknown sea, and then into the mouth of a river, near which was a monastery. The sea was the White Sea, the river the Dwina, the monastery that of St. Nicholas. Chancellor learned with astonishment that he was on the territory of the Tzar of Moscow; he had found Russia beneath the North Pole (1553). Further off was the monastery of St. Michael, near which was afterwards to be built in this desert, chiefly thanks to the English, the commercial city of St. Michael the Archangel, or, more shortly, Arkhangel. Chancellor at once left for Moscow, and delivered to Ivan the Terrible the letters which Edward VI., not knowing where his subjects might land, had addressed vaguely "to all the princes and lords, to all the judges of the earth, to their officers, to whoever possesses any high authority in all the regions under the vast sky." Ivan IV. admitted the English "to see his majesty and his eyes," feasted them in the Golden Palace, and gave them a letter for their king, in which he authorized the English to trade with his dominions, and made them promise to send ships to the Dwina.

Mary Tudor succeeded her brother, and shared the throne with her Spanish husband, Philip II. They confirmed the privileges of the company of merchant venturers, and in 1556 Chancellor

accompanied by Richard Gray and George Killingworth, again set sail for the mouth of the Dwina, and arrived successfully at Moscow. This time they obtained from the Tzar letters-patent formally authorizing the members of the company to establish themselves at Kholmogory and at Vologda, and to trade east and west. During this time Stephen Burroughs, in the 'Search-thrift,' navigated the east, gained the shores of the country of the Samoyedes, touched on the islands of Nova Zembla and Vaigatz, and was only checked by the approach of the dark Polar winter.

Chancellor's two vessels—the 'Edward Bonaventura' and the 'Philip and Mary'—which had discovered the missing ships of Willoughby, departed for England. The former had on board Osip Nepei, governor of Vologda, the first Russian ambassador that had been seen in England, accompanied by a suite of sixteen Russians, and carrying a letter and presents from Ivan IV. A tempest scattered the fleet, sent the 'Philip and Mary' as far as the coast of Norway, sunk the 'Speranza' and the 'Confidenza,' and threw the 'Bonaventura' on the inhospitable rocks of Inverness. Chancellor succeeded in saving the Russian envoy, but perished himself with his son and nearly all the crew. The cargo and the presents of the Tzar were plundered by the savage natives of the country.

Twelve miles from London Osip Nepei was received by eighty merchants of the company, mounted on magnificent horses, and adorned with heavy chains of gold. He now became acquainted with "all the solid respectability of old England." His *cortège* was increased by new squadrons of merchants and gentlemen as they approached the town, and he made his triumphal entry on February the 28th 1557. Harangued by the Lord Mayor, received by the Queen and the King, feasted by the corporation of drapers he departed for Russia with letters-patent according to Russian merchants in England a reciprocity of privileges. England did not bind herself down to much.

Nepei this time was accompanied by Jenkinson, an admirable type of an English sailor,—bold, indefatigable, ready for anything; a merchant, an administrator, a diplomat at need, who had already visited all the seas of Europe, and, in despair at England not being able to contest the Mediterranean with her Venetian rival, wished to secure her a new passage by Russia to the East. His open character and wide knowledge were wonderfully seductive to Ivan. He obtained from the Tzar a letter of recommendation to the Asiatic princes, descended the Volga, flew the first English flag on the Caspian, landed on the coast of Turkestan; plunged with camels loaded with merchandise into

regions infested with brigands, and ravaged by the wars of the khans; was very nearly massacred, reached Bokhara, and was lucky enough to return before the city was sacked by the Sultan of Samarcand (1558-1559). In another voyage (1562) he again crossed the Caspian, and presented specimens of English manufacture and the letters of Elizabeth to Shah Thamas, King of Persia, who, warned by the friends of the Turks and Venetians, received Jenkinson with an insulting mistrust and coldness. When he retired from the Court, a domestic followed him carrying a basin of sand, and scattered it to efface the impure footsteps of the *giaour* on the soil of the sacred palace. Jenkinson brought back to Ivan IV. messages from many small princes, notably from those of Chirvan and Georgia, who wished to place themselves under the Muscovite protection. The results of these voyages were negative. Seeing the instability of the Asiatic regions, the English had for the present to confine themselves to trading in the territories of the Tzar. The latter, in acknowledgment of the services rendered him by Jenkinson, authorized them to trade on all the rivers of the north, from the Dwina to the Obi, and to establish themselves in the principal Russian towns—Pskof, Novgorod, Nijni-Novgorod, Kazan, Astrakhan, and Narva, which had just fallen into the power of the Russians.

In 1568 Ivan wished to conclude with Elizabeth a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, against Poland and Sweden. He offered her in exchange a monopoly of commerce with Russia, though this right, by his own showing, weighed more heavily on his empire than a tribute would have done. He also requested her to sign an engagement, reciprocal for the two sovereigns, to furnish each other with an asylum in the event of the success of an enemy, or the rebellion of their subjects, obliging them to fly from their States. Elizabeth declined the offer of alliance, and refused to accept for herself the offered asylum, "finding, by the grace of God, no dangers of the sort in her dominions." It was in 1570 that she signed the treaty mentioned above, and had it countersigned by Bacon and the principal statesmen. This, however, was far from contenting Ivan, as Elizabeth persisted in declining a refuge in Russia. The discussion on this "great affair," as Ivan calls it in his letters, was prolonged for some time longer. Elizabeth sent Randolph, Jenkinson, and Daniel Silvester to Russia. Ivan was represented in London by Andrew Sovine, Pisemski, and the English merchant, Horsey.

The last envoy of England in the reign of Ivan was Jerome Bowes, charged to explain to the Tzar the difficulties in the way

of his project of marriage with Lady Mary Hastings, cousin of Elizabeth. Notwithstanding his heaviness and want of tact, Bowes obtained great credit with the Tzar, who sometimes said to him, "May it please God that my servants prove as faithful!" Bowes profited by his favor to get the privileges of the English augmented, but he made himself many enemies at Court, and was greatly maltreated during the reaction that followed the death of Ivan. The relations were renewed in Feodor's reign by Horsey, and above all, by Fletcher, author of a curious account of Russia.

French merchants had also brought to Ivan a letter of Henry III., and had settled themselves in Moscow. Other envoys arrived from Holland, Spain, and Italy, to try to rival the English; but the latter, who had been the first to reach Russia, kept the pre-eminence.

In 1558 the Tzar had yielded to Gregory Strogonof ninety-two miles of desert land on the banks of the Kama. Here the Strogonofs created many centres of population, and began to explore the mineral wealths of the Ourals. Their colonists even passed the "mountain girdle," and came in contact with the kingdom of Siberia. The Strogonofs, as audacious as the Spaniards, dreamed of the conquest of this vast empire, and requested authority of the Tzar to take the offensive against the Tatars. To fight, an army was necessary. Russia was so full of vigor, that the most impure elements often became the agents of her security and progress. The Good Companions of the Don had more than once excited the anger of the Tzar by pillaging the travellers and boats on the royal road of the Volga. They had not always respected the possessions of the Crown. One of these brigand chiefs, the Cossack Irmak Timoféevitch, obtained the pardon of the Tzar, and took service with the Strogonofs. At the head of 850 men—Russians, Cossacks, Tatars, German, and Polish prisoners of war—he crossed the Ourals, terrified the natives by the novelty of fire-arms, traversed the immense untrodden forests of Tobol, defeated the Khan Koutchoum in many battles, took Sibir, his capital, and made his cousin Mametkoul prisoner. Then he subjugated the banks of the Irtych and the Obi, and consoled the last years of the Tzar by the news that he had conquered him a new kingdom, and added to all his other crowns that of Siberia. Ivan also sent bishops and priests into his new dominions. Irmak, after having finished his conquest and thrown open the communications with the rich Bokhara, only survived Ivan a short time. One day he allowed himself to be surprised by his enemies, and sank in trying to swim the Irtych, from the weight of the cuirass given him by the

Tzar (1584). This rival of Pizarro and Cortez, the *conquistador* of a new world, was reckoned a hero by the people, and is honored as a saint by the Church. Miracles were accomplished at his tomb; epic songs celebrated his exploits. The Tatars have composed a whole legend about him.

If Adachef had given to Russia in 1551 her first municipal liberties, Ivan had assembled in 1556 the first States-general, composed of the three orders. The reformation of the Church under Silvester was completed by the Council of 1573, which forbade rich convents to acquire new lands; and, by the Council of 1580, extending the prohibition to all convents. The Church could no longer acquire property. Ivan the Terrible restrained an abuse which troubled all the public ceremonies, and more than once imperilled the success of battles. We know how powerful, in the Russia of the 16th century, was the constitution of the family. When a noble rose or fell, his whole family rose or fell with him; even the memory of his ancestors and the future of his youngest nephews were concerned. This is the reason why a Russian noble never consented to occupy an inferior place, if no precedents on the subject existed. Court and camp were constantly disturbed by the "quarrels of precedence" (*miestnitchestvo*). Neither the knout nor the executioner's axe could subdue their resistance. They would rather die than dishonor their ancestors. The 'Books of Rank' were consulted on all occasions, to know the respective precedence of the different families. Ivan IV. forbade all disputes of rank to any noble who was not the head of his family. This was only to restrain the evil; it had yet to be extirpated.

Ivan the Terrible may be considered as the founder of the National Guard of the *streltsi* or *strelitz*, who during two hundred years rendered great services to the empire.—He also organized, on the frontiers threatened by the Tatars, a series of posts and camps where the soldiers of the country might be exercised.

He gathered strangers about him. He authorized the minister Wettermann, of Dorpat, to preach at Moscow, listened to Eberfeld, and refused a discussion with Rosvita, saying that he would not "cast pearls before swine." He permitted the erection of the first Calvinist and Lutheran churches at Moscow, thus anticipating the toleration of the 18th century; but, on seeing the people's dislike to them, he had them removed two versts from the capital.

Ivan's character was a strange compound of greatness and barbarism. Cruel, dissolute, superstitious, we see him by turns yielding himself, with his favorites, to the most shameful excesses, or, covered with a monkish garment, heading them in

processions and other pious exercises. Like Henry VIII., he had many wives. After Anastasia Romanof he married a barbarian, the Tcherkess Maria; next, two legitimate wives; then two more whose union the Church refused to sanction. By his seventh wife, Maria Nagoi he had a son, another Dmitri. At the close of his days we see him seeking an alliance with foreigners, and asking first the sister of the King of Poland, and then a cousin of Elizabeth of England, in marriage. His brutal habits and the facility with which he used his iron staff, had a tragic conclusion. In an altercation with his son Ivan he struck him, and the blow was mortal. Great and fierce was the sorrow of the Tzar. In slaying his beloved son, he had slain his own work. He had no longer a successor, since Feodor, the elder of his remaining sons, was feeble in body and mind; and the second Dmitri was only an infant. It was for foreign successors—for one of the detested boyards—that, at the price of so much blood and so many perils, he had founded autocracy. He only survived his son three years, and died in 1584. Without allowing himself to be biassed by Ivan's numerous cruelties, the historian ought fairly to compare him with men of his own time. He ought not to forget that the 16th century is the century of Henry VIII., of Ferdinand the Catholic, of Catherine de Medici, of the Inquisition, of Saint Bartholomew, and of *strapados*. Was the Europe of this era indeed so far advanced beyond Asiatic Russia, newly escaped from the Mongol yoke? Ivan the Terrible, in decimating, in suppressing, in tyrannizing over the aristocracy, at least put it out of their power to establish after him that anarchic *noblesse*, the hidden danger of Slav nations, which in Poland, under the name of *pospolite*, began by enfeebling royalty, and ended by enfeebling the nation.

CHAPTER XVI.

MUSCOVITE RUSSIA AND THE RENAISSANCE.

The Muscovite government—The *kin* and the *men* of the Tzar—The *prikazes*—Rural classes—Citizens—Commerce—Domestic slavery—Seclusion of women—The Renaissance ; Literature, popular songs, and cathedrals—Moscow in the 16th century.

MUSCOVITE GOVERNMENT—THE RELATIONS AND MEN OF THE
TZAR—THE PRIKAZES.

THE Russia of the 16th and 17th centuries is an Oriental state, almost without relations with Europe. The Livonian knights, the Poles, the Swedes, and the Danes, who understood that it was only her barbarism which ensured her inferiority to her weaker neighbors, took good care that neither the men, the arms, nor the sciences of the West should reach her. Sigismond threatened the English merchants of the Baltic with death. He did not intend that "the Muscovite, who is not only our present adversary, but the eternal enemy of all free States, should provide herself with guns, bullets, and munitions ; and, above all, with artisans who continue to make arms, hitherto unknown in this barbaric country." Moscow, thanks to those jealous precautions, thanks also to the hatred of the Russians for the "Muslimans" and "heretics" of the West, remained what the Tatar invasions had made her—an Asiatic Empire. The patriarchal rule of ancient Slavonia and the example of the Oriental sovereigns contributed to maintain in her the despotic principle in all its force. The Tzar was at once the father and the master of his subjects, more absolute than the Khan of the Tatars or the Sultan of Constantinople. The persons and the goods of his subjects were his property ; the greatest lords, the princes descended from Rurik, were only his slaves (*kholopy*). A petition in Russian signifies a "beating of the forehead" (*tchélobitié*). The nobles of the empire signed their requests not with their names, Ivan or Peter, but with a lackey's nickname, a servile diminutive, Vania or Pétrouchka. The Byzantine formula, "May I speak and live ?" is exaggerated in the Russian, "Bid me not to

be chastised ; bid me to speak a word." Men approached the Tzar in fear and trembling ; the people prostrated themselves before that terrible iron staff with which Ivan was always armed. He considered the empire as his private property ; he administered it with his own "people," who had succeeded to the *droujina* of former princes ; he governed it by the help of his own relations or those of his wife. The sons of the greatest lords gloried in serving him in the capacity of *spalniki* or gentlemen of the bedchamber, and *stolniki* or waiters at the royal table. These domestic functions led to the rank of boyards or *okolnitchié* (surrounders of the prince.) The principal boyards formed the *douma* or council of the empire, assembled in the chamber of the prince, and were presided over by him. On solemn occasions the *sobor* or general assembly was convoked, which was composed of deputies from all the orders, and was a sort of States-general of ancient Russia. The proud Russian aristocracy did not allow itself tamely to be reduced to this state of independence ; but the *kniazes* scattered as provincial or municipal governors through Siberia, Kazan, or Astrakhan, or subjected in the capital to rigorous surveillance, had become powerless. To ensure the results of their cruel policy, the successors of Ivan IV. forbade the bearers of certain too illustrious names to marry.

When the Tzar desired to marry, he addressed a circular to the governors of the towns and provinces, commanding them to send to Moscow the most beautiful maidens of the empire, or at all events those of noble birth. Like Ahasuerus in the Bible, like the Emperor Theophilus in the chronicles of Byzantium, like Louis the Débonnaire in the narrative of the 'Astronomer,' he made his selection out of all these beauties. Fifteen hundred young girls were assembled for Vassili Ivanovitch to choose from ; after the first meeting, 500 of these were sent to Moscow. The Grand Prince then made a fresh selection of 300, then of 200, then of 100, then of 10, who were examined by the doctors and midwives. The most beautiful and the healthiest became the Tzarina ; she took a new name, as a sign that she was going to begin a new existence. Her father, on becoming father-in-law of the Tzar, also changed his name ; her relations became the nearest relations (*proches*) of the prince, constituted his companions, undertook the care of everything, and governed the empire like the house of their imperial relative. The dispossessed ministers and friends tried in secret to reconquer their lost power by putting the new sovereign to death, and did not hesitate to have recourse to magic and poison. Many of these imperial brides never survived their triumphs, and, suddenly attacked by mysterious maladies, died before their coronation day. All the

successors of Vassili Ivanovitch, even including Alexis Mikhaïlovitch, instituted these assemblages of beauty for the choice of their wives. It was the privilege of the sovereigns of Moscow and of the princes of their blood.

The men of the *droujina* or of the *surrounding* of the prince thought it beneath their dignity or above their power to serve him otherwise than in war or justice. The work of the pen had to be confided to the sons of the priests and merchants—the *diaki* whose beginnings were as humble as those of the Capetian lawyers, seated at the feet of the peers of France; like them, they ended by taking the place of the great lords. The administration of the State was entrusted to twenty or thirty *prikazes* or bureaux, whose numbers and functions varied at different times. There was notably the *prikaz* of provisions, that of drinks, and that of the pantry, which were all concerned with the commissariat of the Court. The duties were very heavy, as not only the Tzar, the Tzarina, and the princes of the blood kept an open table, but, in accordance with patriarchal and family ideas, the prince was supposed to feed from his own table the nobles and functionaries lodged beyond the palace. He was obliged to send them daily, cooked meats, wines, and fruits. There was the *prikaz* of the gold and silver cup, that of the wardrobe, of pharmacy, of horses, of the falconry, of games, to which belonged comedians buffoons, dwarfs, fools, keepers of bears and dogs ready to fight with the bears, the menagerie of rare animals, chess, cards, and in general everything that served to amuse the Tzar. The *prikaz kazennyi*, or “of the crown,” had under its control the manufactures fabricating the golden and silken stuffs, of which the prince had a monopoly, and the depot of the precious Siberian furs. It furnished the presents to be distributed among the clergy, the boyards, the ambassadors of foreign powers, and the Greek monks who came from Byzantium or Mount Athos, to ask for alms. The *prikazes* of the great palace, of the *quarter*, of the revenue, and of the tax on liquors, were concerned with the finances. There were also those of the imperial family, of secret affairs, of petitions, posts, and police; of the buildings of the Tzar, slaves, monasteries, streltsi, embassies, and artillery. The *prikazes* of Oustiougue, of Kazan, of Galitch, of Kostroma, of Little Russia, and Siberia, had a territorial competence. Usually the expenses of such and such a bureau were defrayed by the produce of taxes on a given town or province.

The State revenues were composed: 1. Of that of the *demesne*, including thirty-six towns and their territory, the inhabitants of which paid their dues either in kind or in money. 2. Of the *tagla*, an annual impost on every 60 measures of corn.

3. Of the *podate*, a fixed tax on every *dvor* or fire. 4. The produce of the custom-houses, and of the excess of the municipal dues. 5. The tax on the public baths. 6. The farming-out of the Crown taverns. 7. The fines and expenses of justice, the confiscations pronounced by the "tribunal of the brigands." Fletcher, who visited Russia in the time of Boris Godounof, valued the whole of these revenues at 1,223,000 roubles of their money. The Tzar annually received besides, furs and other things from Siberia, Permian, and the Petchora; he exchanged them himself with the Turkish, Persian, Armenian, Bokharian, or Western merchants, who came to the fairs or landed at the ports of the empire. Further, the Crown, after having allowed the officers to gorge themselves some time at the expense of the people, reserved to itself the power of calling them to justice, and of depriving them of part, or the whole, of their booty. The Tzar, who, like the ancient despots of Egypt and the East, had already monopolized certain branches of commerce, kept up an undignified rivalry with his own subjects. He sent agents into special provinces, who seized on all the productions of the country, furs, wax, and honey; forced the proprietors to sell them to them at a low price, and then obliged the English of Arkhangel or the merchants of Asia to buy them at a high rate; he even laid hands on the goods brought by these merchants, and made the Russian tradesmen pay dear for them, forbidding them to purchase from others till the warehouses of the Tzar were emptied. Fletcher exposes many other means of extortion, to which the Tzarian government periodically had recourse.

The grades of courts of civil justice were three: 1. The tribunals of the starost of the district, and of the hundred men, a magistrate established for every hundred ploughs. 2. The tribunal of the voievode, in the head-city of each province. 3. The Supreme Court of Moscow. In spite of the Codes of Ivan III. and Ivan IV., the law was so confused and uncertain that Fletcher said of it, "There is no written law in Russia." The mode of procedure was that of the Carolingian age; if a man could neither produce witnesses nor written proofs, the judge could take the oath of one of the parties. Often the value of an oath was confirmed by a judicial duel. The champions, says Herberstein, loaded themselves with arms and heavy armor. They were so embarrassed by all this weight of iron, that a Russian was invariably overcome by a foreigner, and Ivan III. forbade foreigners to fight with his subjects. Often the parties had themselves represented by hired champions, and then the combat became a comedy, the mercenaries only thinking how to spare themselves.

The legislation in the matter of debts equalled in rigor that of the Roman law of the Twelve Tables. The insolvent debtor was subjected to the *pravége*; that is, tied up half-naked on a public place, and beaten three hours a day. This punishment was repeated for thirty or forty days. If by that time no one was moved by his lamentations and cries to pay his debt for him he was allowed to be sold, and his wife and children let out to hire; if he had none, he became the slave of the creditor. The penal legislation was frightful. In cases of accusation of theft, murder, or treason, the accused was subjected to tortures worthy of a Spanish Inquisitor. The punishments were infinitely varied: a man might be hung, beheaded, broken on the wheel, impaled, drowned under the ice, or knouted to death. A wife who had murdered her husband "was buried alive up to her neck;" heretics went to the stake; sorcerers were burned alive in an iron cage; coiners had liquid metal poured down their throats. We must not forget the death of "ten thousand pieces," the torment in which the sides were torn away by iron hooks, and all the varieties of mutilation. On the other hand, a noble who slew a mougik was only fined or whipped. The noble who killed his slave suffered no penalty; he could do what he liked with his own.

Before the creation of the patriarchate, the highest dignity in the Russian Church was that of the Metropolitan of Moscow. Then came the six Archbishops of Novgorod, Rostof, Smolensk, Kazan, Pskof, and Vologda; the six Bishops of Riazan, Tver, Kolomenskoé, Vladimir, Souzdal, and Kroutiski or Saraï, whose dioceses were immense. This Church was as dependent on the Tzar as that of Byzantium had been on the Emperors; at the expense of a few formalities he could create a prelate or a new see. The bishops were selected from the Black Clergy; that is, the monks who had taken the vow of chastity. Their revenues were large and their ceremonies imposing. "As for exhorting or instructing their sheep," says Fletcher, "they have neither the habit of it nor the talent for it, for all the clergy are as profoundly ignorant of the Word of God as of all other learning." With the secular or White Clergy, marriage was not only a right, but a duty. Their manners and education hardly distinguished them from the peasants, and like them, they were sometimes subjected to the most degrading chastisements. The convents were numerous, very full, and very rich; that of St. Sergius, at Troïtsa, possessed 110,000 souls,—that is, male peasants. All broken men took refuge there; on the other hand, the councils fulminated against the vagabond monks who infested the country. More than once the monasteries served as prisons for disgraced

nobles, who there led a gay and noisy life, like the Frank nobles of other days in the cloisters of the Merovingian churches. Delicate meats were sent them from the table of the Tzar—sturgeons, sterlets, figs, dry raisins, oranges, pepper, and saffron.

In a letter to the monks of St. Cyril on the White Lake, Ivan IV. blames with a mixture of severity and irony their lenity towards the imprisoned boyards. "In my youth," he writes, "when we were at St. Cyril, if dinner happened to be late, and if the intendant asked a sterlet or any other fish of the cellarer, he would reply, 'I have no orders about it; I have only prepared what I was ordered. Now it is night, and I can give you nothing: I fear the sovereign, but I fear God more.'" "See," continues Ivan, "what was the severity of the rule. They fulfilled the word of the prophet: 'Speak the truth, and have no shame before the Tzar.' To-day my boyard Cheremetief reigns in his cell like a Tzar; my boyard Khabarof pays him visits with the monks. They drink as if in lay society. Is it a wedding? is it a baptism? The captive distributes pieces of iced fruits, spiced bread, and sweetmeats. Beyond the monastery there is a house filled with provisions. Some say that strong drinks are gradually smuggled into the cell of Cheremetief. Now in monasteries it is against the rules to have foreign wines; how much more, then, strong waters?"

The orthodox faith, deprived of the stimulus of liberty and instruction, tended to become mere routine. Salvation was gained by hearing long liturgies, by multiplying Slavonic orisons, by making hundreds of prostrations and genuflexions, by telling rosaries, and by frequenting shrines. The most celebrated centres were the catacombs of Kief, where slept the incorruptible bodies of the saints, and where dwell their successors without ever seeing the light of day; the monastery of St. Cyril, on the White Lake; of St. Sergius, at Troïtsa; and the cathedral of St. Sophia, at Novgorod. Men prostrated themselves at the tombs of St. Peter and St. Alexis of Moscow; before the wonder-working virgins of Vladimir, Smolensk, Tischvin, and Pskof. The most pious journeyed as far as the sacred Mount Athos, and the city of Constantinople, full of blessed relics, though polluted by the presence of the Turk; nay, further still, to the tomb of Christ, to Golgotha, to Mount Sinai, wherever orthodox communities disputed possession with Catholic communities.

The national army was, like the Tatar army, chiefly composed of cavalry. The *stolniki*, *spalniki*, and other young courtiers, formed an Imperial Guard of about 8000 men. All the gentlemen of the empire, *dvoriane*, or *dieti-boyarskié*, were confined to the mounted ranks; the revenues of their lands were

counted as pay for these *men of service* (*sloujilii lioudi*); the ancient distinction between the *pomestie* (fiefs) and the *votchiny* (free allods) was almost abolished. It was nearly the *régime* of the fiefs of the West, or of the *ziams* and *timars* of Turkey. This noble cavalry could reckon 80,000 horsemen; with the levy of free peasants, it mounted up to 300,000. To this we must join the irregular cavalry, composed of the Cossacks of the Don and the Terek, of Tatars and Bachkirs. The national infantry was constituted—1, by the *datotchnié lioudi*, peasants of the monasteries, churches, and domains; 2, by the *streltsi*, free archers, or communal soldiers, organized in the time of Ivan IV., and who, in Moscow alone, formed a body of 12,000 men. Then came the artillery, and the soldiers told off to the *gouliaïgorod*, the “city that walks,” movable ramparts of wood, which were used both in sieges and in the open country, where the Russian troops, if they were not protected, showed little firmness. In the 15th century, foreign mercenaries began to be enlisted—Poles, Hungarians, Greeks, Turks, Scotch, Scandinavians, armed and disciplined after the European fashion, and enrolled under the names of *ritters*, soldiers, and dragoons. History has preserved the names of some of their leaders: Rosen the German, and Margeret the Frenchman, who has left us some curious memoirs of the False Dmitri.

The equipment of the national troops was completely Oriental. They had long robes, high saddles, short stirrups, rich caparisons, scale or ring armor. The Tzar himself went into battle with his lance, bow and quiver. The army was always divided into five divisions—the main army, the right and left wings, the van and rear guards. Each was commanded by two voïevodes of unequal rank, without counting the voïevode of the artillery or of the movable camp, and the *atamans* of the *streltsi* and of the Cossacks. The grades of the regular army were those of the *tysatski* or chiliarch, the centurion, the commander of fifty, and the *deciatski*, or commander of ten. All obeyed the grand voïevode, or general-in-chief. Each soldier brought provisions for four months, and the Tzar furnished nothing, except occasionally some corn. The men lived almost entirely on biscuit, dried fish or bacon, and proved capable of enduring much fatigue. The campaigns never lasted long, and only part of the army was permanent.

From this time Russia sought to enter into regular relations with foreign Powers. Her diplomatic traditions were those of the East or Byzantium. Her first ambassadors were the Greek Dmitri Trakhaniotes, and the Italian Marco Ruffo, sent into Persia. They treated with most deference the neighboring

States, not those which were most powerful. Whilst they sent a simple courier (*gonets*) to the Emperor, and the kings of France, England, and Spain, they despatched boyards, accompanied by *diaks*, to Sweden, Denmark, and Poland. The *prikaz* of the embassies, which had under its orders fifty translators and seventy interpreters of all languages, gave them their safe conduct, detailed instructions, letters for the foreign sovereign, presents, two years' pay, and a certain number of furs of costly materials from the *prikaz* of the Crown, which they were to do their best to sell at a high price. The Russian ambassador, like those of the Greeks and Tatars, was also a commission agent for the benefit of the Tzar. The envoys were recommended to avoid all insolence, and to watch their men, but to display the greatest luxury, to exact due payment of all honors, and, at the peril of their lives, never to suffer the Tzar's titles to be diminished—titles which were rather complicated, as he enumerated all his subject States. The mercantile preoccupations of the Russian ambassadors, and their eternal quarrels about etiquette, rendered them unbearable at all the European Courts. On their return they were summoned before the Tzar, gave him a detailed account of their mission, and handed over to him the journal of their tour and the notes of all that they had observed in the distant countries. From the 16th century a shrewd and observant spirit is noticeable in their relations, which is not unworthy of the wisdom of their masters, the Byzantines.

When foreign ambassadors arrived in Russia, they were treated with magnificence and distrust. From the time they crossed the frontier, they and their people were fed, housed, and provided with carriages, but a *pristaf* attached to their persons watched carefully that they obtained no interviews with the natives, nor information about the state of the country. They were taken through the richest and most populous provinces; the citizens were everywhere required to meet them on their route, dressed in their costliest clothes. At Moscow a palace of the Tzar was assigned them as a residence, and they were fed from his table. Their first interview took place with great pomp in the Palace of Facets (*Granavitaiia palatna*). The walls of the hall were hung with magnificent tapestries; gold and silver vessels, of Asiatic form, shone on the daïs. The Tzar, crown on head, sceptre in hand, seated on the throne of Solomon, supported by the mechanical lions, which roared loudly, surrounded by his *ryndis* in long white caftans and armed with the great silver axe, by his sumptuously-dressed boyards, and by his clergy in their simple costume, received their letters of credit. He asked the ambassador for news of his master, and how he had travelled. If the Tzar were not contented with him, the am-

bassadors' palace became a prison where no native might penetrate, and carefully-studied humiliations were practised to extract from him concessions or to abridge his stay.

THE RURAL CLASSES—CITIZENS OF THE TOWNS—COMMERCE.

The lower classes of Muscovy were composed of three elements :—1. The slave, or *kholop*, properly so called, the *mancipium* of the Romans, a man taken in war, sold by himself or some one else, or son of a *kholop*. 2. The *peasant inscribed* on the lands of a noble, the *colonus adscriptus* of the Roman Empire, whose person was legally free, but who was to be reduced by means of a more and more rigorous legislation to the condition of *krepostnyi* or serf of the glebe. 3. The free cultivator, who lived like a farmer on the lands of another, and had the right to change his master, but who was soon to be mingled with the preceding class.

It was the *inscribed peasants* who constituted almost the whole of the rural population. In the ancient provinces the peasant might consider himself as the primitive inhabitant of the soil. He was only made subject to the gentleman in order to secure to the latter an income sufficient for military service; he therefore continued to look on himself as the true proprietor. In these rural masses, the primitive features of the Slav organization were preserved in all their vigor. It was the commune, or *mir*, and not the individuals, who possessed the land; it was the commune that was responsible to the Tzar for the tax, for the *corvée* and dues to the lord. This responsibility armed the commune with an enormous power over its members, and this power embodied itself in the *starost*, assisted by elders. In the bosom of the commune the family was not organized less severely, less tyrannically than the *mir*. The father of the family had over his wife, his sons, married or single, and their wives, an authority almost as absolute as that of the starost over the commune, or the Tzar over the empire. The paternal authority became harder and more stern from the contact with serfage and the despotic rule. Ancient barbarism was still intact among these ignorant people: the graceful customs or the savage manners, the poetic or cruel superstitions of the early Slavs, were perpetuated by them. The Russian peasant remained a pagan under his veneer of orthodoxy. His funeral songs seem destitute of all Christian hope. His marriage songs preserve the tradition of the purchase or capture of the bride. The sad lot of the rustic was yet to be aggravated during the three centuries of progress which the upper classes had still to accomplish. In

view of the State, as of the proprietor, he tended more and more to become a beast of burden, a productive force to be used and abused at pleasure.

The Russian towns were composed first of a fortress or *kreml*, where at need a garrison of "men of the service" could be sent, the walls being generally of wood; next of faubourgs or *possads*, inhabited by the citizens or *possadskie*. They were governed by voïevodes nominated by the prince, or by a *starost* or mayor who was elected by an assembly of the inhabitants, nobles, priests, or citizens, but was always a gentleman. The starost governed the town and the district depending on it. As the citizens paid the heaviest taxes, they were forbidden to quit the town; they were, as during the last days of the Roman Empire, bound to the city glebe. Alexis Mikhaïlovitch was afterwards to attach the pain of death to this prohibition. To assess the impost, the starost convoked at once both the deputies of the town and those of the rural communes. The impost of the *tagla* was paid by the town collectively, in proportion to the number of fires, and all the people were collectively responsible for each other to the State.

In the burgess class may be counted the merchants, whose Russian name of *gosti* (guests and strangers) shows how far commerce still was from being acclimatized in this land and under this *régime*. Muscovy produced in abundance leather from oxen; furs from the blue and black fox, the zibeline, the beaver, and the ermine; wax, honey, hemp, tallow, oil from the seal, and dried fish. From China, Bokhara, and Persia, she received silks, tea, and spices. The Russian people are naturally intelligent and industrious, but still commerce languished. Fletcher, the Englishman, has assigned as the reason for this decay, the insecurity created by anarchy and despotism. The mougik did not care either to save or to lay by. He pretended to be poor and miserable, to escape the exactions of the prince and the plunder of his agents. If he had money, he buried it, as one in fear of an invasion. "Often," says the English writer, "you will see them trembling with fear, lest a boyard should know what they have to sell. I have seen them at times, when they had spread out their wares so that you might make a better choice, look all round them, as if they feared an enemy would surprise them and lay hands on them. If I asked them the cause, they would say to me, 'I was afraid there might be a noble or one of the "sons of boyards" here; they would take away my merchandise by force.'" "The merchants and the citizens," says M. Leroy-Beaulieu, "could with difficulty become a powerful class in a country cut off from Europe and the sea,

and cut off, too, from all great commercial routes by the Lithuanians, the Teutonic Order, and the Tatars." The citizen, like the inhabitant of the French towns of the 14th century, was only a sort of villain; he wore the costume of a peasant, and lived almost like him. The merchants were really what they were called by Ivan the Terrible—the *mougiks* of commerce.

DOMESTIC SLAVERY—THE SECLUSION OF WOMEN.

Only two more facts were needed to give to Russian society the same Asiatic character which we noted already in the despotism of the Tzars and the communism of the people: domestic slavery, and the seclusion of women.

Besides the peasants more or less attached to the glebe, all Russian proprietors kept in their castles, or in their town-houses at Moscow, a multitude of servants like those who encumbered the senators' palaces in imperial Rome. A great lord always gathered round him many hundreds of these *dvorovié*, both men and women, bought or born in the house, whom he never paid, whom he fed badly, and who served him badly in return, but whose numbers served to give an idea of the wealth of their master. The *cortége* of a noble on his way to the Kremlin may be compared to that of a Japanese daimio. A long file of sledges or chariots, a hundred horses, outriders who made the people stand back by blows with their whips; a crowd of armed men, who escorted the noble; and behind a host of *dvorovié*, often with naked feet beneath their magnificent liveries, filled with their stir and noise the streets of *Bil'yi-gorod*. These domestic slaves were subjected, without distinction of sex, to the most severe discipline, and were forced to submit to all the cruel or voluptuous caprices of their masters, and, like the slaves of antiquity, were exposed to the most frightful chastisements. Whilst the registered colon was attached to the land, the *kholopy* could be sold, either by heads or by families, without compunction. Wives were separated from their husbands, and children from their parents.

The custom of secluding women is older than the Tatar invasion. The Russian Slavs were Asiatics, even before they were subdued by the Mongols. Byzantium had likewise far more influence than Kazan on Russian manners. Now, in ancient Athens, and in the Constantinople of the Middle Ages, the matron and the young girl were alike obliged to remain in the *gynæceum*, which became in Moscow the *terem* or *verkh* (upper apartment). In Russia, as in the Rome of the Twelve

Tables, the woman was always a minor. This was one consequence of the patriarchal organization of the family. She always remained under the guardianship of her father, her husband's father, an uncle, an elder brother, or a grandfather. The Russian monks translated for her use the sermons of the monks of the Lower Empire, which enjoined the wife "to obey her husband as the slave obeys his master;" to consider herself only as the "property of the man;" never to allow herself to be called *gospoja*, or mistress, but to look on her husband as her *gospodine* or lord. The father of the family had the right to correct her, like one of his children or slaves. The priest Silvester, in his 'Domostroï,' only advises him not to employ too thick sticks, or staffs tipped with iron; nor humiliate her unduly by whipping her before his men, but, without anger or violence, to correct her moderately in private. No woman dared to object to this chastisement; the most robust would allow herself calmly to be beaten by a feeble husband.

The Russian proverb says, "I love thee like my soul, and I dust thee like my jacket." Herberstein mentions a Muscovite woman who, having married a foreigner, did not believe herself loved, as he never beat her. At home the Russian woman was hid behind the curtains of the *terem*; in the street, by those of her litter. Over her face fell the *fata*, a sort of nun's veil. It was an outrage even to raise the eyes to the wife of a noble, and high treason to see the face of the wife of the Tzar. A stranger might have thought himself at Stamboul or Ispahan. It appeared so highly necessary that this fragile being should remain at home, that she was allowed to dispense even with going to church. Her church was her own house, where she had to occupy herself with prayers, pious reading, prostrations, genuflexions, and alms, and was surrounded by beggars, monks, and nuns. The priest Silvester also wished her to superintend her house, be the first to rise, to watch over her men and maid-servants, to distribute their tasks, and work herself with her own hands, like Lucrece of old, or the wise women of the Proverbs. In reality she had many other ways of occupying her time. The toilette of the Russian boyarines was very complicated. "They paint themselves all colors," says Petreï; "not only their faces, but their eyes, neck, and hands. They lay on white, red, blue, and black. Black eyelashes they tint white, and white ones black, or some dark color, but they put on the paint so badly that it is visible to every one. At the time of my visit to Moscow the wife of an illustrious boyard, who was exceedingly beautiful, declined to paint herself, but she was an object of scorn to all the other women. 'She despises our customs,'

said they. They induced their husbands to complain to the Tzar, and obtained an imperial order to make her paint." Stoutness was the ideal of Turkish and Tatar beauty, so the Russians did all in their power to deform their slender figures, and, by means of idleness and drugs, managed to succeed. As to the men, they always wore a long beard and long dresses. To shave the beard like the European nations, was, said Ivan the Terrible, "a sin that the blood of all the martyrs could not cleanse. Was it not to deface the image of man, created by God?"

The influence of Byzantine monachism is also to be found in the objection to all innocent amusements. Cards, and even chess, were forbidden; music and songs glorifying the ancient heroes of Russia were condemned as "diabolic"; the noble exercises of the chase and dancing were not allowed. "If they give themselves up at table," says the '*Domostroï*,' "to filthy conversation; if they play the lute or the goussla; if they dance, or jump, or clap their hands, then, as smoke chases the bees, the angels of God are made to fly from that table by those devilish words, and demons take their place. Those who give themselves up to diabolic songs; those who play the lute, the tambourine, or the trumpet; those who amuse themselves with bears, dogs, and falcons—with dice, chess, or tric-trac, will together go to hell, and together will be damned."

Thanks to the general ignorance, there was no intellectual life in Russia; thanks to the seclusion of women, there was no society. Compared with the gallant and witty society of Poland, Russia seems a vast monastery. The devil lost nothing in the long run. The nobles, living in the midst of slaves subjected to their caprices, degraded themselves while they degraded their victims. Debauchery and drunkenness were the national sins. Rich and poor, young and old, women and children, often dropped down dead drunk in the streets, without surprising anyone. The priests, in their visits to their sheep, got theologically drunk. "Even at the houses of the great lords," says M. Zabiéline, "no feast was gay and joyous unless every one was drunk. It was precisely in drunkenness that the gayety consisted. The guests were never gay if they were not drunk." Even to-day, "to be merry" signifies to have been drinking. The preachers, even, while attacking the national vice, touched it delicately. "My brothers," says one of them, "what is worse than drunkenness? You lose memory and reason, like a madman, who knows not what he does. Is this mirth, my friends, mirth according to the law and glory of God? The drunkard is senseless. He lies like a corpse. If you speak to him, he

does not answer, He foams, he stinks, he grunts like a brute. Think of his poor soul which grows foul in its vile body, which is its prison. Drunkenness sends our guardian angels away, and makes the devil merry. To be drunk, is to perform sacrifices to Satan. The devil rejoices, and says, 'No; the sacrifices of the pagans never caused me half so much joy and happiness as the intoxication of a Christian.' Fly, then, my brothers, the curse of drunkenness. To drink is lawful, and is to the glory of God, who has given us wine to make us rejoice. The Fathers were far from forbidding wine, but we must never drink ourselves drunk."

Their only diversions were, in spite of the 'Domostroï,' the jests of the buffoons, who, like the writers of the French *fabliaux*, never spared Churchmen; the coarse pleasantries of court fools and *folles*, who were the inseparable companions of the great, and were to be found even in the monasteries; hunts with falcons and hounds, and bear fights. All these festivities were accompanied with music, and sometimes a blind singer would come and celebrate the *bogatyr*s of Old Russia. The rich never willingly went to sleep without being lulled by tales told by some popular story-teller. Ivan the Terrible always had three, who succeeded each other at his bedside. Soon, under Alexis Mikhaïlovitch, theatrical representations in imitation of Europe were to begin.

All Western superstitions were current in Russia, which also added follies of her own. The people believed in horoscopes, diviners, sorcery, magic, the miraculous virtues of certain herbs or certain formulæ, the evils produced by "lifting the foot-marks" of an enemy, in bewitched swords, in love philtres, in were-wolves, ghosts and vampires, which play such a terrible part in the popular tales of Russia. Their terror of sorcerers is shown by the horrible deaths they made them die. The most enlightened Tzars shared this weakness, and Boris Godounof made all his servants swear "never to have recourse to magicians, male or female, or to any other means of hurting the Tzar, the Tzarina, or their children; never to cast spells by the traces of their feet or of their carriages." They had more confidence in the receipts of a wise woman, in holy water in which the relics had been dipped, than in doctors, whom they only regarded as another variety of sorcerers. Nothing was more difficult and dangerous than the early exercise of this profession. If the doctor did not succeed in curing his patient, he was punished as a malicious magician. One of these unfortunate people, a Jew, was executed under Ivan III. in a public place for having allowed a Tzarévitch to die. Anthony, another, a Ger-

man by nation, was accused of having put a Tatar prince to death, and delivered to his relatives to suffer by the *lex talionis*. He was stabbed. Towards the end of the 16th century the situation of doctors was somewhat ameliorated; but when a Tzarina or a great lady had to be attended, whose face they were never allowed to see, and whose pulse they might only touch through a muslin covering, what proper means had they of taking a diagnosis?

Such was ancient Russia,—that European China discovered and described by the European travellers of the 16th and 17th centuries, by Herberstein, Mayerberg, Cobenzel, envoys of Austria; Chancellor, Jenkinson, and Fletcher, envoys of England; the Venetians Contarini and Marco Foscarini; the Roman merchant Barberini; Ulfeld the Dane; Petreï the Swede; the Germans Heidenstein, Eric Lassota, Olearius; Possevino the Jesuit; the French captain Jacques Margeret; the English doctor Collins, &c. It now remains to speak of literature and the arts.

THE RENAISSANCE: LITERATURE, POPULAR SONGS, AND CATHEDRALS—MOSCOW IN THE 16th CENTURY.

Ecclesiastical literature was chiefly composed of a collection of ideas borrowed from the Fathers of 'Readings for Every Day in the Year,' called 'Waves of Gold,' 'Months of Gold,' 'Emeralds,' &c.; or of collections of Lives of the Saints of the Greek or Russian Churches. The most considerable monument belonging to this last group is the 'Tchetimineï,' a vast compilation of the Metropolitan Macarius, one of the directors of the conscience of Ivan the Terrible. The chronicles are still produced, among others the 'Stepennyïa knigi,' a history of the Russian princes after Vladimir. Besides the great legal collection of the 'Code' and of the 'Stoglaf,' we must mention the 'Domostroï' of the Pope Silvester, Minister of Ivan IV. This is a collection of precepts instructing readers in the arts of keeping house and securing salvation. It enumerates the days on which swans, cranes, capons, egg-pasties, and cheese are to be eaten. It gives receipts for making hydromel, kvass, beer gruel, and sweetmeats. It gives bills of fare, and at the same time teaches the master of the house how he ought to govern his wife, his children, and his servants; avoid the sin of wicked conversation; please God, honor the Tzar, the princes, and all persons of rank; how he should conduct himself well at table, "to blow his nose, and to spit without noise, taking care to turn

away from the company, and put his foot over the place." The 'Domostro' gives the characteristics of the Russian civilization, as the *De Re Rusticâ* of the elder Cato gives those of the ancient Roman civilization. From Cato to Silvester there is an evident progress. Whilst the Roman advises that the old oxen, the old iron, and the old slaves should be sold, the Pope Silvester enjoins that "the old servants who are no longer good for anything, be fed and clothed, in consideration of their former services: this ministers to the salvation of the soul, and we must fear the anger of God." "Masters," he says again, "ought to be benevolent towards their servants, and give them to eat and drink, and warm them properly; for, if they keep their *dvorovié* by force around them, and do not nourish them sufficiently, they turn them into bad servants, who lie, steal, are dissipated, spoil everything, and get drunk at the tavern. These foolish masters sin against God, are despised by their slaves, and condemned by their neighbors."

"When a man sends his servant to honest people, he should knock softly at the great door; when the slave comes to ask him what he wants, he should reply, 'I have nothing to do with thee, but with him to whom I am sent.' He should only say from whom he comes, so that the other may tell his master. On the threshold of the chamber he will wipe his feet in the straw; before entering he will blow his nose, spit, and say a prayer. If no one says *amen* to him, he will say a second prayer; if they still keep silence, a third prayer, in a louder voice than the preceding ones. If they still do not speak, he will knock at the door. On entering, he must bow before the holy images; then he will explain his mission to the master, and during this time he must take care not to touch his nose, nor to cough, nor spit; he must conduct himself with propriety, without looking to the right or the left. If he is left alone, he must examine nothing belonging to the master of the house and touch nothing neither to eat nor drink. If he is sent to carry anything, he must not look to see what it is; and if it should be eatable, neither his tongue nor his fingers are to know it."

At the head of the literary movement of the time, Ivan the Terrible and his enemy Kourbski occupy a place of honor. They exchanged many letters, in which the one displayed a great knowledge of sacred and profane literature, close reasoning, and bitter irony; the other an indignant and tragic eloquence. Besides these letters, Ivan addressed an admonition to the monks of St. Cyril, full of vigor and mocking gravity. The same Kourbski has written, in eight books, a passionate history of the Tzar who persecuted "the strong ones of Israel, the high-born

heroes of Russia"; in his exile in Lithuania he defended orthodoxy against the encroachments of Jesuitism and Protestantism, compiled the 'History of the Council of Florence,' and learnt Latin in order to translate into Russian the Fathers of the Church.

Like his rival Louis XI. in France, Ivan the Terrible was in Russia the protector of printing, abhorred by the people as an impious art. Mstislavets and the deacon Feodorof printed the Acts of the Apostles, and a 'Book of Hours;' but later they were obliged to fly into Lithuania to escape from accusations of heresy and the hate of the people.

There existed a literature which could do without the art of Gutenberg, and which at this time attained its most splendid development. This was the literature which from the earliest centuries of Russian history had been kept alive on the lips of the people, in the memory of the peasants, and which, perpetuated by oral tradition, has at last been collected in our own day by Rybnikof, Afanasief, Schein, Sakharof Kiriéevski, Bezsonof, Hilferding, Kostomarof, Koulich, Tchoubinski, and Dragomanof. The people had their lyric poetry, marriage-songs, funeral dirges, rural dance-songs, hymns for Christmas (*koliadki*), Epiphany, Easter, and the Feasts of St. George and St. John,—hymns in which they celebrated the death of winter, the birth of spring, the harvest, and preserved the recollections of the ancient religions and ancient Slav gods. There were epic songs which glorified the legendary exploits of the early heroes of Russia, the demi-gods of primitive paganism: Volga Vseslavitch, Sviatogor, Mikoula Selianinovitch, Polkane, Dounaï, &c. In these songs Vladimir, the "Beautiful Sun" of Kief, groups around him, like the Charlemagne of the *chansons de gestes* and the King Arthur of the Breton romances, a whole pleiad of *bogatyr*s. They have immortalized Ilia of Mourom, the hero-peasant; Dobryna Nikititch, the hero-boyard; Alécha Popovitch, conqueror of the gigantic dragon, Tougarine; Soloveï Boudimirovitch, navigator of the falcon-ship Potyk, whom the perfidy of an enchantress caused to descend alive into the tomb; Diouk Stépanovitch, who crossed the Dnieper at one leap of his horse; Stavre Godinovitch, the warrior-musician, released by a *ruse* of his wife from the prisons of Vladimir; Thomas Ivanovitch, whom the Princess Apraxie calumniated like another Joseph, but for whom God worked a miracle; Vassili, the hero-drunkard, who went from a tavern to save Russia; Sadko, the rich merchant of Novgorod, whose maritime adventures form an Odyssey; the Princess Apraxie, who is seated on the throne by the side of Vladimir her husband; the heroines Nastasia and Marina, the Penelope and

Circe of the Russian epopee; Maria the White Swan, who belongs to the cycle of bird-women; and Vassilissa, who passed herself off as a *bogatyr*, and beat all the athletes of Vladimir. Such were the heroes of Kief and Novgorod.

Historical heroes belong to the cycle of Moscow: Dmitri, the vanquisher of the Tatars; Michael of Tchernigof, Alexander Nevski, and Ivan the Terrible, around whom are grouped the songs of the taking of Kazan, the conquest of Siberia, and the famous by-lines entitled 'The Tzar wishes to kill his Son,' 'The Tzar sends the Tzarina to a Convent,' and 'How Treason was introduced into Russia.' This epic current flows on up to the 19th century; and others, born of the shock of events on the popular imagination, celebrate the deeds of Skopine Chouïski, the wars of Peter the Great, the victories of Elizabeth and Catherine II., the campaigns of Souvorof, and even the invasion of Russia by the "King Napoleon."

Narratives, sometimes in prose and sometimes in poetry, glorify the heroes of the Eastern epopee: Akir of Nineveh, Solomon the Wise, Alexander of Macedon, and Rousslan Lazarévitch. Wonderful stories are told by the peasants of Helen the Fair, of the Tzar of the Sea, and of Vassilissa the Wise; of the Seven Simeons; of the adventures of Ivan, Son of the King, and of the lovely Nastasia; of the Baba-Yaga, and of the King of the Serpents. There were religious verses, which were carried by the blind *kalički*, who sang the praises of the Russian saints from village to village—St. George the Brave, and St. Dmitri of Solun, vanquishers of dragons and infidels; Boris and Gleb, sons of Vladimir the Baptist; St. Theodosius, founder of the catacombs of Kief; Daniel the Pilgrim, who visited Jerusalem; and others who belong almost as much to the Slav mythology as to the Christian hagiography. Lastly, there are satirical tales, light and biting as French fables, turning into ridicule the greed of the popes, and the interested calculations of their wives.

Thanks to the Greeks who fled from Constantinople, and their pupils the Italians, Russia had a sort of artistic Renaissance from the 15th to the 17th century, under the same influences as the West. The revolution was, however, less complete in Muscovy than in Russia; there was no need to substitute the round for the pointed arch, since Russia had no Gothic churches, and the Roman Byzantine style, borrowed in the 11th century by St. Sophia at Novgorod and St. Sophia at Kief from St. Sophia at Constantinople, was perpetuated, under the influence of religious ideas and unbroken traditions, as a legacy from Byzantium. There was no sort of change in painting; and even in the

present day, in the Russian convents, the hieratic usage causes the saints and the Mother of God to be painted as they might have been painted by Pansélinos in the 10th century in the churches of Mount Athos. The Renaissance chiefly manifests itself by the number and magnificence of the orthodox churches with which Italian artists then "illuminated" Old Russia, and by the greater perfection of their modes of building. It was then that Moscow became worthy by her new monumental splendors to be the capital of a great empire; it was then that she became the "Holy City," with forty times forty churches, with innumerable cupolas of gold, of silver, and of blue, which the Russian pilgrim, kneeling on the Hill of Prostrations, salutes from afar off.

Moscow was at that time composed: 1. Of the *Kreml* or Kremlin, a fortified enclosure in the form of a triangle, of which the smallest side rests on the Moskowa, and the apex is turned towards the north. 2. Of the *Kitai-gorod*, not, as so many travellers translate it, the China City, but perhaps derived from Kitai-gorod in Podolia, the birthplace of Helena, mother of Ivan IV., foundress of the Kitai-gorod of Moscow, which encloses the bazaars and the palaces of the nobles, and is separated from the Kremlin by a vast space that they call the Red Place or Beautiful Place. 3. Of the *Bielyi-gorod*, or White City, which surrounds this double centre of the Kremlin and the Kitai-gorod as the outer skin of an almond encloses the two cotyledons. 4. Of the *Zemlianyi-gorod*, or City of the Earthen Ramparts, enveloping in its turn the White City, enclosing the faubourgs, gardens, woods, lakes, and vast unbuilt-on spaces, then occupied by the *slobodes* of the *streltsi*. 5. On the outer circle of Moscow, like detached forts, stood the fortified convents with white walls, which more than once sustained the assault of the Poles and the Tatars. This huge Asiatic town was a city of contrasts. The buildings grouped themselves almost by accident along the wide, marshy, tortuous, hardly marked-out streets. *Isbas* of pine, like those of the Russian villages, stood by the side of the palaces of the nobles. The people either chose them ready made from the yards, or ordered them according to their measure. The carpenters built them in two days on the place pointed out: they only cost a few roubles.

Moscow is situated in that part of Russia which is totally lacking in stone, and where the forests were formerly thickest. In point of fact, it is a city of wood, which a spark might set on fire. It had been burned almost entirely under Dmitri Donskoï, and twice under Ivan the Terrible; it was to burn again during the Polish invasion of 1612, and the French invasion of 1812.

The oukazes of the Tzars ordered certain precautions under the most severe penalties: all the fires had to be put out at nightfall; in summer it was absolutely forbidden to have lights in the houses, and cooking had to be done in the open air. There were no means of extinguishing the fires, and, when one broke out, the Muscovites showed themselves as passively fatalistic as the people of the East.

It was chiefly the Kremlin that profited by the embellishments undertaken by the two Ivans and their successors. The enclosure—of wood before the burning of Tokhtamysh—was now of solid white stones, cut in facets (thence was derived the poetical name of “Holy mother Moscow with the white walls”); it was surmounted by high and narrow battlements in the form of teeth. Eighteen towers protected it, and five gates led into the interior. These five gates present much originality and variety. That of the Saviour was built in 1491 by Pietro Solario of Milan. It is the sacred gate, that cannot be entered covered; formerly obstinate people were forced to kneel down before it fifty times. Criminals were allowed to make their last prayer before the image of the Saviour, and the new Emperor always made his entrance through it on his way to his coronation at the Assumption. Another Italian built at the same date the gate of St. Nicholas of Mojaïsk, avenger of perjury, before whose image the suitors made oath. That of the Trinity was built in the 17th century by Christopher Galloway.

The wall of the Kremlin, like that of the old imperial palace of Byzantium, encloses a quantity of churches, palaces, and monasteries. The most celebrated of these churches is the *Ouspïenski Sobor*, or the Cathedral of the Assumption, in which since the 15th century the Tzars have always made a point of being crowned. It is their Cathedral of Rheims. Its architect was Aristotele Fioraventi, who had already worked for Cosmo de Medici, Francis I., Gian Galeazzo of Milan, Matthias Corvinus, and the Pope Sixtus IV., and whom Tolbousine, ambassador of Ivan III., met at Venice, and engaged for the service of the Tzar. One can hardly believe that the Assumption is of the same date as the luminous churches of the Renaissance. The architect, or those who inspired him, has here tried to reproduce the mysterious obscurity of the old temples of Egypt and the East. The cathedral has no windows, but only close-barred shot-holes in the walls, which admit into the interior a doubtful light, like that which filters through the hole of a dungeon. This pale glow touches the massive pillars covered with a tawny gold; on the tarnished background stand out, severe and grave, the faces of the saints and doctors; it dwells here

and there on the *relief* of the golden *iconostase*, covered by miraculous images, sprinkled with diamonds and jewels; it hardly lights the representations of the 'Last Judgment' and the 'End of the World,' painted on the walls of the church. All the upper part of the temple is partly enveloped in shadows, like the crypts of the Pharaohs; the pictures which cover the vault can hardly be distinguished. The artist has evidently made them for the eye of God, not for that of man; for the eye of man can only contemplate them on the rare occasions, such as the Feast of the Assumption or a coronation-day, when the whole cathedral is illumined to its furthest corners by innumerable wax tapers. It seems that Aristotele built this church according to a former plan of some other architect, only it is said that, finding the constructions already begun not sufficiently solid, he with a battering-ram, perfected by himself, overthrew the walls; that he caused new foundations to be dug; finally, that he taught the Russians a better way of baking bricks. At the Assumption is the tomb of St. Peter, the first Metropolitan of Moscow, and people come here to worship before the holy images of Vladimir and Iaroslavl. The Cathedral of St. Michael the Archangel, built in 1505, is the St. Denys of the Tzars of Russia: here, in a coffin of pine covered with red cloth, sleep Ivan the Terrible and his two sons. In the Church of the Annunciation with the agate pavement, the marriages of the princes are celebrated. In that of the Ascension are the tombs of the sovereigns. The Tower of Ivan the Great, 325 feet high, surmounted with a golden cupola, with Slavonic inscriptions in letters of gold which may be distinguished from afar, with thirty-four bells in the *carillon*, was built in 1600 by Boris Godounof.

Of the imperial palace built in 1487, only a few fragments still remain: the little "Golden Palace," where the Tzarinas received the members of the clergy; the "Palace of Facets," where the solemn audiences of ambassadors were held; the "Red Staircase," from the top of which the Tzar allowed the people to contemplate "The light of his eyes;" finally the "Terem," with the painted roof, where we still find the dining-hall, the hall of council, and that of the oratory—vaulted halls still complete, where shine on golden backgrounds the images of the saints who protect the Tzar. The Palace of Facets was begun in 1487 by the Italian Mario, and finished by Pietro Antonio. The other palaces are the work of the Milanese Aleviso. In the Tzarian apartments, rarities imported from the West already mixed with the ancient Russian furniture. In 1594 the German ambassador presented the Tzar Feodor with a gilt clock, on which were marked the planets and the calendar; and

in 1597 with another clock, where little figures played on trumpets, Jews' harps, and tambourines each time the hour struck.

The most curious edifice in Moscow is perhaps the Church of Vassili the Blessed, on the Red Place. It was built by Ivan the Terrible in 1554, in memory of the taking of Kazan, and is the work of an Italian artist. The legend insists that Ivan put out the eyes of the artist, to prevent his building a similar marvel for others. We must imagine a church surmounted by six or eight round cupolas, all of different heights and forms, "some beaten into facets, others cut; these carved into diamond points, like the ananas, those in spirals; others, again, marked with scales, lozenge-shaped, or celled like a honeycomb."* A powerful imagination has defied all symmetry. From the base to the summit the church is covered with colors, which are glaring, and even crude. This many-colored monster has the gift of stupefying the most *blasé* traveller. "You might take it," says Haxthausen, "for an immense dragon, with shining scales, crouching and sleeping." Conceive the most brilliant bird of tropical forests suddenly taking the shape of a cathedral, and you have *Vassili-Blagennoi*.

It was not only architects that Russia owed to Italy. Aristotele Fioraventi coined money for Ivan III., built him a bridge of boats over the Volkhof during the expedition to Novgorod, cast the cannons which thundered against Kazan, and organized his artillery. Paolo Bossio of Genoa cast for him the *Tzar-pouchka*, the king of guns, the giant piece of the Kremlin. Pietro of Milan made him arquebuses. The art of the founder shed its greatest brilliancy under Boris Godounof, whose effigy adorns the queen of bells (*Tzar-kolokol*), subsequently re-cast under Alexis and Anne Ivanovna, the bronze Titan whose weight of 288,000 pounds could be contained in no belfry, which broke every scaffolding, and rests voiceless like a pyramid of bronze on its pedestal of masonry, constructed in the beginning of this century by Montferrand.

* Théophile Gautier, 'Voyage en Russie.'

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SUCCESSORS OF IVAN THE TERRIBLE : FEODOR IVANOVITCH
AND BORIS GODOUNOF (1584-1605).

Feodor Ivanovitch (1584-1598)—The peasant attached to the glebe—The patriarchate—Boris Godounof (1598-1605)—Appearance of the false Dmitri.

FEODOR IVANOVITCH (1584-1598)—THE PEASANT ATTACHED TO
THE GLEBE—THE PATRIARCHATE.

FEODOR, son of Ivan IV. and of Anastasla Romanof, resembled his father in nothing. He had neither his instinctive love of cruelty and debauchery, nor his lively intelligence, nor his iron will. The throne of the Terrible was occupied by a saint—a monk. The power passed naturally to the chamber of the boyards. Five among them had special influence over the government—Prince Ivan Mstislavski, a descendant of Gedemin; Prince Ivan Chouïski, a descendant of Rurik, a member of a family disgraced in the early years of Ivan IV., but himself celebrated as the defender of Pskof; and Prince Bogdan Belski, another descendant of Rurik. After these three heads of princely families came two chiefs of boyard families. Both became sovereigns, and both owed their elevation to their wives. The importance of Nikita Romanof came from his sister, the first wife of Ivan IV.; Boris Godounof owed his to his sister Irene, wife of the Tzar Feodor. Minister of Ivan IV., brother of the reigning Tzar, Godounof was devoured by an insatiable ambition. Sorcerers who had escaped from Ivan the Terrible are said to have prophesied that he should become Tzar, but that his reign was only to last for seven years. From that time his policy consisted in putting aside all rivals—in overcoming all the obstacles that lay between him and the throne.

The Tzar Feodor had a brother, Dmitri, son of Ivan's seventh wife. The *douma* of boyards feared the intrigues of which this infant might be made the centre, and, by the advice of Godounof, sent him to his appanage Ouglitch, with his

mother and her relations, the Nagois. Belski, another descendant of Gedemin, an intelligent and ambitious man, irritated the people, who besieged the Kremlin, and demanded his head. Boris took advantage of such a good opportunity, and despatched this rival to Nijni-Novgorod. When Feodor at his coronation had placed on his head the crowns of Russia, Kazan Astrakhan, and Siberia, it was his maternal uncle, Nikita Romanof, who governed in his name; but at his death the power passed to the natural chief of a new *vrémia*, Boris Godounof. There still remained in the council two rivals to Boris. Mstislavski allowed himself to be implicated in a plot, and was forced to become a monk; Prince Choufski, who had tried to make himself a party among the merchants, was accused of treason, arrested with all his family, and all were banished to different distant towns. The Metropolitan Dionysius, who had taken his part, was deposed, and replaced by Job, a man completely at the disposal of Godounof, who was now supreme. He induced his brother-in-law to grant him the title of Allied Chief Boyard, the viceroalties of Kazan and Astrakhan, and immense territories on the Dwina and the Moskowa. His revenues were enormous, and he is said to have been able to put a hundred thousand men in the field. Nothing could be obtained from the sovereign except through Boris; more powerful than even Adachef had been, he had an army of clients. It was he who replied to the ambassadors, and who received the presents of the Emperor, of the Queen of England, and of the Khan of the Crimea. His enemies were the enemies of the prince. He lacked nothing that is royal but the title.

In foreign affairs, the regency of Godounof strengthened the prestige of Russia. Batory, who had never ceased to threaten revenge, died in 1586. A new danger appeared in this quarter. Sigismond, son of the King of Sweden, had schemed successfully for the suffrages of the Polish electors. It was to be feared that he would one day unite under the same sceptre the two nations whom Russia had most cause to dread in Europe. Rodolph of Austria, the other candidate, was less dangerous. Austria and Russia had the same interests with regard to Turks and Tatars, and this identity was one day to result in the almost perpetual alliance between the two Powers. Boris put forward Feodor as a candidate for the crown of Poland, and the idea of the union of the two Slav monarchies under one prince. The Poles refused to obey any prince who was not a Catholic; they feared that, instead of a fraternal union, the Muscovite would only "join their monarchy to that of Moscow, like a sleeve to a coat." The interests of caste were added to national and relig-

ious prejudices ; the nobles, who only had in view the weakening of the royal power, were not likely to give themselves as master a sovereign as absolute as the Tzar of Muscovy. Finally, nothing could be done without money in the Polish diets ; Boris was so mistaken as to spare it. The negotiations fell to the ground, and the prince of Sweden was elected.

The war with Sweden began again vigorously ; Russia recaptured what had been taken from Ivan the Terrible—Iam, Ivangorod, and Koporié. The Poles, who, since they had a Swedish king, did not care to augment the Swedish power, gave no assistance. Sigismund Vasa, on his father's death in 1592, did indeed see himself for a moment king of both countries ; but his zeal for Catholicism, which made him dear to the Poles, caused him to be detested by the Swedes. The latter wished for a separate government, under the regency of Charles Vasa, and they soon after offered him the crown. This union, so much dreaded by the Russians, soon ended in a rupture. The Poles and Swedes had never before been such bitter enemies, and the hatred of the two peoples and the two religions was complicated still further by that of the two kings. The occasion was favorable for Russia to undertake the conquest of Livonia. Boris Godounof had never abandoned this great scheme of Ivan the Terrible, only he failed to take the proper means for realizing it. Instead of openly allying himself with Sweden against Poland, or with Poland against Sweden, he negotiated with both, tried to play off one against the other, and ended by alienating both equally. The former minister of Ivan the Terrible, the intriguing Grand Boyard, was too fond of hidden paths.

To clear his way to the throne, it was not sufficient for him to be master of the palace and the Court ; he must create himself a strong party in the nation. Boris, who felt himself to be hated by the princes and boyards, sought the support of the small *noblesse* and the clergy. Hence resulted two of the most important actions of the reign of Feodor—the binding of the peasant to the soil, and the institution of the patriarchate.

The Russian peasant was in fact delivered over to the will of his master. In law, he remained a free man, as he was allowed to pass from the service of one proprietor to that of another. This right brought with it an abuse. The large proprietors, who, being the richest, could also be the most generous, tried to attract to their lands the peasants of the smaller land-owners, by insuring them privileges and immunities. We must remember that at this epoch the population was very scanty, and land had of itself no value. It was precious according to the number of laborers who could be induced to settle on it. Thus

the lands of the smaller proprietors ran the risk of being depopulated for the benefit of the great lords; if they lost their laborers, the value of the land became proportionately depreciated. Now the class of small landowners was at this period almost the only military class of Russia; the national cavalry was recruited almost entirely from it alone. If the source of their revenues were cut off, where would they get the money to equip themselves, to answer to the call of the Tzar, according to the text of the ordinances, "mounted, armed, and accompanied"? Their interest thus became confounded with that of the empire, which was soon to become unable to support its armies. Boris Godounof found means to save the rights of the State, and gain for himself the gratitude of a numerous and powerful class. The comfort of the peasant did not trouble any one at this epoch. He was an instrument of agriculture, a force—nothing more. An edict of Feodor forbade the peasants henceforth to go from one estate to another. The free Russian *krestianine* was now attached to the glebe, like the Western serf. In the name of the interest of the State and that of the military nobles, an immemorial right was extinguished. We must not think that these silent masses were insensible. The day of the "St. George," when the ancient laws permitted the peasant to pass yearly from one domain to another, remained for centuries a day of bitter regret. He cursed for long the authors of this oukase, and even protested when he had the opportunity; but his protestation took more the form of flight than of revolt. The development of Cossack life has a close relation to the change in the rural *régime*; and the more men sought to bind the peasant to the soil, the more his spirit revolted, and the more the camps of the Don and the Dniester were filled. The Russian peasant never allowed the prescription of this new form of slavery to be established; in one way or another he has constantly resisted it. Boris Godounof afterwards partially repealed this oukase: while still forbidding them to pass from the service of the small to the great proprietor, they were allowed to change the mastership of one small landowner for that of another. The feeling of the time was not in favor of liberty; the more Russia tended to become a modern State, the more her expenses increased, and the more the Government was conscious of the need of assuring the revenues by fixing to the soil the population which was subject to the tax and *corvée*. It was the crushed peasant who bore the weight of the reform, awaiting the day, still very distant, when he also would profit by the progress accomplished.

The other innovation made in the name of Feodor was the

establishment of the patriarchate. The Russian ecclesiastics complained with reason of having to obey patriarchs who were themselves only slaves of the infidels. Ancient Rome was polluted by the Pope; Constantinople, the second Rome, was profaned by the Turk: had not Moscow, the third Rome, a right at least to independence? Boris encouraged these murmurs: it was his interest that at the death of the Tzar there should be a great ecclesiastical authority standing alone, and that this great authority should owe all to him. He profited by the arrival at Moscow of Jeremiah, Patriarch of Constantinople, to induce him to found the Russian patriarchate and consecrate Archbishop Job, who was a tool of Boris. The latter had now a powerful friend.

Boris had need to create for himself a strong party. Many eyes began to turn towards Ivan's second son, Dmitri. His mother's kindred, the Nagoïs, from their exile at Ouglitch, watched carefully all the variations in the health of the Tzar, and the movements of Boris. The death of Feodor would give the throne to Dmitri, and power to his relatives—power to avenge themselves for all. It would deliver Boris up to the reprisals of his enemies. He knew this only too well. In 1591, it was suddenly announced that the young Dmitri had been slain. The public voice denounced Boris. To stifle suspicion he ordered an inquest, and his emissaries had the audacity to declare that the young prince cut his own throat in a fit of madness, and that the Nagoïs and the people of Ouglitch had put to death innocent men as murderers. The result of the inquiry was the extermination of the Nagoïs and the depopulation of Ouglitch. Seven years after, the pious Feodor died, and in the person of this vague and virtuous sovereign the race of bloody and violent men of prey who had created Russia was extinguished. The dynasty of Andrew Bogolioubski had accomplished its mission—it had founded the Russian unity. The task of obtaining the entrance of this semi-Asiatic State into the bosom of civilized Europe was reserved for another dynasty.

BORIS GODOUNOF (1598-1605)—APPEARANCE OF THE FALSE DMITRI.

Boris Godounof had reached the aim of his desires—but at what a price! The murder of Dmitri, the last offshoot of St. Vladimir, of Monomachus, of George and the Ivans, was no ordinary crime. Russia had seen many horrors, but never one like this. The Tzar might have put the Russian princes to

death, but they were his enemies, they were often guilty, and then he was the Tzar. Now a simple boyard sacrificed to his own ambition the son of his benefactor, the heir of his master, the last descendant of the founders of Russia. It was one of those crimes that ever deeply agitate the people. Boris believed vainly he had buried all in the earth with the corpse of the Tzarévitch.

After the death of Feodor, his widow Irene entered the *Dievitchi Monastyr*, and took the veil there, mourning her sterility, and lamenting that "by her the sovereign race had perished." The nobles and the people took the oaths to her, so that there should be no interregnum. A woman had the crown at her disposal, and that woman was the sister of Godounof. As she refused to govern, the *douma* had to discharge affairs under the presidency of the Patriarch Job, who owed everything to Godounof. It was impossible that the throne should escape Godounof; yet it seemed strange that a simple boyard, a creature of Ivan IV., should take precedence of all the princes descended in direct line from Rurik. However, the Patriarch and his clergy, the boyards and citizens of Moscow, appeared before the *Dievitchi Monastyr*, in which Godounof was shut up with his sister. Job entreated him to accept the crown. Godounof refused, apparently from an excess of modesty—in reality, because he wished to receive it from the hands of the nation. The States-general were then assembled; the lesser nobility and the clergy, that is, the friends of Boris, formed the majority. After the despotism of Ivan, it was a strange sight to see this assembly dispose of the crown. The Russia of the Terrible had, like Poland, her elective diet, but the lesson of obedience had been so well learnt, that there was no fear of anarchy. They were told that Ivan IV. on his death-bed had confided to Boris his family and his empire, and that Feodor had put around his neck a chain of gold. Men made the most of the experience of government that he had acquired under two reigns; they boasted of his skilful dealings with Sweden, Poland, and the Crimea. The national voice decreed to him the crown, and the States sent him a deputation. He still feigned to hold back, and cast out "the tempters"; but his sister "blessed him for the throne," and thus consecrated the wish of the people.

- Boris reigned.

His reign was not without glory. He took up the designs of his master, Ivan IV., on Livonia; and as the Terrible had his puppet king Magnus, Boris sought first a Swedish prince Gustaf, and then a Danish prince John, to play the part of King of Livonia. John was to marry Xenia, daughter of the new Tzar,

when he died suddenly. Denmark declared that he was poisoned; and in the Russia of that date everything is conceivable. The Khan of the Crimea, who had vainly tried to make two incursions, and who had then a quarrel with the Turks, sought the friendship of Boris. Affairs in the Caucasus were less happy. Alexander, prince of Kachetia, who had acknowledged himself vassal of Boris, was assassinated, and succeeded by his son, who was on the side of the King of Persia (Shah Abbas), and Islamism. In Daghestan a body of Russians sent to occupy the country were exterminated by the Turks. Russia had not yet approached near enough to the Black Sea to be able to take the field with assurance in those distant regions. In Siberia, Koutchoum, the dethroned khan, was vanquished; the battle was decisive, though the Russian voïevodes only had 400 men, and Koutchoum 500; but none the less did it decide the fate of Asia.

Boris continued to be sought by the Powers of the West, beginning with Austria. In 1600 he sent Gregory Mikouline to Queen Elizabeth. "He had learnt," says the letter of the Tzar, "that the Queen had furnished help to the Turks against the Kaiser of Germany. We are astonished at it, as to act thus is not proper for Christian sovereigns; and you, our well-beloved sister, you ought not for the future to enter into relationships of friendship with *Bousourman* (Mussulman) princes, nor to help them in any way, whether by men or silver; but on the contrary should desire and insist that all the great Christian potentates should have a good understanding, union, and strong friendship, and make one against the Mussulmans, till the hand of the Christians rise, and that of the Mussulmans is abased."

Mikouline was received in London with great honors. In the audience given him by the Queen, "she arose from her throne and advanced some distance" to listen to his compliments; after which she bowed her head and asked for news of the health of the Tzar, the Tzarina, Maria Gregorievna, and of the Tzar évitch Feodor Borissovitch. She received "with great joy" the credentials, and, being seated, listened to the message of Mikouline. She replied to the passage touching on her relations with Turkey by protestations of friendship and union with all the Christian princes, gave her hand to be kissed by the envoy and also by the secretary of the embassy, Ivan Zinovief, and sent them to talk over their affairs with Lord Robert Cecil. The commercial interests of the two peoples were guaranteed anew. During his visit to London, Mikouline was present at the revolt of 1601, led by Essex, and saw the citizens rush through the streets with armed cuirasses and arquebuses to defend the Queen.

He gives in his account many curious details of the Court of England at this epoch—the most brilliant of the reign of Elizabeth,—quitted London in May 1601, and arrived at Arkhangel in July.

The firm government of Boris gave confidence, and he continued to be sought by the Powers of the West, especially by Austria and England. Sweden and Poland could do him no hurt. He surrounded himself with soldiers, learned men, and artists. With their help he raised monuments, built the tower of Ivan the Great at the Kremlin, and had the “queen of bells” cast. It was he who first sent young Russians to Lübeck, England, France, and Austria, to study European arts. The fashions of the West penetrated to Moscow, and some of the nobles began to shave their beards.

This prosperity was all unreal. His services—even his charities—turned against him. “He presented to the poor,” says a contemporary, “in a vase of gold, the blood of the innocents. He fed them with unholy alms.” The oligarchic party, ashamed of obeying a simple boyard, began to agitate. After having pardoned his ancient rival Belski, Boris was obliged to throw him into prison. He acted with severity towards the Romanoffs, who were exiled, many of them having been previously tortured. Feodor, the eldest, was forced to become a monk under the name of Philarete, and his wife took the veil under the name of Marfa. From the son of this monk and this nun, emperors were to spring.

Feeling himself surrounded by plots, Boris Godounof did not hesitate before any means of security, and received the denunciations of slaves against their masters. From 1601 to 1604 a frightful famine devastated Russia, and was followed by a pestilence. The famished peasants joined the servants of the disgraced nobles, and formed themselves into bands of brigands who infested the southern provinces, and even insulted the environs of Moscow. It was necessary to send a regular army against them. To these calamities was added the universal presentiment of others yet greater. The term of seven years assigned by the astrologers to the reign of Boris was approaching. The crime of Ouglitch, still unexpiated, had left a strange uneasiness throughout Russia. Suddenly there arose a rumor that the murdered Dmitri was living, and with arms in his hands was making ready to reconquer the empire.

At the Monastery of the Miracle a young monk, Gregory Otrépief, had brought himself into notice. After having for a long while wandered from convent to convent at his own pleasure, he finally reached the Monastery of the Miracle; and the Patriarch Job discerning his intelligence, made him his secretary. In dis-

charge of these functions, he became acquainted with more than one State secret. "Do you know," he used to say to the other monks, "that I shall be one day Tzar of Moscow?" They spat in his face, and the Tzar Boris Godunof ordered him to be confined in the Monastery of the White Lake. He succeeded in escaping; again became a wandering monk, and, being well received at Novgorod-Severski, had the temerity to write to the inhabitants: "I am the Tzarévitch Dmitri, and I will not forget your kindness." Then he threw his frock to the winds, enrolled himself among the Zaporogues, and became a bold rider and a brave Cossack. He passed into the service of Adam Vichnevetski, a Polish *pan*; he fell ill, or feigned to do so, summoned a priest, and revealed to him, under the seal of confession, that he was the Tzarévitch Dmitri, who had escaped from the hands of the assassins at Ouglitch, by another child being substituted in his place. He showed a cross, set with jewels, that hung round his neck, given him by Mstislavski, godfather of the Tzarévitch. The Jesuit did not dare to keep such a secret to himself. Otrépief was recognized by his master, Vichnevetski, as the son of the Terrible. Mniszek, palatine of Sandomir, promised him his support and the hand of his daughter, Marina, who consented with joy to be Tzarina of Moscow. The strange news spread throughout the kingdom. The Pope's nuncio took the Tzarévitch under his protection, and presented him to King Sigismond. Were they really deceived? It is more probable that they saw in him a formidable instrument of agitation, which the king flattered himself he would be able to use against Russia, and the Jesuits against orthodoxy. Sigismond feared to take on himself the rupture of the truce he had concluded with Boris, and expose himself to Russian vengeance. He treated Otrépief as Tzarévitch, but only in private; he refused to put the royal troops at his disposal, but he authorized the nobles, who were touched by the misfortune of the prince, to help him if they wished. The *pans* did not need the royal authority; many of them, with the levity and love of adventure which characterized the Polish nobility, took up arms in favor of the Tzarévitch. Then Boris recognized, says Lévêque, that the weakest enemy can make a usurper tremble.

No revolution, even if it were the wisest and most necessary, could be accomplished without putting in motion the dregs of society—without the clashing of a mass of interests, and the creation of a multitude who are outcasts from all classes. The transformation which was then taking place in Russia for the formation of the modern united State, had engendered all these elements of disorder. The peasant whom the laws of Boris had

attached to the glebe, was everywhere sullenly hostile. The smaller nobility, for whose profit this law had been made, were scarcely able to live on their lands; the service of the Tzar had become ruinous, and many were inclined to supplement the insufficiency of their revenues by brigandage. The boyards and the great nobility were profoundly demoralized—they were ready for any treason. The warlike republics of the Cossacks of the Don and the Dnieper, the bands of serfs, of fugitive peasants, who infested the Russian territory, only waited for an opportunity to lay waste the country. The ignorance of the masses was profound, and their minds greedy of wonders and change; no other nation has allowed itself to be deceived so often by the same fable, the sudden apparition of a prince whom all believed dead. Adventures like those of Otrépief the false Dmitri, and of Pougatchef the false Peter III., could not be reproduced in any other European country. These two adventurers rendered themselves particularly famous, but the secret archives show us that in the Russia of the 17th and 18th centuries there were hundreds of impostors, of false Dmitri's, false Alexis, false Peters II., and false Peters III. We might almost think that the Russians, the most Asiatic of all European nations, had not renounced the Oriental dogma of re-incarnations and avatars. The Government was powerless, in a country so utterly without communication, to put a stop to the most absurd rumors. Besides, the ignorant and superstitious masses were hostile to it, and delighted to allow themselves to be deceived. So many elements of rebellion only required to be set in motion by the hand of a skilful agitator. The entrance of the impostor into Russia was the signal of dissolution.

As long as the power lay in the hands of the clever and energetic Godounof, he was able to maintain order, to restrain the authors of revolt, and to discourage the false Dmitri. The Patriarch Job and Vassili Choufski, who had conducted the inquest at Ouglitch, made proclamations to the people affirming that Dmitri was really dead, and that the impostor was none other than Otrépief. Similar declarations were sent to the King and the Diet of Poland. Finally, troops were put in marching order, and a line of communications established with the Western frontier. But already the towns of Severia revolted at the approach of the Tzarévitch, and the boyards publicly announced "that it was hard to bear arms against your lawful sovereign." At Moscow the health of the Tzar Dmitri was drunk at feasts. In October 1604, the impostor crossed the frontier with an army of Poles, of Russians banished in the preceding reign, and German mercenaries. Severia at once rose,

and Novgorod-Severski opened her gates to him. Prince Mstislavski tried to check his progress by a battle, but the soldiers were struck by the idea that the man whom they fought was the real Dmitri. "They had no hands to fight, but only feet to fly." Vassili Chouïski, Mstislavski's successor, did his best to rally their courage, and this time, in spite of his intrepidity, the impostor was defeated at Dobrynitchi. Boris believed the war finished; but in reality it had only begun. After Severia the Ukraine rebelled, and 4000 Cossacks of the Don came to rejoin "the brigand." The inaction of the Muscovite voïevodes proved that the spirit of treason had already penetrated the nobility.

In 1605 Boris died, commending his innocent son to the care of Basmanof, the boyards, the Patriarch, and the people of Moscow. But hardly had Basmanof taken the command of the army of Severia, than he understood that neither the soldiers nor the leaders were going to fight for a Godounof. Rather than be the victim of treason, he preferred being the author of it. The man in whom the dying Boris had placed all his confidence united with Galitsyne and Soltykof, secret adherents of the impostor. He solemnly announced to the troops that Dmitri was in truth the son of Ivan the Terrible and the lawful master of Russia, and was the first to throw himself at the feet of the Pretender, who was at once proclaimed by the troops. Dmitri marched to Moscow; at his approach his partisans rose, and the wife and son of Godounof were massacred. Such was the end of the dynasty which Boris had thought to found in the blood of a Tzarévitch!

CHAPTER XVIII

THE TIME OF THE TROUBLES (1605-1613).

Murder of the false Dmitri—Vassili Chouïski—The brigand of Touchino—Vladislas of Poland—The Poles at the Kremlin—National rising—Minine and Pojarski—Election of Michael Romanof.

MURDER OF THE FALSE DMITRI—VASSILI CHOUISKI—THE BRIGAND OF TOUCHINO.

THE event that had taken place in Russia is one of the most extraordinary in the annals of the world. A runaway monk entered Moscow in triumph as her Tzar, among the joyful tears of the people, who thought they beheld a descendant of their long line of princes. Only one man had the courage to affirm that he had seen Dmitri assassinated, and that the new Tzar was an impostor. This was Vassili Chouïski, one of those who had directed the inquest at Ouglitch, and who had defeated the Pretender at the battle of Dobrynitchi. Denounced by Basmanof, he was condemned to death by an assembly of the three orders, and his head was actually on the block, when he received a pardon from the Tzar. Men did not recognize the son of Ivan the Terrible in this act of clemency, and Otrépief had afterwards cause to repent of it. Job, the tool of Godounof, was replaced in the patriarchate by a favorite of the new prince, the Greek Ignatius. The Tzar had an interview with his pretended mother, Maria Nagoï, widow of Ivan IV. Whether because she wished to avenge her injuries, or merely to recover her honors, Maria recognized Otrépief as her son, and publicly embraced him. He loaded the Nagoïs, whom he regarded as his maternal relations, with favors; the Romanofs were likewise recalled from exile, and Philarete made Metropolitan of Rostof.

The Tzar presided regularly at the *douma*, where the boyards admired the clearness of his apprehension and the variety of his knowledge. As a monk he was a man of letters, and as a pupil of the Zaporogues an accomplished horseman, bold and skilful in all bodily exercises. He was fond of foreigners, and even spoke

of sending the Russian nobles to be educated in the West. This taste for strangers went hand in hand with a certain contempt for the national ignorance and grossness. He offended the boyards by his raillery, and alienated the people and the clergy by his disdain of Russian customs and religious rites. He ate veal, never slept after dinner, did not take baths, borrowed money from the convents, turned the monks into ridicule, fought with bears, visited jewellers and foreign artisans familiarly, and took no heed of the severe Court etiquette. He pointed cannons with his own hand ; organized sham fights between the national troops and the foreign mercenaries ; was pleased to see the Russians beaten by the Germans ; and surrounded himself by a European guard, with Margeret, Knutsen, and Van Dennen at its head. On his entry into Moscow a struggle took place between the clergy and the papal legate, and two bishops were exiled. He got no thanks for resisting the legate and Poland—for declining to help the one to effect the union of the two Churches, and refusing to cede to the other an inch of Russian land. The arrival of his wife, the Catholic Marina, with a suite of Polish gentlemen, who assumed an insolent demeanor towards the Russians, completed the irritation of the Muscovites. Less than thirty days after his entrance into the Kremlin, men were ripe for a revolution.

Vassili Chouïski, pardoned by Otrépief, was the head of the conspirators. The extreme confidence of the Tzar was his ruin. One night the boyards attacked the Kremlin, which had been left unguarded. Otrépief was thrown out of a window, and stabbed in the court of the palace ; Basmanof, who defended him, being killed by his side. They took the two corpses, put ribald masks on their faces, and exposed them on the place of executions between a flute and a bag-pipe. The widow of Otrépief, and the Polish envoys sent to assist at the wedding, were spared, but kept prisoners by the boyards. The corpse of the "sorcerer" was burned, and a cannon was charged with his ashes, which were blown to the winds (1606).

It was now necessary to elect a new Tzar. Two candidates, two chiefs of princely families, presented themselves, Vassili Chouïski and Vassili Galitsyne. Chouïski had signalized himself by his hatred of the usurper, had defeated him in battle, had been condemned by him to death, and had been foremost in the conspiracy. The boyards would have preferred assembling the States-general, as in 1598, but Vassili would not await their decision. More impatient and less wise than Boris Godounof, he chose to owe his crown to the Muscovites alone, and not to the delegates of the whole nation. It was the original sin of the

new administration. Vassili had on his side neither hereditary right, like the ancient Tzars, nor the vote of the three orders, like Boris. His claim to the throne thus remained dubious in times of the greatest disturbance. The Patriarch Ignatius, the nominee of the impostor, was replaced by Hermogenes. Thus, at each change in the government, a corresponding change took place in the first dignity of the Church.

On ascending the throne, Vassili swore a solemn oath to put no boyard to death without trial, not to confiscate the goods of criminals, and to chastise calumniators. True Russians felt profound sorrow when they saw the Tzar thus despoil himself of his sovereign rights, and alienate part of his autocratic power for the benefit of the boyards. He was entering, indeed, on the path of the *pacta conventa*, which, at every new election in Poland, deprived the king of some of his attributes, and led to the enfeebling of the crown, and the triumph of the aristocratic anarchy of the nobles.

The provinces were discontented at not being consulted in the choice of a sovereign. They learnt almost at the same moment that Dmitri had regained the throne of his forefathers; then that Dmitri was an impostor, who had usurped the throne by the aid of the devil; finally, that a new Tzar reigned over Russia. They did not know what to believe, or in whom to trust; everything seemed doubtful. The Russian conscience was greatly troubled, and, in the universal demoralization, adventurers found an easy road to success.

Vassili, who was fifty years old, wanted both energy and prestige. He had specially distinguished himself by his talents for intrigue, and even his partisans reproached him with avarice. The elements of disorder put in motion by the last two revolutions, were not yet appeased. Neither ambitious boyards, nor felonious nobles, nor insurgent peasants, nor brigands, nor the Cossacks and Zaporogues, nor the companies, nor the foreign mercenaries were satisfied. In such a situation it was inevitable that a new impostor should take the place of the former, and again furnish the worst passions with an outlet. Instead of one, there were two Pretenders: on one side a Cossack of Terek gave himself out to be the Tzarévitch Peter, a pretended son of the chaste Feodor; on the other, it was announced that Dmitri had, for the second time, escaped his murderers. The same transparent fable was always received with the same credulity, real or feigned. At Moscow the people recalled the fact that the face of the corpse exposed on the Red Place was covered with a mask. Vassili tried in vain to disabuse the people; he was not more successful than Boris. Had not Boris overwhelmed

the Muscovites and the King of Poland with evidence? Severia and the turbulent cities of the South again rose; the discontented masses armed again for a new Otrépief against a new Godounof. In the South, a certain Bolotnikof, by birth a serf, called all the brigands, all slaves and peasants to his standard, and began a servile war. By his side, Prince Chakovskoï Pachkof, one of the *diéti-boyarskié*, the voïevode Soundoulof, and the aristocratic Procopius Lapounof, organized the war of the nobles. On the banks of the Volga, the Tatars and Finnish tribes, under pretext of sustaining the son of Ivan the Terrible, proclaimed their national independence. The empire was menaced with total dissolution by the reaction of all the forces till then repressed by the strong hand of the Tzars.

The reappearance of the false Dmitri was announced throughout Russia. In reality no one had dared to take up this rôle; but the impostor was so universally necessary that he was everywhere recognized even before he existed. Bolotnikof and his peasants threatened the capital, and agitated the lower classes of Moscow. The Tzar Chouïski seemed lost, when he was saved by the military talents of his nephew, Skopine Chouïski. Lapounof and two other leaders took fright, and were disgusted with their popular allies; they separated from Bolotnikof, offered to submit to the Tzar, and were received at Moscow with caresses. Bolotnikof, left alone, fell back on Toula, and was so closely pressed that he wrote to Mniszek that all was lost if he could not produce the false Dmitri. At last the desired one, expected by all the rebels, appeared. His real name is undivulged; his origin is uncertain; he is only mentioned by the title of the "second false Dmitri." All we know of him is that he was a clever, intelligent man, tolerably educated, and very brutal. He came too late to save Toula. Bolotnikof was drowned, and the false Peter hanged.

Lissovski and Rojinski, two Polish nobles of great repute, soon came to the aid of the false Dmitri. The Zaporogues and the Cossacks of the Don, under Zaroutski, hastened to take part in the expected booty. It is a curious fact that there were in their ranks five or six impostors, who all gave themselves out as being sons or grandsons of Ivan the Terrible. With all these forces the impostor marched on Moscow, defeated the detachments of the Tzar's army, and established himself twelve versts from the capital, at the village of Touchino. This encampment has remained celebrated in the history of the troubles; it has gained for this second impostor the surname of the brigand of Touchino, and for his Russian partisans the designation of Touchinists. Thus in face of the Tzar of Moscow—the nominee

of the Muscovites, who hardly seemed the Tzar of Russia—stood the Tzar of Touchino. He, like his rival, had his Court, his army, his administration. He distributed titles and dignities; and—evidence of profound popular degradation—an ambitious crowd was to be seen passing from one court to the other, falling at the feet of both Tzars, receiving double pay, and, loaded with honors by Vassili, flying to Dmitri, to return again to Vassili. A *sobriquet* was invented to designate these refugees. They were called “birds of passage” (*pérléti*).

Whilst Touchino menaced and braved Moscow, Polish reinforcements flocked to the camp of the brigand, in spite of the promises and assurances of the perfidious Sigismond. The celebrated voïevode, John Sapieha, came to join Lissovski, and they both tried to capture the Troïtsa monastery. This famous convent tempted them by its riches. With its ramparts and towers, it was a strong place of arms for the partisans of the Tzar; its monks were convinced that they knew how the country was to be saved, and did not cease to call all the neighboring cities to take up arms “for faith and the Tzar.” These warlike monks, who were like the “Church militant” of the French League—though they, to be sure, defended at once the national and the orthodox cause—repelled all the assaults of the Catholic adventurers. After a siege of sixteen months, Sapieha had to acknowledge himself beaten. Abraham Palitsyne, treasurer of the convent, has narrated the exploits of his brethren. Souzdal, Vladimir, Peréiaslaf, Rostof, and eighteen other northern towns, not being able to decide which was the legitimate sovereign, opened their gates to the Touchinists. Chouïski was still disliked at Moscow, but they knew what they had to expect from the second false Dmitri. Honest people who did not look forward to the triumph of the brigand, and who saw no possible Tzar but Vassili, forced themselves to support him. What saved the capital was the bad discipline that reigned in the enemy’s camp; new rebellions broke out against the rebel. Serfs and mougijs threatened their masters and ravaged the country, and the brigand was forced to employ part of his forces to suppress this brigandage.

About this time the Tzar Chouïski turned for help to Sweden; he ceded the town of Karela to Charles IX., contracted with him an offensive and defensive alliance against Poland, and received in return a body of 5000 Swedes, under the command of De la Gardie. With this reinforcement, Skopine Chouïski expelled the Touchinists from the cities of the North, advanced on Moscow, and obliged the brigand to evacuate Touchino. The perfidious policy of the Polish government,

which armed the impostors against the Tzar and allowed their voïevodes to attack a friendly country, amply justified Chouïski in seeking an ally in Sweden. But this foreign intervention gave rise to another: the King of Poland, affecting to think himself endangered by the Tzar's alliance with his worst enemy, decided to drop the mask and openly interfere. It was thus that under the most fatal auspices the long rivalry began between these two Slav nations, whom statesmanship had once tried to unite under the same sceptre. Poland, governed by an instrument of the Jesuits, inflicted on Russia a frightful wrong. Sigismond disloyally affected zeal for a pretender whom he knew to be an impostor; he violated treaties and all the rights of nations; allowing Russia to be attacked by his armies, all the while that he was asserting his peaceful disposition. His invasion of Russia filled up the measure of his iniquities. This conduct necessarily left ineffaceable memories in the hearts of the Russians.

By taking up arms, Sigismond intended to assure to his son the throne of Russia, and restore to Poland the places she had lost in the 15th century. He besieged Smolensk, and wrote to announce to the inhabitants that he did not come to shed the blood of the Russians, but, on the contrary, to protect them; and that he was prepared to guarantee to them the maintenance of their worship and liberties. The people of Smolensk, who knew the ardor with which Sigismond persecuted orthodoxy in his own dominions, repelled all his advances, and the voïevode Cheïn made ready to defend the town to the last. Sigismond wrote from his camp at Smolensk to the Polish voïevodes who were serving under the impostor, with orders to abandon him. The Polish Touchinists obeyed with regret, complaining that the king would appropriate the reward of their toils; the Russian Touchinists, not knowing what to do, followed their allies, and, already accustomed to every sort of treason, made their submission to the king, and offered to recognize his son Vladislav as Tzar of Russia. At the head of these refugees were the boyard Michael Soltykof and the currier Andronof.

Chouïski had now two enemies equally formidable—the King of Poland and the false Dmitri, who, himself threatened by the ambition of his royal rival, had to retreat to the South. Vassili's nephew, Skopine, who had saved him by his victories, and won him popularity by his frank manners, died in the midst of his successes. The people then revived their old dislike of the Tzar, and accused him of poisoning his nephew. Another of the Chouïskis, the ambitious Dmitri, was also involved in the accusation. Dmitri Chouïski, as unpopular with the army as he

was with the capital, was betrayed in battle by the foreign regiments, and this defeat completed the ruin of Vassili. The people rose in Moscow; a great assembly of the populace and the boyards was held in the plains of Serpoukhof. The Tzar was "humbly requested" to vacate the throne, because he caused Christian blood to be shed, and was not successful in his government. The southern frontier towns also refused to obey him. Vassili Choufski yielded, and abdicated; a short time afterwards he was forced to become a monk.

VLADISLAS OF POLAND—THE POLES AT THE KREMLIN.

Everyone was obliged to take an oath of obedience to the *douma* of boyards, who naturally seized the executive power during the interval before the election of a new Tzar. There were two candidates for the vacant throne—Vladislas, son of the King of Poland, and the false Dmitri. Now the latter was evidently an impostor. He ruled the upper and middle classes by terror alone, and had only the populace on his side. As they could not at once get rid of both the Poles and the brigand of Touchino, they chose the lesser of the two evils.

A Polish army, under the hetman Zolkiewski, had arrived at Mojaïsk: the impostor occupied Kolomenskoé. The boyards invited Zolkiewski to approach Moscow, and they began to negotiate. The hetman promised in the name of the young prince to maintain orthodoxy, the liberties and privileges of the orders, the partition of legislative power between the king and the *douma*. No one was to be executed without a trial, nor deprived of his dignities without a reason; all Muscovites might go, if they wished, to be educated abroad. The Russians began to like the Polish system of the *pacta conventa*. The inhabitants of Moscow vowed fealty to the Tzar Vladislas. One point still remained to be decided—the Russians desired that Vladislas should embrace orthodoxy. Zolkiewski reserved the decision to the King of Poland. He induced the boyards to send ambassadors to Sigismond, and Prince Vassili Galitsyne and the Metropolitan Philarete Romanof left immediately for the camp at Smolensk. This terrible crisis seemed at the point of disentangling itself in a way that was tolerably advantageous for Russia. She was to have a foreign sovereign, but one already acquainted with Slav manners, and his being a foreigner was even a gage for the partisans of reforms and Western civilization. Poland and Russia, which might have united under Ivan and under Feodor, had another chance of doing so under a Polish prince. Such was

the confidence of the boyards, that, finding the security of Moscow troubled by the neighborhood of the impostor, they proposed to Zolkiewski to enter into the town and even the Kremlin. This unpatriotic resolution, dictated to the nobles by their mistrust of the lower classes, was to bring fatal consequences on Moscow. Zolkiewski wished to take his guarantees against the chiefs of the nation : Galitsyne and Philarete were already under Smolensk at the discretion of the king ; he sent for the fallen Tzar also and his two brothers as hostages.

Sigismond meditated a new treachery against Russia. His object was to conquer Muscovy, not for his son, but for himself. He stipulated with the ambassadors that Smolensk should be ceded to Poland, but they courageously repelled this proposition. They demanded on their own part that Vladislav should leave immediately for Moscow, as being the only means for allaying the suspicions to which the conduct of the king had given rise. Sigismond refused. He wished to be Tzar himself. In despair of conquering the scruples of the two chief ambassadors, he addressed himself to their inferior colleagues. The Secretary Tomila, on being asked to open the gates of Smolensk, replied : " If I were to do it, not only would God and the Muscovites curse me, but the earth would open and swallow me. We are sent to negotiate in the interests of our country, not of ourselves." All the Russians did not show this probity. The disgusting spectacle of the camp of Touchino was repeated at Smolensk. Men crowded round the king, as formerly around the brigand, to wring from him dignities, land, and money. Soltykof, Mstislavski, and the currier Andronof especially distinguished themselves by their baseness. At Moscow the boyards denounced each other to the commandant of the Polish garrison. By the suggestion of Soltykof they wrote to the king to beg him to make his entry into Moscow. The Patriarch Hermogenes refused to sign the letter, and the people, more patriotic than the boyards, supported the Patriarch. Some few nobles, like Andrew Galitsyne and Ivan Vorotinski had the honor of being suspected by the Poles, and were arrested by Leo Sapieha, successor of Zolkiewski. By permitting the Poles to enter the towns, the oligarchs had put Russia in the power of the King of Poland.

About this time the second impostor died, assassinated by one of his private enemies. His death had grave consequences. It healed misunderstandings, as, since the false Dmitri was dead, Sigismond had no longer any pretext for keeping his troops in Russia. The nobles had now no motive for distrusting the people, and could unite with them against the strangers. Whis-

pers were heard in the streets of Moscow that it was necessary to combine against the Lithuanians. Soltykof and Andronof denounced these generous intentions to the enemy. The Patriarch Hermogenes, suspected of patriotism, was thrown into prison, where he afterwards died of hunger. The provinces were agitated, and the inhabitants of Smolensk and Moscow wrote to all the towns entreating them not to accept the perfidious enemy of orthodoxy as their prince. The citizens did their part, the *diéti-boyarskié* made their preparations for war, and Lapounof collected an army at Riazan. At his approach Moscow began to fill with reinforcements, and the Poles fortified the rampart of the Kremlin. Suddenly a quarrel broke out between the people and the soldiers. In the first heat the Poles and Germans are said to have massacred 7000 men; but resistance was organized in the streets of the Biélyi-gorod, and the foreigners, repulsed by Prince Pojarski, had to intrench themselves in the Kremlin and the Kitaï-gorod. To clear the neighborhood, the Poles set fire to the neighboring streets. Moscow was almost entirely in flames.

On hearing of the preparations of Lapounof and the revolt of Moscow, Sigismond caused the Muscovite ambassadors, Galitsyne and Philarete, to be arrested, and sent them prisoners to Marienburg, in Prussia. A short time afterwards Smolensk fell, after a resistance compared by the Poles themselves to that of Saguntum, though the king was not ashamed to torture the brave voïevode Cheïn, who had dared to resist him. He entered Warsaw in triumph, and the unhappy Vassili Choufski, a Tzar of Russia, was dragged a prisoner through the streets in triumph. Lapounof was now reinforced by Prince Troubetskoï and Ivan Zaroutski, at the head of the Cossacks of the Don. A hundred thousand men besieged the Poles, who were shut up in the Kremlin, but the elements composing this large army were too conflicting and corrupt for the enterprise to succeed. The three leaders were mutually jealous of each other. Lapounof had committed more than one treason, Zaroutski had been one of the first to declare for Otrépief, and the others were hardly more loyal. The soldiers of Lapounof hated the Cossacks, who on their part only sought occasions for pillage. The Poles managed to raise the men of the Don, by inventing a pretended letter of Lapounof, saying, "Wherever you take them, slay them or drown them." A revolt broke out in the camp: Lapounof was assassinated, many of his adherents were murdered, and this great army was miserably dispersed.

Russia, a prey to civil war, as was France of the 16th century to the wars of religion, suffered, like her, from foreign in-

tervention. In France, English and Spaniards watched the tides of party success, and profited by them all to gain some place or some province. Russia became the theatre of war for two rival Powers, Catholic Poland and Lutheran Sweden. When Vladislav was proclaimed Tzar, Sweden considered herself offended, and acted as an enemy. De la Gardie took the ports of the Baltic; and the boyards of Novgorod the Great, imitating those of Moscow, opened the gates to the foreigners. It was under the protection of Poland that the first two impostors had arisen in the west and south; under the protection of Sweden a third false Dmitri started up in the country of Pskof. Marina Mniszek on her side, who after the death of Otrépief had thrown herself into the arms of the brigand Touchino, acknowledged the Cossack Zaroutski as guardian of her son.

NATIONAL RISING—MININE AND POJARSKI—ELECTION OF MICHAEL ROMANOF.

The situation of Russia, like that of France during the English wars, or the wars of the League, was frightful. The Tzar was prisoner, the Patriarch captive, the Swedes at Novgorod the Great, the Poles at the Kremlin, and the higher nobility bought by the strangers. Everywhere bands of brigands and highwaymen pillaged towns, tortured peasants, and desecrated churches. Famine increased: in certain districts men were driven to eat human flesh. This country, accustomed to be governed autocratically, had no longer any government. In her supreme need, who was to save Russia? It was the people, by a movement similar to that which in France produced Joan of Arc; it was the people, in the largest acceptation of the word, including the honest nobility and the patriotic clergy. Already miraculous rumors showed the excitement that possessed all minds. At Nijni-Novgorod, at Vladimir, apparitions were seen. The monks of Troïtsa, with the hegumene Dionysius and treasurer-historian Palitsyne at their head, sent letters to all the Russian cities. The citizens of Kazan raised the distant Russia of the Kama. When the despatches from Troïtsa reached Nijni, and the protopope read them to the assembled people, a citizen of the town, the butcher Kouzma Minine, rose. "If we wish," he said "to save the Muscovite Empire, we must spare neither our lands nor our goods; let us sell our houses, and put our wives and children to service; let us seek a man who will fight for the orthodox faith, and march under his banner." To give up all, and to arm themselves, such was the word that was handed round. Minine

and others gave the third of their possessions ; one woman who had 12,000 roubles gave 10,000 of them. Those who hesitated to contribute had to do it by force. Minine only accepted the office of treasurer of the insurrection on condition that his fellow-citizens should place themselves absolutely at his discretion. A chief was necessary ; the people saw that he must be a noble. Now at Starodoub lived Prince Dmitri Pojarski, still weak from wounds he had received in the revolt of Moscow. Minine went to seek him, and besought him to take the command of the army. Their preparations then began, and they fasted and prayed. Russia felt herself in a state of sin ; she had taken and violated so many oaths—to Godounof, to his son Feodor, to Otrépief, to Chouïski, to Vladislav. Three days of fast were commanded. Everyone took part in it, even the infants at the breast. With the money collected they organized the *streltzi*, and equipped the *diéti-boyarskié* ; but they refused to admit those impure elements which had imperilled the national cause. They would have none of the help of Margeret, the mercenary who had perjured himself so many times, nor of the pillaging and murdering Cossacks. They remembered the assassination of Lapounof.

With the army marched the bishops and monks ; the holy images were borne at the head of the columns. This enthusiasm did not exclude political wisdom ; they wished at least to secure the support of Sweden against Poland, so they amused de la Gardie by negotiating for the election of a Swedish prince. When the troops had completely assembled at Iaroslavl, they marched on Moscow. The Cossacks of Zaroutski and Troubetskoï were still encamped under its walls ; but these two armies, though fighting for the same object, could not act together. An attempt to murder Pojarski had increased the mistrust of the men of the Don. When, however, the hetman Chodkiewitz tried to throw a detachment into Moscow, he was defeated on the left bank of the Moskowa by Pojarski, on the right bank by the Cossacks. It is true that the latter, at the decisive moment, refused to fight ; it needed the prayers of Abraham Palitsyne to bring them into line, and the intervention of Minine and his troops to decide the victory. The Polish garrison of the Kremlin were then pressed so close that they were reduced to eat human flesh. They capitulated, on condition that they were to have their lives. They gave up their prisoners, among whom was young Michael Romanof.

The Kremlin and the Kitaï-gorod had opened their gates, when men learned that Sigismond was advancing to the help of the Polish garrison. It was too late. At the news of these

events he had to retrace his steps; the devotion of the people of Russia had freed their country. This year of 1612 remained for long in the memory of the nation; and when the invasion of 1812 came to refresh their recollections, they raised on the Red Place a colossal monument to the two liberators, the butcher Minine and the Prince Pojarski.

Russia, once more herself, could proceed freely to the election of a Tzar. A great National Assembly gathered at Moscow. It was composed of the great ecclesiastical dignitaries, of delegates nominated by the nobles, by the *diéti-boyarskié*, the merchants, the towns and districts. The delegates had to be furnished with special powers. They all agreed they would have no stranger, neither Pole nor Swede. When it became a question of choosing among the Russians, scheming and rivalry commenced; but one name was pronounced which gained all the votes, that of Michael Romanof. He was elected not for his own sake, for he was only fifteen years old, but for that of his ancestors the Romanofs, and his father, the Metropolitan Philarete, then prisoner at Marienburg. The name of Romanof, of the kin of Ivan IV., was the highest expression of the national feeling (1613).

The new dynasty had better chances of stability than that of Godounof or that of Chouïski. There were no crimes to reproach it with; it had its origin in a national movement, it dated from the liberation, and had only glorious memories. No phantom, no recollection, no regret of the past, stood before it. The house of Ivan the Terrible had been the cause or the occasion of too much suffering to Russia; the false Dmitris had stifled the regrets for the true. The accession of the Romanofs coincided with a powerful awakening of patriotism, with the passion for unity, with universal longing for order and peace. Already they inspired the same devotion as the oldest dynasty. It is said that the Poles, on hearing of the election of Michael, sent armed men to seize him in Kostroma. A peasant, Ivan Sousanine, misled the Poles through deep woods in the darkness of the night, and died under their blows. This is the subject of the beautiful opera by Glinka, of 'Life for the Tzar.' The time of troubles had ended.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ROMANOFFS: MICHAEL FEODOROVITCH AND THE PATRIARCH PHILARETE (1613-1645).

Restorative measures—End of the Polish war—Relations with Europe—The States-general.

RESTORATIVE MEASURES—END OF THE POLISH WAR.

RUSSIA had at last a sovereign, but she was in the situation in which Henry IV. found France at his accession. The great civil and foreign war was finished, but it had left everywhere its evil traces. Henry IV., when he became king, had been obliged to reconquer all his kingdom, province by province, town by town, half by arms and half by negotiations, to win it from chiefs of the bands, leaguers, great governors who had become independent, and foreigners. In the same way, in Russia, Zaroutski, leader of the Don Cossacks, ruled in Astrakhan, with Marina and the son she had borne to the brigand of Touchino; the Polish partisan Lissovski ravaged the country of the southwest; the Zaporogian Cossacks infested the regions of the Dwina: scarce a province but was a prey to some robber-band. No doubt the Poles had been expelled from the Kremlin as the Spaniards were expelled from reconquered Paris, but an offensive movement of the enemy might be expected; moreover they still retained many places, notably the important town of Smolensk. Sweden had profited by the state of Russia to lay hands on the cities of Carelia and on Novgorod the Great. In the interior of the country, the towns and cities were in ruins, the population diminished and impoverished, and brigandage had become a habit. At the Court, the Russian lords had learned to disobey, and were not less turbulent than the Leaguers who surrounded Henry IV. What Russia needed was a reign of restoration.

Michael Romanoff had not the genius of the restorer of France. He was almost a child, and the boyards turned his authority against himself: the silent and bloody intrigues that Ivan IV. had only restrained by capital punishment broke forth again,

and the ferocious depravity of the nobles was the shame of Russia. Quiet men and foreigners regretted Ivan the Terrible. "Oh that God would open the eyes of the Tzar as he opened those of Ivan!" wrote a Dutchman at this time, "otherwise Muscovy is lost." Happily the good will of the nation was equal to every emergency. The day of the coronation the men-at-arms presented a request for pay, as their devastated fiefs no longer gave them any revenue. The Tzar and the clergy sent letters to the Russian towns to entreat them to help the State to pay the troops, and to aid her with men and money against the foes within and without. Zaroutski was the first who was attacked. The inhabitants of Astrakhan, outraged by his barbarities, had rebelled and imprisoned him in the Kremlin, whence he attempted to escape at the approach of the Russian voïevodes. He was captured, and condemned to be impaled; the son of the brigand of Touchino, in spite of his youth, was hung, and his mother, Marina the Pole, died in prison. By the advice of the clergy and the boyards, the Tzar tried to negotiate with Baloven, another brigand chief, who, by way of answer, attacked Moscow, but was defeated and his band destroyed. The people of the Dwina themselves executed justice on the Zaporogues. Lissovski was eagerly pursued by Pojarski, but this clever partisan outwitted all the efforts of the liberator. Peace with Poland had to be concluded before he could be quieted.

In 1615 a Congress assembled beneath the walls of Smolensk under the mediation of Erasmus Handelius, envoy of the Emperor of Germany. It was impossible to come to an understanding: the Poles refused to admit the election of Michael Romanof, and wished to recognize Vladislav as Tzar of Russia. "You might as well," said Handelius, "try to reconcile fire and water." The negotiations were broken off. With Sweden, however, they were more successful; here the mediators, England and Holland, showed more zeal and energy than the house of Austria had done. The troubles and the impoverished state of Muscovy reacted on their commerce. By pacifying the North, they hoped to re-open Russia to their merchants, and secure for themselves greater advantages.

In May 1614, Ouchakof and Zaborovski had been sent to ask help from Holland in men and money. The Dutch gave them a thousand gulden, but said that they had themselves only lately ended a great war, that they could give the Tzar no substantial aid, but would do their utmost to induce the King of Sweden to make peace. Alexis Ziousine had been despatched to London in June 1613; he was ordered to narrate all the excesses committed by the Poles in Moscow, and to say to King

James, "After the destruction of Moscow, the Lithuanians seized your merchants—Mark the Englishman, and all the others—took away all their wares, subjected them to a rigorous imprisonment, and ended by massacring them." If by chance he discovered that the English were aware that it was not the Poles, but the Cossacks and the lower classes who had put Mark to death and seized on the merchandise, he was to have other excuses ready. The Tzar entreated help in money to pay the men-at-arms, and not in soldiers, as he could give them no pay. They would think themselves happy if the King of England would send the Tzar money, provisions, powder, lead, sulphur, and other munitions, to the value of about 100,000 roubles; but would content themselves with 70,000 roubles' worth, or in case of absolute necessity with 50,000. James received the envoy and his suite courteously, informed them that he was aware of the wrongs the Poles and the Swedes had inflicted on them, and ordered them three times following to cover themselves. The Russians declined to do this. "When we see thy fraternal love and lively friendship for our sovereign, when we hear thy royal words which glorify our prince, and contemplate thine eyes thus close at hand, how can we, *kholopys* as we are, put our hats on our heads at such a moment?" In August 1614, the year following this embassy, there appeared at Moscow John Merrick, who had for long traded with the holy city, but who came this time as ambassador from James I., qualified with full powers, as prince, knight, and gentleman of the bedchamber. In an interview with Prince Ivan Kourakine he began by demanding, on the part of the English merchants, a direct communication with India by the Obi, and with Persia by the Volga and Astrakhan. Kourakine alleged that this route was unsafe, that Astrakhan had only lately been delivered from Zaroutski, and that numerous brigands still infested the Volga. When security should be established, they would open the question with King James. They then passed to the subject of mediation. John Merrick declared that the King of England had assembled his Parliament to consider the best means of helping the Tzar, but that the Parliament had as yet decided nothing, and that he had no instructions on this head. "But," said Kourakine, "can you not assure us that your sovereign will send us help in the spring?" "How can I guarantee it? The journey is long, and there is no way save that by Sweden. . . . I believe, however, he will give you aid." Merrick, having contented himself with causing the Russians to hope, returned to commercial matters: liberty of trade by the Obi and the Volga, concessions of iron and jet mines on the Soukhona, concessions of territory about Vologda,

for new establishments, &c. The Russian boyards continued to expatiate on the difficulty of the situation, and John Merrick went to Novgorod to negotiate with the Swedes, where he was joined by the envoys of Holland. Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, had obtained some successes over the voïevodes, but he had not contented the Novgorodians, nor been able to take Pskof. The kings of Denmark and Poland were his enemies, and he may have felt a presentiment of the splendid career that awaited him in Germany. He consented to open a congress, and in 1617 concluded with Russia the Peace of Stolbovo, by which he received an indemnity of 20,000 roubles, and kept Ivangorod, Iam Koporié, and Oréchek (Schlüsselburg), but ceded Novgorod, Roussa, Ladoga, and some smaller places.

Russia was now able to concentrate all her forces against her worst enemy—the instigator of all her troubles. The Poles took the offensive, under the command of Vladislas and the hetman Khodkévitch. Dorogobouge and Viasma were surrendered by the treachery or weakness of their voïevodes; but Mojaïsk and Kalouga (which was defended by Pojarski) resisted and arrested the progress of the enemy. Vladislas, who had all the instincts of a soldier, resolved in 1618 to march on Moscow. Michael Romanof dreaded treason more than the arms of the enemy, and determined to exact a new oath of allegiance from his subjects. He assembled the Estates, and informed them that he was ready once more to suffer hunger in besieged Moscow, and to fight Lithuania, but he asked in return that the nobles should do as much for him, and that they should resist the seductions of “the king’s son.” Everyone made the required promise, and fresh letters went out from Moscow, calling all the towns to a holy war. Vladislas, however, had stopped at Touchino, where the hetman of Little Russia, after having ravaged the frontiers of the south-west, had joined him with his Cossacks. The days of the second impostor and of Touchinism seemed to have come back. The Poles having been defeated in an attack on Moscow proposed a congress, which met at Devulino, not far from the Troïtsa monastery, lately the victim of a new siege. A truce of fourteen years and six months was agreed on. Poland kept Smolensk and Severia, and Vladislas did not even renounce the title of Tzar of Russia, leaving this difficulty to be solved by the judgment of God. Such a peace was only an armistice (1618); there was, however, an exchange of prisoners: the brave voïevode Cheïn and the Metropolitan Philarete returned to Russia, and the latter was at once made Patriarch.

By the return of his father the young Tzar obtained the counsellor his inexperience had hitherto needed, and even more

than a counsellor—a colleague, and almost a master. Philarete was in some sort associated with the throne. The empire had two chief nobles, two sovereigns, the Tzar of all the Russias and the Patriarch of all the Russias. They figured together in all public acts, and together received the reports of the boyards and foreign ambassadors. It was time that a master was given to the boyards. The Soltykofs, Michael's favorites, had distributed the empire among their partisans, and plundered the treasury and the nation. They were charged with having falsely accused Michael's first bride, who was expelled from the palace, and having poisoned the second. This was a common practice with the nobles of Muscovy, those who were in favor fearing a new Tzarina above everything. They shrank from no means of removing her from their path; and their reputation on this head was so firmly established that the King of Denmark had refused Michael the hand of his niece, because, "in the reign of Boris Godounof, his brother, *fiancé* of the Princess Xenia, had been poisoned; and this would also be the fate of this young girl." Philarete made the boyards feel the weight of the Tzar's hand, and exiled the most guilty.

RELATIONS WITH EUROPE—THE STATES-GENERAL.

Russia had begun at last to be a European nation. Everywhere her political or commercial alliance was sought. Gustavus Adolphus, who was making preparations to play his part as the champion of Protestantism in Germany, wished to assure himself of the friendship of Russia against Poland. He represented to Michael, with much truth, that the Catholic League of the Pope, the King of Poland, and the house of Hapsburg were as dangerous to Russia as to Sweden; that if Protestantism succumbed it would be the turn of orthodoxy, and that the Swedish army was the outpost of Russian security. "When your neighbor's house is on fire," writes the King, "you must bring water and try to extinguish it, to guarantee your own safety. May your Tzarian majesty help your neighbors to protect yourself." The terrible events of late years had only too well justified these remarks. The intrigues of the Jesuits with the false Dmitri, and the burning of Moscow by the Poles, were always present to the memory of the Russians. A treaty of peace and commerce was concluded with Sweden, and a Swedish ambassador appeared at the Court.

England had rendered more than one service to Russia. In her pressing need James I. had lent her 20,000 roubles, and

British mediation had led to the Peace of Stolbovo. John Merrick considered he had the right to demand that Russia should open to English commerce the route to Persia by the Volga, and to Hindostan by Siberia. The Tzar consulted the merchants of Moscow. They unanimously replied that such a concession would be their ruin, for they could never hope to rival the wealthier and more enterprising English. They were, however, ready to sacrifice their interests to those of the empire, if the dues paid by the foreigners were essential to the treasury. John Merrick declined to pay any dues, and the negotiation was broken off. They paid him, however, the 20,000 roubles, as he assured them the King had need of them for the help of his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine.

In 1615 the Tzar sent an envoy into France, to announce to Louis XIII. his accession to the throne, and to ask his aid against Poland and Sweden. In 1629 there appeared at Moscow the ambassador Duguay Cormanin, who was commissioned to solicit for French commerce what had been refused to English trade—free passage into Persia. He also spoke of a political alliance. "His Tzarian majesty," he said, "is the head of Eastern countries and the orthodox faith; Louis, King of France, is the head of Southern countries; and the Tzar, by contracting a friendship and alliance with him, will get the better of his enemies. As the Emperor is closely allied to the King of Poland, the Tzar must be allied to the King of France. These two princes are everywhere glorious; they have no equals either in strength or power; their subjects obey them blindly, while the English and Brabançons are only obedient when they choose. The latter buy their wares in Spain, and sell them to the Russians at a high price, but the French will furnish them with everything at a reasonable rate." This negotiation for the first Franco-Russian treaty spoken of in history had no result. As to the route to Persia, it was refused by the boyards, who said that the French might buy the Persian merchandise from the Russians.

Another ally against Poland offered itself to Muscovy. The Sultan Osman sent to Moscow the Prince Thomas Cantacuzene, to announce that Turkey had already declared war against the king. The Russians asked no more than to help him, and Philarete and Michael assembled the States-general. The deputies "beat their foreheads" to the sovereigns, beseeching them to "hold themselves firm for the holy churches of God, for their Tzarian honor, and for their own country against the enemy. The men-at-arms were ready to fight, and the merchants to give money." The troops were already assembling when news was

received that Turkey had been defeated, and war was postponed. The preparations had revealed certain faults existing in the national army, and it was decided to enlist foreign mercenaries, and instruct the native soldiers in Western tactics. Orders were accordingly given to buy arms, and to attract into Russia gun-founders and artillerymen. The Russia of Michael and Philarete already announced the Russia of Peter the Great; the era of reform had begun. Each day Muscovy strengthened herself against her European enemies, by turning against them the weapon of their own civilization.

She remained quiet for eight years. In 1632 Sigismond III. died, and the Elective Diet assembled at Warsaw. Michael was determined not to let this opportunity slip, and the second war with Poland began. It did not turn out as well as had been hoped. The vices of the old organization and institutions showed themselves anew. The two voievodes commanding the army suddenly became possessed with the old mania of disputing precedence. They were deprived of their command, and replaced by Cheŋ and Ismailof, who crossed the frontier with 32,000 men and 158 guns. Twenty-three towns surrendered to the Muscovites, but Smolensk held out for eight months, and, just as it showed signs of capitulating, the Polish army under Vladislas, now King of Poland, made its appearance. On the rumor of a Tatar invasion in the south, part of the Russian nobles at once hastened to the defence of their own lands, and Cheŋ, thus enfeebled, was attacked by the king, and his communications cut. Famine obliged him to surrender in the open field, and he obtained leave to retreat, though forced to abandon both his baggage and his artillery. His only fault lay in not understanding as well as his Western adversaries the strategy of modern warfare. He was only guilty of being a Russian of unreformed Russia. His enemies, however, accused him of treason in a council of war, and he was condemned with his colleague to be beheaded. Philarete was no longer there to force the boyards to live at peace with each other. He died in 1633. Vladislas, successful at Smolensk, was defeated at Bielaia, and a congress was held on the Polianka. The conditions of the truce of Devulino were confirmed. The Russians paid 20,000 roubles, and Vladislas renounced all claim to the throne of Moscow, and recognized for the first time the Tzarian title.

Shortly after there arose a new occasion for war. In spite of the treaties of peace concluded by Poland and Russia with Turkey, the Cossacks of the Dnieper, who were subjects of Poland, and the Cossacks of the Don, who were subjects of Russia, still continued to fight against Islam. To them, besides being

a holy war, it was the means of procuring *zipouns*,—wide trousers of a beautiful scarlet cloth. Determined partisans and pirates, both on land and sea, they were thorns in the sides of the Khan of the Crimea and the Grand Turk, attacking with their light boats the heavy Ottoman galleys, and insulting the coasts of the Bosphorus and Anatolia. They were disavowed by their respective governments, and were the subjects of perpetual recrimination between the Porte and the two Slav States. They were the brigands and corsairs of Christianity, as the Tatars were of Islamism.

In 1627, 4400 Cossacks of the Don, aided by 1000 Zaporogues of the Dnieper, surprised Azof, and offered to make a gift of it to the Tzar of Moscow. The acquisition of such an important place, which would secure the command of the mouth of the Don and access to the Black Sea, was very tempting to Russia. Again Michael Romanof assembled his Estates. We must observe that since Ivan IV. first assembled them the meetings had become more and more frequent. The parliamentary history of Russia dates from the reign of "the Terrible." This time the nobles declared themselves ready to fight if they had money given them for their equipment, and begged the Tzar to exact it from the clergy and merchants. The latter alleged that the robberies of the public functionaries, the prolongation of the wars, and the rivalries with the Germans and Persians, had ruined them. The officers sent by the Tzar to Azof reported that it was in too bad a state for defence. In fact the conquest of Azof, like that of the Crimea in the time of Ivan, was premature, Russian colonization not having as yet extended itself sufficiently towards the South. The Tzar gave orders accordingly to the *Dontsi* for its evacuation, and they did not leave one stone upon another.

Western influence made considerable progress during this reign. The merchants entreated that access into the interior might be forbidden to those strangers whose rivalry was their ruin; but the latter were, on the contrary, so necessary to the State and to the general progress that they had to be invited into the country by all possible means. Under Michael, more foreigners than ever came into Russia. Vinius the Dutchman established foundries at Toula for guns, bullets, and other iron weapons. Marselein the German opened similar ones on the Vaga, the Kostroma, and the Cheksna. Privileges were granted to other foreign merchants or artisans, and the only condition imposed on them was not to conceal the secrets of their industries from the inhabitants of the countries. This is another point of resemblance between this reign of reform and that of Henri IV., who also summoned to his kingdom Flemish, Eng-

lish, and Venetian artisans. One European import did not however, find favor in Russia—the usage of tobacco was forbidden, and snuff-takers had their noses cut off.

Learned men were also sought from Europe. Adam Olearius of Holstein, a celebrated astronomer, geographer, and geometer, was invited to Moscow. Already the Academy of Sciences of Peter the Great was foreshadowed. A cosmographical treatise was translated from Latin into Russian. The Patriarch Philarete had established at Moscow an academy where Greek and Latin, the languages of the Renaissance, were taught. The Archimandrite Dionysius of Troïtsa, who had distinguished himself in the struggle with the Poles, undertook to correct the text of the Slavonian books—a hazardous enterprise, which cost Dionysius himself a short period of persecution. Native historians continued to re-edit their chronicles, and Abraham Palitsyne, cellarer of Troïtsa, narrated the famous siege of the convent.

CHAPTER XX.

WESTERN RUSSIA IN THE 17TH CENTURY.

The political union of Lublin (1509), and the religious union (1595)—Complaints of White Russia—Risings in Little Russia.

POLITICAL UNION OF LUBLIN (1509), AND THE RELIGIOUS
UNION (1595).

SPAIN in the 16th century had taken a large share in the troubles of France; France in the 17th century dismembered the Spanish Empire. In like manner Poland expiated her part in the civil wars of Russia. After the reforming reign of Michael Romanof, his son Alexis was to inaugurate the era of reprisals. Russia had almost fallen before Poland, like France before Burgundy or Austria, but she grew strong at Poland's expense, and on the ruins of Poland founded her own greatness. A glance at the constitution of the Polish Empire will show us what internal difficulties prepared the way for the external enemy—the Muscovite, the *Moskal*, as he was called by the men of the West.

White Russia and Little Russia had been conquered by the Lithuanians, and formed with them part of the Polo-Lithuanian State. They kept for a long while Russian manners and habits. The Russian language was used in the acts of legislation till the 16th, and even till the 17th century. For a short time, under the early Jagellons, it had even been the language of the Court. Soon, however, Polish influence predominated in the ruling class. The Russo-Lithuanian nobility were divided, like the Polish nobility, into *magnates*, who possessed large territories and occupied the high offices, *schliachtas* or lesser nobles, who formed the retainers and almost the servants of the *magnates*. The military class assembled in the *diets* and *diëttines*. The king's officers bore the titles of *voïevodes*, *castellans*, and *starosts*. The Russo-Lithuanian towns, like those of Poland, received what was called "the law of Magdeburg." They were governed by a *vogt* of the king, who administered justice, assisted by the *burgomaster* and by *rathmänner*. The trading classes organized

themselves, after the German fashion, into *zêche*, tribes or corporations.

Up to that time Russo-Lithuania and Poland had formed two States, distinct in law; and at the extinction of the Jagellons, who had always maintained them in a personal union, it was feared they would again separate. Ivan IV. founded great hopes on this expected separation, but the Poles in the reign of Sigismond made a great effort to accomplish a definite union. A diet was held at Lublin. The Russo-Lithuanian aristocracy were much averse to the union; difference of religion, national self-love, and corporate interests created a barrier between them and Poland. The Government shrank from no means of overcoming their resistance. It threatened not to defend Lithuania against the incursions of the Tzar, and to resume the Crown lands held by the refractory nobles. Notwithstanding, the Polish party were almost checkmated; rather than yield, the Lithuanian deputies left the diet in a body. At last the king contrived to gain two of the most influential members—Constantine Ostrojski, voïevode of Kief, and Alexander Czartoryski, voïevode of Volhynia. Nicholas Radziwill, who had so long held the Polish tendencies in check, and who was the last representative of independent Lithuania, was dead. The king managed also to win over the Little Russian nobility, less hostile to Catholic Poland than the Protestant nobility of Lithuania. The *Union of Lublin* provided that the two crowns should be united on the same head, with equal rights; that there should be only one general diet and one senate; that they should sit at Warsaw, a Mazovian town, which was to become the capital of the new State; and that Poland and Lithuania should preserve each its great dignitaries—chancellor, vice-chancellor, marshals, and hetmans—their own army and their laws. The Russian countries, properly so called, underwent a fresh dismemberment. Little Russia was specially united to Poland.

The natural result of the Union of Lublin was the growth of Polish influence in the Russian territory. On one side, the Polish nobles had obtained the right of acquiring lands and holding offices in Lithuania; on the other, the Russian nobility, by mingling more completely with the nobility of the neighboring country, adopted its ideas, habits, fashions, and even its language. It began to be *Polonized*, thus widening the breach that separated it from the masses of the people, profoundly attached to their tongue and their nationality. The division between the aristocracy and the people increased still further, when the Catholic propaganda penetrated among the nobility of the Russian territory.

A special article of the Union of Lublin ensured respect to the orthodox religion. Poland and Lithuania had not, however, been able to escape from the great religious struggles that then divided Western Europe, and which sent a wave even into Poland. A certain number of lords had embraced Protestantism (Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Socinianism). The Jesuits, who were everywhere at the head of the reaction against reform, and whose hand may be traced in all the civil wars of the 16th and 17th centuries, soon made their appearance in Poland. Protestantism only took a feeble root in the country, and did not occupy them long; they then turned their attention to orthodoxy, the real national religion of the Russo-Lithuanian provinces. They employed the same means by which they had hitherto succeeded everywhere in Europe: founded colleges, obtained a hold on the young people, insinuated themselves into the confidence of the women, gained the ear of the kings, and reckoned yet more surely on their worldly cleverness than on the purely ecclesiastical means of preaching, confession, and pilgrimages. The brave Batory, who specially occupied himself with all that concerned the public peace and national greatness, kept them at a distance. They found a monarch more to their taste in Sigismund III., a feeble copy of the Philips of Spain and the Ferdinands of Austria, and well fitted to draw on the East the calamities that desolated Germany and the West. He protected the Jesuits, and exhausted all the influence and seductions that the throne put at his disposal, to convert the orthodox nobility of his oriental provinces to Catholicism. In order to enlarge the field of conversions, the Jesuits invented a compromise, which was to obtain from the Russian clergy and people their submission to the Holy See, while their Slavonic liturgy and special usages were guaranteed them; this is what is called the Union of the two Churches. In fact, the *union* once obtained, they thought it but a step to unity, and even uniformity. Peter Skarga the Jesuit, who published the book of 'The Unity of the Church of God,' wished to exclude the teaching of Slavonic, and only admit that of Greek and Latin. In order to make their plan more easily accepted by Government, they represented to it that the effect of their religious "union" would be consolidation of the political union of Lublin, and that a true Polish Estate would not exist till the subjects held the same faith as their prince.

Now orthodoxy, menaced by the King of Poland, found a powerful support in the Russian princes descended from Rurik and Gedimin. We have seen Prince Kourbski, in the time of Ivan IV., and later, Constantine Ostrojski, defend by their

pen, their word and their influence, the faith of their fathers, and translate, compile, and disseminate books in favor of orthodoxy. Little by little the nobles yielded to the influence of the Court ; in their struggle with the Roman religion, the people saw themselves abandoned almost entirely by their natural chiefs, and even by their bishops. The king filled the Lithuanian sees with prelates who were great princes, wholly indifferent to theological questions, and proud of their immense riches, of their numerous villages, and their strong castles bristling with artillery. Still the people did not give up all hope. From Novgorod the Great, from Pskof, from Germany, the principle of association had spread widely among the cities of Western Russia. Societies were formed for mutual assistance, which had their roots in the most distant Slavonic, German, or Scandinavian past ; they were at the same time religious confraternities, and took an energetic part in the strife with the Jesuits. They had their elected chiefs, their common treasury, and they began to found schools, to set up printing-presses, and to disseminate polemical or pious books. They entered into mutual relations, and formed ties with the patriarchs of the East ; to the royal bishops they opposed a democratic force, watching them, reprimanding them, and denouncing the carelessness of their religion or manners to orthodox Christendom. The most celebrated of these confraternities were those of Lemberg in Gallicia, of Wilna in Lithuania, and of Loutsk in Volhynia ; that of Kief founded the great ecclesiastical academy of Little Russia.

Under the stimulus of these popular societies, the bishops could no longer remain indifferent. It was necessary to take up a position at the head of the believers, or pass over to the ranks of the enemy. The orthodox prelates were in a very difficult position ; they were in disgrace with the Government as the defenders of orthodoxy, and at the same time were harassed as lukewarm by the orthodox demagogy. Terletski, Bishop of Loutsk, was in this trying situation—the *starost* of Loutsk, a convert to Catholicism, directed a fierce persecution against his ancient bishop. Terletski was taken, imprisoned, and starved in his dungeon ; he complained, but an orthodox bishop could expect no justice. He saw only one means of escaping from this humiliation, to disarm the violence of the Catholic nobles, and to enjoy in peace his episcopal revenues : this was to pass over to the Union. His neighbor, Ignatius Potieï, Bishop of Vladimir in Volhynia, and Michael Ragoza, Metropolitan of Kief, Primate of Western Russia, who was discontented with the Patriarch of Constantinople, followed his example. Sigismund III. received these first defections with joy ; Terletski and Potieï

left for Rome ; and placed the Russian Church at the feet of Clement VIII. The Pope celebrated this success by pompous solemnities(1595) ; but the projected union could not be realized without the consent of all the Russian bishops, of whom only three, the Metropolitan and the two Volhynians, were as yet gained over. Balaba, Bishop of Lemberg—who, although he was always at war with the confraternity, had not sacrificed the national cause to his private enmity—remained with a layman, Constantine Ostrojski, the soul of orthodoxy. A council was held at Brest, in Lithuania(1596), under the presidency of Nicephorus, envoy of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The three dissidents refused to attend. Then the bishops formulated the anathema and the sentence of deposition. The Uniates hastened to retaliate by an excommunication, but their attempt in favor of the cause of Rome failed piteously. The people everywhere declared against them. At Wilna Bishop Potieï was assassinated by the citizens. At Vitepsk, Bishop Kountsévitsh, who, from a renegade, had become a persecutor, gave occasion for a terrible riot ; he was stabbed and thrown into the Dwina. Many of the citizens were punished, and the city deprived of “the law of Magdeburg.” The Uniates fished out of the Dwina the body of the prelate, and his tomb shortly became famous for its reputed miracles. At Kief, Veniamine Routski, a successor of Ragoza, re-organized the convents on the model of Latin monasteries : the monks took the name of Basilians. They did not gain in popularity. A Little Russian saying attributes to them the following catechism :—“Wherefore did God create thee and put thee in the world ?” “To do the seigneurs’ dirty work.”

The Eastern Church did not allow itself to be defeated so easily as the Jesuits had hoped. It opposed schools with schools, propaganda with propaganda ; it preached and it printed. The Uniate Routski was replaced even at Kief by Peter Mohila, a zealous partisan of orthodoxy. He was a rough prelate, such as was needed in those hard times, and an old soldier, ready to meet force with force. A monastery of the diocese resisted his authority ; he marched to it instantly with troops and guns, and chastised the rebels. He made the school founded by the confraternity into a college, like those of the Jesuits ; instituted professors of Latin, Greek, and philosophy, and made it the intellectual centre of Western Russia, and one of the points of departure of the Russian Renaissance (1633).

COMPLAINTS OF WHITE RUSSIA—RISINGS IN LITTLE RUSSIA.

In the diets of Warsaw, the complaints of the orthodox clergy, and of the country people, more completely enslaved, more cruelly oppressed since they no longer held the religion of their masters, did not remain without an echo. A deputy from Volhynia, Lawrence Drevninski, exclaimed at the Diet of 1620: "When your Majesty makes war on Turkey, from whom do you obtain the greater part of your troops? From the Russian nation, which holds the orthodox faith; from that nation which, if it does not receive relief from its sufferings and an answer to its prayers, can no longer continue to make itself a rampart for your kingdom. How can you beg it to sacrifice all to secure for the country the blessings of peace, when in its homes there is no peace? Everyone sees clearly the persecutions that the old Russian nation suffers for its religion. In the large towns our churches are sealed up, and our goods are pillaged; from the monasteries the monks have departed, and cattle are shut up in them. Children die without baptism; the ashes of the dead, deprived of the prayers of the Church, are carried out of the city like dead beasts; men and women live together without the benediction of the priest; they die without confession, without communion. Is not this to offend God himself, and will not God avenge His people? At Lemberg no one, not a Uniate, can live in the city, trade freely, and enter into the *zêche* of artisans. . . . For twenty years in each *dietine*, in each diet, we have asked for our rights and liberties with bitter tears, and for twenty years we have not been able to obtain them. We shall have to cry with the prophet, 'O God, judge me, and judge my actions.'" The situation of the serfs had become specially intolerable: to the Polish or Polonized lord, to the Latin missionary, was added a third scourge, the Jew, whom the noble had made steward of his lands, and to whom he had given the right of life and death over his subjects, and farmed out the fishing and hunting, the roads and taverns, even the orthodox Church, so completely, that the peasant could neither marry nor baptize his child without having bought from this miscreant the access to the sanctuary.

The populations of White Russia had suffered, and were still to suffer long, without rebellion. It was not the same with the Little Russian populations of the Ukraine. They had colonized the steppes of the south, and reconquered the desert from the Tatars. To attract emigrants to fill the royal grants, the Polish lords offered twenty or thirty years of absolute lib-

erty. Thanks to this, the desert was peopled with unheard-of rapidity, and on this virgin soil a nation was formed, ignorant of slavery, that spoke not of thirty years' liberty, but perpetual freedom. The King of Poland favored this race of hardy pioneers—these intrepid soldiers. The Ukraine was for him a sort of military frontier, a strong rampart for Poland against the Tatar and the Turk.

These warlike populations were organized in twenty *polks* of Cossack—those of Peréiaslaf, Tcherkask, Mirgorod, Pultowa, &c. Each *polk* had its *polkovnik* or colonel; all obeyed one supreme chief, the *hetman* of Little Russia nominated by the king, who presided over the *starchina* * or council of elders. In time the Cossacks became formidable to Poland herself; they incessantly embroiled her with her formidable neighbor, the Ottoman Empire. Batory was forced to punish with death more than one Cossack chief for having violated a truce or a treaty of peace, and he also limited the number of the military population, only recognizing as Cossacks those who were inscribed on the register, to the number of six thousand, condemning the others to the cultivation of the soil; that is, to serfage. But the Cossacks would have nothing to do with the *corvée* of the *pans*, nor admit the limitations of the king. Notwithstanding the register, they remained in arms, a formidable force, who in the religious struggle were all enlisted on the side of orthodoxy, and who caused royalty and the Uniate hierarchy and aristocracy to tremble.

Besides the Cossacks of the sedentary populations or the Cossacks of the towns, there were also the Zaporogues “beyond the *porogs*” or cataracts of the Dnieper. They stood in the same relation to the Little Russian Cossacks as those did to the Russo-Lithuanian population; they were the vanguard of the vanguard, the forlorn hope of the Russian nationality. Entrenched in the “Large Meadow,” a fortified island of the Dnieper, they had built a fort or *setcha* surrounded by a palisade. They recognized no authority; like the Knights of Rhodes and Malta, they encamped on the land wrested from the Mussulmans, and continued the holy war with Turk and Tatar, when Christendom was at peace with him. They neither gave nor asked quarter, existed on the plunder of the infidel, courted dangers and “martyrdom,” and received no women in their camp. They

* The *starchina* was composed of the *oboznyi*, the head of the baggage department; of the judge; of the *pisar*, or chancellor; of the *esaoul*; of the standard-bearer; of the *polkovniks*; of the *stoniks*, or centurions; of the *atamans*. When the king invested the *hetman*, he handed to him the *boundchouk* (or banner), like a horse's tail, the stick or mace, and the seal.

were a race of warrior-monks, a Church militant, the Templars and Hospitallers of the Dnieper. More than one Polish noble of high rank came to join them in their life of adventure and heroic poverty, and learnt from them lessons of courage and chivalry. All were equal, all brothers, and ate like the Spartans at a common table ; the offices of the *ataman* of the *camp*, and of the ten *atamans* of the *kourenes*, were obtained by election. In close union with the Cossacks of the Don, they were on land and sea the scourge of Islamism—the Barbary Christians of the Black Sea.

The ill-feeling between the aristocratic government of Poland and the orthodox population of Little Russia continued to increase. When the Polish nobles wished to treat the free husbandmen as serfs, they deserted in crowds to the countries of the Ukraine ; the boldest went to reinforce the hordes of the Dnieper Cossacks, or the *setcha* of the Zaporogues. The *Kobzars* (blind bards) hastened from village to village, singing the song of the *parvada* (justice) : “ In this world there is no justice, justice is not to be found here ; now justice lives under the laws of injustice. To-day justice is imprisoned by the nobles ; injustice is seated at her ease by the *pans* in the hall of honor. To-day justice stands near the threshold, and injustice is throned with the *pans*, and hydromel is poured out into cups for injustice. O justice ! our mother with the wings of an eagle, where shall we find thee ? May God send the man who will perform justice—days of prosperity.” These wandering poets sang so persistently, that the villages were emptied for the benefit of the Cossack camps, and justice ended by spreading her “ eagle’s wings,” and the men “ who were to perform justice ” showed themselves openly.

The orthodox religion persecuted by the Uniates, the threatened serfage, the insolence of the nobles, the robberies of the Jews, the register and its limitation, gave rise in the 16th and 17th centuries to a series of revolts, in which the Zaporogues, zealous adherents of orthodoxy, in spite of their brigandage, played a great part. Specially distinguished among the Cossack chiefs were Nalivaïko, Pavliouk, Ostranitsa, and many others, whose memory has been retained by the wandering singers of the Ukraine. The Government wished after each victory to give satisfaction to the Little Russians, but their authority was not sufficient to restrain either the exigencies of the *pans* or the intolerance of the Jesuits. To the horrible atrocities perpetrated on the insurgents, the latter retaliated at each insurrection by atrocities still greater. Each time the Government was victorious, and after each defeat the yoke pressed more heavily

on Little Russia. From these successes sprang a new danger for Poland. The eyes of the oppressed turned towards an orthodox sovereign—the Tzar of Russia ; the democratic populations of the Ukraine surmounted their repugnance to authority, on seeing the anarchic violence produced by Polish liberties. The Cossacks imagined they could conquer if they had an ally, and this ally was only to be found at Moscow.

CHAPTER XXI.

ALEXIS MIKHAILOVITCH (1645-1676) AND HIS SON FEODOR.

Early years of Alexis—Seditions—Khmelnitski—Conquest of Smolensk and the Eastern Ukraine—Stenko Razine—Ecclesiastical reforms of Nikon—The precursors of Peter the Great—Reign of Feodor Alexiévitch (1676-1682)

EARLY YEARS OF ALEXIS—SEDITIONS.

THE reign of Alexis Mikhaïlovitch may be summed up in three facts : the reaction against Poland and the union with Little Russia ; the struggle between the empire and the Cossacks ; the first attempt at religious reform, and the growth of European influence.

The new Tzar, the son of Michael and Eudoxia Strechnef, was good and easy, like his father. In his most violent rages, say the contemporary writers, he never allowed himself to go beyond kicks and cuffs. Though his mind was quicker than his father's, he gave himself up to anyone who took the trouble to influence him, even to the point of permitting himself to be ruled entirely ; unlike Ivan the Terrible, who, as we have seen, never long retained the same favorites. The extreme good-nature of the prince towards his relations had grave consequences. The people were oppressed with impunity, and were allowed to make no complaint. Alexis gave all his confidence to the boyard Morozof, who had taken charge of his education, and for thirty years had never left him. Morozof was proud, ambitious, and unscrupulous ; but learned, intelligent, and full of *finesse*. He excelled above all in disentangling the diplomatic complications bequeathed to him by the last reign. When Alexis was about to marry, Morozof did not disturb himself at seeing the young bride, Maria Ilinitchna Miloslavski, arrive with a whole new dynasty of relations and "men of the time." Instead of conspiring, as was usual, against the health or beauty of the Tzarina, he preferred to associate her family with his power, and take from them a surety. He married a sister of Maria Ilinitchna, and became the brother-in-law of his sovereign. He thus added

to the old title of favorite the new one of a kinsman by his wife and was strengthened in his power instead of being ejected from it. His influence with his master was greater than Richelieu's with Louis XIII., and he had the honor of beginning the revenge for the civil wars—the war with Poland.

Affairs in the interior were always too complicated for Alexis to be able to act very energetically in his relations with foreign Powers. The Russian people in the "time of the troubles" had unlearned the passive and resigned obedience that had formerly distinguished them; they knew no longer how to suffer uncomplainingly, and complaint soon led to revolt. We must also recognize the fact that they suffered more than formerly. Russia had come exhausted out of her civil wars, her agriculture and commerce were ruined, and her population diminished by emigrations and flight into the Cossack country. The state, which already began to feel the heavy expenses of a modern empire, which had to keep up an army, foreign troops, all the machinery of war, diplomacy, and an administration, saw itself forced to increase the taxes, which fell more heavily than ever on the thinned population. The Russian Government united the vices of the past with those of modern times; the corruption of its agents, the impunity of the favorites and their creatures, and the defective organization of justice, tried to the utmost the diminished patience of the people.

The year 1648, which saw the breaking-out of the Fronde in France, witnessed a terrible revolt in Moscow. The Tzar, powerless to stem the torrent, had to deliver the judge Plechtchéef over to the people, who dealt him summary justice. They then demanded the *okolnitchii* Trakhaniotes, who was likewise handed over to them; finally, their fury turned against Morozof, but the Tzar aided his brother-in-law to escape and take refuge in the convent of St. Cyril, whence he emerged quietly, like another Mazarin, when the public emotion was appeased. At Pskof the people rose on pretence that the Government had given money and corn to the *Niemtsi* (Germans)—that is, the Swedes—in accordance with the last treaty with this Power. Nummens, the Swede, was maltreated and imprisoned by the populace; the voievode and the Prince Volkonski, envoy of Moscow, expected to be put to death, and Archbishop Macarius was twice put in chains. From Pskof the revolt spread to Novgorod, where the Danish ambassador was attacked by the people, and left for dead in the streets. Archbishop Nikon, who tried to quell the rebellion by spiritual arms, was met by blows, and the *streltsi* made common cause with the people. Novgorod only submitted at the approach of Prince Khovanski at the head of his troops. These

troops were insufficient for the reduction of Pskof, which, behind her tried ramparts, prepared to resist the Muscovites, as she had resisted the Poles. The Pskovians made many successful sorties, and only capitulated under the promise of a general amnesty. Khovanski's troops were too few to enable him to refuse their conditions, and it was time to turn against external enemies the spirit of turbulence that the civil war had left in the masses.

Happily for Russia, Poland was still more profoundly agitated, and a revolt more considerable than those of Moscow, Pskof, or Novgorod, was to open to the Muscovite armies the entrance into the Ukraine.

KHMELNITSKI—CONQUEST OF SMOLENSK AND THE EASTERN UKRAINE—STENKO RAZINE.

We have seen that Little Russia, after many partial risings, only awaited a chief to break out into a general insurrection. This chief was found in Bogdan Khmelnitski,—a brave, clever, energetic, and even educated Cossack. He was owner of Soubotovo, near Tchigirine, and had been ill-treated and imprisoned by one of his neighbors, the Pole Tchaplinski, who also seized on Khmelnitski's son, a boy of ten years, and had him whipped in the public streets by his men. Khmelnitski could obtain no redress, either for himself or for his countrymen, against the Jews and the taxes. King Vladislas is said to have told him that the senators would not obey him, and, drawing a sword on paper, he handed it to Bogdan, observing, "This is the sign royal: if you have arms at your sides, resist those who insult and rob you; revenge your wrongs with your swords, and when the time comes you will help me against the pagans and the rebels of my kingdom." In the Polish anarchy of that date it is quite possible that the king may have held this language, and himself placed the sword in the hands of those whom he could not protect. Vladislas acknowledged Bogdan ataman of the Zaporogues, and in return Bogdan promised him the following year a body of 12,000 men.

Konetspolski, the gonfalonier of the Crown, and Potočki, tried to get rid of Bogdan, but he fled to the Zaporogues, and then passed over to the Khan of the Crimea, and returned to the heroes of the Dnieper with a Mussulman army. To Tatars and Zaporogues were soon added all the malcontents of Little Russia. Cossacks and people were alike determined to finish with it. Bogdan defeated the Polish generals Potočki and

Kalinovski; first at the "Yellow Waters," where the registered Cossacks abandoned the Polish banners after having stabbed their hetman Barabbas, and then at Korsoun, where the Poles lost 8000 men and 41 guns. The two generals fell into the hands of Bogdan, who delivered them up to the Khan of the Crimea. This double victory was the signal of a general insurrection. The orthodox clergy everywhere preached a crusade against the Jesuits and Uniates, and everywhere the peasants rose against the Polish or Polonized *pans*. The castles were demolished, the governors put to death. The Jews were in a sad strait. According to a popular song they only asked one thing—to be allowed "to escape in their shirts beyond the Vistula, abandoning their wealth to the Cossacks, and promising to teach their children to live honestly, and to covet no more the land of the Ukraine" (1648).

At this critical moment for Poland, King Vladislas died, and the Diet met at Warsaw for the new election, with all its accustomed turbulence. At this news the revolt in Little Russia increased. Wherever the nobles could defend themselves they gave back cruelty for cruelty. Jeremiah Vichnevetski, a powerful Polonized Russian lord, took a town belonging to him by assault, and exercised the most horrible reprisals. "Make them suffer," he cried to the executioners, "they must be made to feel death;" and his Cossack prisoners were impaled. The Cossacks, who in the absence of a king expected justice from no one, broke out more violently than ever. Khmelnitski pursued his course of success; he defeated the Poles near Pilava, and penetrated into Galicia as far as Lemberg, a rich, half-Jewish city, which had to pay a war indemnity. He was besieging Podmostié when he learned that John Casimir was elected in the place of his brother Vladislas. The new king at once sent envoys to negotiate his submission. The commissioners promised him satisfaction for his own grievances and those of the Cossacks on condition that the insurgents were abandoned to them. "Let the peasants return to their ploughs, and the Cossacks alone bear arms," said the Poles. Bogdan could neither abandon the Cossacks, who would not hear of the register, nor the country people, whose revolt had given him the victory, to be again placed, as was proposed, under the yoke of the *pans*. "The time for negotiations is past," he said to the commissioners; "I must free the whole Russian nation from the yoke of the Poles. At first I took up arms for my own injuries—now I fight for the true faith. The people will stand by me as far as Lublin, as far as Cracow; I will not betray them." The war continued, and Bogdan summoned the Khan of the

Crimea to his aid, and marched to meet the Polish army, commanded by the king in person. John Casimir found himself at Zborovo surrounded by the innumerable cavalry of the enemy. It would have been all over with him had he not purchased the defection of the Khan of the Crimea by a large sum, and the promise of an annual tribute. The Khan then retired, recommending his ally to the clemency of the king. Khmelnitski was driven to treat; the register was re-established, but the number of Cossacks enrolled was raised to 40,000; Bogdan was recognized hetman of Little Russia, and the town of Tchigirine assigned to him as a residence. It was agreed that there should be neither Crown troops nor Jews in the localities inhabited by the Cossacks, and no Jesuits where orthodox schools existed. The Metropolitan of Kiev was to have a seat in the senate of Warsaw.

What Bogdan had foreseen when he refused to treat really happened; the treaty could not be executed. The number of fighting men who had taken part in the election exceeded 40,000—were those in excess to be relegated to the work of the fields, to the seigniorial *corvée*? The people had helped the Cossacks, were they then to be surrendered to their *pans*? Bogdan soon found himself involved in inextricable difficulties: on one side he violated the treaty by enrolling more than 40,000 men in his register; on the other hand, if he executed it, he would have to begin by inflicting death on the rebels. He wore out his popularity in performing this ungrateful task. He preferred to take up arms, accusing the Poles of having broken certain clauses of the treaty. This war was less successful than the first; the Khan of the Crimea, who a second time came to the aid of the Cossacks, a second time betrayed them, and the Cossacks were beaten at Berestechko. The conditions of the Peace of the White Church (*Belaïa Tcherkof*) were more severe than those of the first peace. The number of registered Cossacks was reduced to 20,000; and 20,000 more, thus finding themselves excluded from the army, were thrown back upon the people. The greater part chose rather to emigrate to Russian soil, to wander to the Don, or to live by brigandage on the Volga.

A peace such as this was only a truce, and the Cossacks were certain to break it as soon as they could find an ally. Bogdan wrote to entreat the Tzar to take Little Russia under his protection. The Government of Alexis had sought for some time a pretext for rupture with Poland. The Polish Government, in writing to the Tzar, had not used the full royal title. Moscow never missed an opportunity for remonstrance; Warsaw assured them that it was pure inadvertence. "Then," said the

Russians, "an example must be made of the guilty." No example was made, and the diminution of title was used at every interchange of notes. The Court of Russia kept up this *casus belli*, waiting for a moment to profit by it ; this was found in the appeal of Khmelnitski. The Estates were convoked, and to them were reported the repeated insults to his Tzarian Majesty, and the persecution of the true faith in Little Russia. It was added, that the Little Russians, if repulsed by the Tzar, would have to place themselves under the protection of the Sultan. On this occasion the Estates declared for war. Alexis sent the boyard Boutourline to receive the oath of the hetman, the army, and the people of Little Russia.

It was time that the Tzar decided. Bogdan, betrayed a third time by the Khan, had been defeated at Ivanetz on the Dniester, but on the receipt of the news from Moscow he called the General Assembly at Peréiaslavl to announce to them the fact. "Noble colonels ; *esaouls*, and centurions, and you army of Zaporogues, and you orthodox Christians," cried the hetman, "you see it is no longer possible to live without a prince. Now we have four to choose from : the Sultan of Turkey, the Khan of the Crimea, the King of Poland, and the Tzar of orthodox Great Russia, whom for six years we have not ceased to entreat to become our Tzar and lord. The Sultan is a Mussulman ; we know what our brethren the orthodox Greeks suffered at his hands. The Khan is also a Mussulman, and our alliances with him have brought us nothing but trouble. It is needless to remind you of what the Polish *pans* have made us endure. But the Christian and orthodox Tzar is of the same religion as ourselves. We shall not find a better support than his. Whoever thinks otherwise may go where he likes—the way is open." The air rang with applause, the oath demanded by Boutourline was taken, and an embassy set out for Moscow, to ask the maintenance of Ukranian liberties. The Tzar freely granted all their conditions : the army was to be raised permanently to the number of 60,000 ; the Cossacks were to elect their hetman ; the rights of the *schliachta* and the towns were to be maintained ; the administration of the towns and the imposition of taxes were to be entrusted to the natives ; the hetman was to have the right of receiving foreign ambassadors, but was to signify the fact to the Tzar ; and he was forbidden, without special leave, to receive the envoys of Turkey and Poland.

In May 1654 the Tzar Alexis solemnly announced in the *Ouspienski Sobor* that he had resolved to march in person against his enemy the King of Poland. He commanded that in this campaign no occasion should be given for the generals

to dispute precedence. The Polish voïevodes affirm that on this occasion "Moscow made war in quite a new way, and conquered the people by the clemency and gentleness of the Tzar." This humanity, so well timed in a war of deliverance, contributed greatly to the success of the Muscovites. Polotsk, Mohilef, and all the towns of White Russia opened their gates one after the other, and Smolensk only resisted five weeks (1654). The following year the Prince Tcherkasski defeated the hetman Radziwill and began the conquest of Lithuania proper; Wilna, the capital, Grodno, and Kobno, fell successively. During this time Khmelnitski and the Muscovites invaded Southern Poland and took Lublin. All the East resounded with the Russian victories: it was said at Moscow that the Greeks prayed for the Tzar and refused obedience to any but an orthodox emperor, and that the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia implored Alexis to take them under his protection.

Poland seemed reduced to the last extremity; and there was still a third enemy to fall on her. Charles X., King of Sweden, arrived and captured Posen, Warsaw, and Cracow, the three Polish capitals. This conflict of ambitions was, however, the salvation of the *pospolite*; the Swede threatened the Russian conquests, and claimed Lithuania. He entered into relations with Khmelnitski, who forgot the oath he had taken; it was Charles XII, and Mazeppa enacted half a century before. The Tzar Alexis feared he had only shaken Poland to strengthen Sweden, and would not risk the reunion of these two formidable monarchies under the same sceptre. He hastened to negotiate with the Poles, who promised to elect him after the death of their present king; then he turned his arms against Sweden. The latter was the heir on the Baltic of the Livonian Order. Alexis trod in the steps of Ivan the Terrible; like him, his successes were rapid, but they as rapidly evaporated in smoke. He took Düna-burg and Kokenhusen, two old castles of the Knights; but the Russians besieged Riga in vain, and succeeded no better at Oréhek or Kexholm. The occupation of Dorpat terminated the first campaign (1656); after that, hostilities languished, and Alexis concluded a truce of twenty years, which secured him Dorpat and a part of his conquests. The affairs of Poland and Little Russia became, however, so terribly complicated, that the truce became the Peace of Cardis, by which Alexis abandoned all Livonia (1661).

The hetman Khmelnitski had more than once given his new sovereign cause for discontent. In spite of his oath, he had negotiated with Sweden and Poland. In fact, now that he had got rid of his former master, he did not want to become the

vassal of a new sovereign, but to create a third Slav State between Poland and Russia, and to remain its independent sovereign. This hope was shared by the Cossacks. They had revolted against Poland because the king was weak and could not make himself respected by the aristocracy; they feared the Tzar of Muscovy would be only too strong. All government, all authority, was a burden to the free Cossack.

Bogdan, however, kept up the appearances of submission. His death was the signal of disorder. Vygovski, chancellor of the Cossack army, took the mace of the hetman, but Martin Pouchkar, the *polkovnik* of Pultowa, and the Zaporogues, refused to recognize him. Vygovski, Pouchkar, and the Zaporogue ataman denounced each other at Moscow. Vygovski caused Pouchkar to be assassinated, and made advances to Poland, to secure himself an ally against the Tzar; he also applied to the Khan of the Crimea, and defeated Prince Troubetskoï at Kono-top; but after the retreat of the Khan, the majority of the Cossacks declared for Moscow, and obliged the rebel to fly to Poland. George Khmelnitski, son of the liberator, was elected hetman.

The troubles of Little Russia revived the courage of the Poles. They succeeded in expelling the Swedes, and refused to execute the treaty of Moscow. The war recommenced, and the Russians were unfortunate. The very extremity of their misfortunes seemed to have bound the Poles together. After some slight successes, one Russian army was defeated at Polonka by the voïevode Tcharnetski, the conqueror of the Swedes; another, commanded by the boyard Cheremetief and the hetman George Khmelnitski, allowed itself to be surrounded near Tchoudnovo by the Tatars and Poles, and being deserted by the Cossacks, was forced to lay down its arms. In the north they lost Wilna and the whole of Lithuania.

Khmelnitski, had become a monk. Teteria, his successor, had done homage to the king; but the country on the left bank of the Dnieper refused to recognize him as hetman, and elected Brioukhovetski, who was devoted to Russia. John Casimir crossed the river, and was on the point of reconquering the whole Ukraine; but having been repulsed at the siege of Gloukhof, he lost all his best troops through hunger and cold in the steppes of the desert. The two empires were exhausted by a war which had already lasted ten years. The whole of Poland had been overrun by Swedes, Russians, and Cossacks. Russia had no longer money with which to pay her army, and she had recourse to a forced currency, by which a bronze coinage was given the fictitious value of silver. Everywhere were heard

bitter complaints of the famine. At Moscow a riot broke out against the Miloslavskis, the kinsmen of the Tzarina, and the multitude marched to the palace of Kolomenskoé to drag them out by force. The soldiers had to fire on the rebels, and 7000 of them were killed or taken.

Notwithstanding all this, neither the Poles nor the Russians would lay down arms without being assured the possession of all that they had conquered with so many sacrifices. Poland was now attacked by two new misfortunes—the revolt of Prince Lubomirski, who had some grievance against the queen, and the death of Teteria, whose successor, Dorochenko, went over to the Sultan, and by so doing involved the Government in a war with both Turks and Tatars. It was necessary to treat with Russia, and a thirteen years' truce was concluded at Androusovo. Alexis renounced Lithuania, but kept Smolensk and Kief on the right bank of the Dnieper, and all the Little Russian left bank (1667).

The treaty with Poland did not give peace to Little Russia. Neither the Dnieper Cossacks nor the Don Cossacks could exist under the obedience and regularity essential to a modern State. The more Russia became civilized and centralized, the more she became separated from the men of the Steppe; the further the frontier of this civilized Russia advanced to the South, the nearer approached the inevitable conflict. The reign of Alexis, troubled at first by the revolts of the Muscovite cities, was now vexed by the revolts of the Cossacks.

The hetman Brioukhovetski was a devoted adherent of Russia, but he was surrounded by many malcontents. As usual, the people had not got all they had hoped by the revolution; he saw, however, in the absolute authority of the Tzar, a bulwark against the Little Russian oligarchy of the *starchina* and the *polkovniks*, and against the turbulence of the Cossacks. "God," he said to the latter, "has delivered us from you; you can no longer pillage and devastate our houses." The Cossacks and the *starchina*, or in other words, the military and aristocratic party, were still more displeased to see the Muscovite voïevodes establish themselves in the towns. The Republic of the Zaporogues already feared that it had given itself a master. Methodius, Metropolitan of Kief, encouraged the resistance of a party of the clergy who wished to remain subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople, and not to be transferred to the Patriarch of Moscow. It was Methodius who organized the rebellion; he made advances to the hetman, who opened a negotiation with Dorochenko, the ataman of the right bank, who promised to resign his office and to recognize as chief of Little Russia the

man who would deliver her. The weak Brioukhovetski allowed himself to be persuaded, and at the Assembly of Gadatch, in 1668, it was decided to revolt against the Tzar, and to take the oath to the Sultan, as the men of the right bank had already done. Two voïevodes and 120 Muscovites were put to death. A short time after, Brioukhovetski was slain by order of Dorochenko, who became hetman of both banks. But of the two parties which divided Little Russia, the party of independence or the Polish and Turkish Party, and the party of Moscow, the latter was predominant on the left bank. It did not hesitate to make terms with the Tzar, and, at the price of a few concessions, a second time submitted to him entirely. Mnogogrechnyi, the new hetman, took up his abode at Batourine.

The right bank had no reason to pride itself on the policy to which it was committed by Dorochenko. It became the theatre of a terrible war between Turkey and Poland, and was cruelly ravaged by Mahomet IV. Abandoned for a moment by the weak King Michael Vichnevetski, it was conquered by his energetic successor, John Sobieski. The left, or Muscovite bank, had less to suffer, although the Sultan claimed it equally as his own possession, but the inhabitants had only to fight with their old enemies the Tatars.

The Cossacks of the Don at this period were, on the whole, tolerably quiet; but one of their number, Stenko Razine, overturned all Eastern Russia. The immigration of Cossacks of the Dnieper, expelled from their native land by war, had created a great famine in these poor plains of the Don. Stenko assembled some of these starved adventurers, and formed a scheme for the capture of Azof; but on being hindered by the *starchina* of the Dontsi, he turned towards the East, towards the Volga and the Jaïk (Oural). His reputation was wide-spread; he was said to be a magician, against whom neither sabre, balls, nor bullets could prevail, and the brigands of all the country crowded to his banner. He swept the Caspian, and ravaged the shores of Persia. The Russian Government, powerless to crush him, offered him a pardon if he would surrender his guns and boats stolen from the Crown. He accepted the offer; but his exploits, his wealth acquired by pillage, and his princely liberality created him an immense party among the lower classes, and among the Cossacks and even the *streltsi* of the towns. The lands of the Volga were always ready for a social revolution; hence the success of Razine, and later of Pougatchef. There brigands were popular and respected; honest merchants, come to the Don for trading purposes, and learning that Stenko had begun the career of a pirate, did not hesitate to join him.

In 1670, Stenko having spent all the money he had gained by pillage, went up the Don with an army of vagabonds, and thence crossed to the Volga. All the country rose on the approach of a chief already so famous. The inhabitants of Tzaritsyne opened their gates to him. A flotilla was sent against him, but the sailors and the *streltsi* surrendered, and betrayed to him their commanders. Astrakhan revolted, and delivered up its two voievodes, one of whom was thrown from the top of a bell-tower. Ascending the Volga, he took Saratof and Samara, and raised the country of Nijni-Novgorod, Tambof, and Pensa. Everywhere in the Russia of the Volga the serfs revolted against their masters—the Tatars, Tchouvaches, Mordvians, and Tcheremisses against the domination of Russia. It was a fearful revolution. In 1671 Stenko Razine was defeated, near Simbirsk, by George Baratinski. His prestige was lost; he was pursued into the steppes, arrested on the Don, and sent to Moscow, where he was executed (1671).

His death did not immediately check the rebellion. The brigands still continued to hold the country. At Astrakhan, Vassili Ouss governed despotically, and threw the archbishop from a belfry. Finally, however, all these imitators of Razine were killed or captured, the Volga freed, and the Don became as peaceful as the Dnieper.

ECCLESIASTICAL REFORMS OF NICON—THE PRECURSORS OF PETER THE GREAT.

If Alexis, father of Peter the Great, was not himself a reformer, his whole reign was a preparation for reform. Who can tell how much Peter owed to the example of his father—and of his mother Natalia, the pupil of Matvéef—to the ideas of Nicon, Polotski and Nachtechokine? Nicon was the son of a simple peasant of the Government of Nijni-Novgorod. The Church drew the young man from obscurity, and gave him little by little a place among those who were great. A priest at Moscow, a recluse renowned for his piety on the banks of the White Lake, and later an archimandrite of the *Novospasski Monastyr*, he was at last nominated Metropolitan of Novgorod, where we have seen him appease a sedition at the peril of his life. The Tzar loved and admired him, and made him Patriarch, and allowed him to take the title of Chief Noble and Sovereign, once borne by Philarete. A man who had raised himself to such a height from such a depth was not capable of mastering his ambition. Proud and imperious, he made

himself a multitude of enemies among the clergy and the nobles, and despised them.

Nicon took up the correction of the holy books began by Dionysius of Troïtsa. A number of gross mistakes and even interpolations had slipped into the Slavonic manuscripts, and thence passed into print. On being informed of these mistakes by some Greek prelates who had come to Moscow, Nicon assembled a council, where it was decided that the printed books must be corrected according to the ancient Slavonic or Greek manuscripts. Nicon collected these texts from all parts, and, with the help of learned ecclesiastics, set to work. This attempt, which denotes a truly modern and scientific spirit, was the cause of a schism. To the people, and to a large party of the clergy and monks, everything in the holy books, even the mistakes of the copyists, was sacred. Certain altered or interpolated texts had in their turn consecrated usages opposed to those generally followed by the Church. The sectaries relying on these texts forbade the beard to be shaven under the penalty of committing a mortal sin, and ordered the sign of the cross to be made with two fingers and not with three, and the liturgy with seven *prospheures* and not with five. Fanatics were ready to die sooner than read *Iisous* for *Isous* (Jesus). Besides those whom an excessive respect for ancient texts and customs drove into schism, we must reckon true heretics, who adopted falsified or apocryphal renderings, and who, after having been for long hidden and ignored in the bosom of the orthodox Church, were all at once unmasked. Thus the reforms of Nicon brought to light the *raskol* latent in the Russian Church, with all its multiplicity of sects—Old Believers, Drinkers of Milk, Champions of the Spirit, Flagellants, Skoptsi, or voluntary eunuchs, and many others, whose origin may be traced to Alexandrine Gnosticism, Persian Manichæism, and perhaps even to Hindu Pantheism (1654).

The Tzar energetically supported his patriarch. He diligently sought out the *religious madmen* (*iourodivië*) and the wandering prophets who led the people astray, disgraced the men and women of his Court who persisted in crossing themselves with two fingers, imprisoned rebellious monks and ecclesiastics, and hunted down assemblies of non-conformists. One of Nicon's enemies was burnt alive. The most curious episode of this religious war was the revolt of the holy monasteries of the White Sea. The monks, passionately attached to their ancient customs, won over the *streltsi* and the *diëti-boyarskië* who formed the garrison of the fortified convent of Solovetski. An army had to be sent against them (1668), but the monastery only capit-

ulated after a siege of eight years. It was then taken by assault, and the rebels hung.

At the same time that Alexis enabled Nikon to subdue his religious foes, he delivered him up to his political enemies. The proud and imperious character of the Patriarch had ended by rendering him insupportable to the Tzar. It was a reproduction of the rivalry of the Patriarch Keroularios and the Emperor Isaac Comnenus in the 11th century (Byzantine). The courtiers did their best to foment this misunderstanding. Nikon, instead of combating their arts, treated them with disdain. At last his enemies put upon him a public insult, which made him beside himself. In the midst of the tears of the people, he solemnly placed his pontifical insignia on the altar, and retired to a convent he had founded near Moscow. This was to relinquish the field of battle to his adversaries. He expected that the Tzar would beseech him to resume his office, but the Tzar did not trouble himself about his old favorite. His voluntary exile lasted eight years (1658-1666), when a council was assembled on the occasion of the arrival of the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria at Moscow. The council approved of Nikon's reforms and his corrections of the sacred books; but for his voluntary desertion of the patriarchate, his audacious attacks on the Tzar and the bishops, and the abuse of his power over the inferior clergy, he was condemned to be imprisoned in a monastery on the White Lake.

By the side of Nikon among the reformers, we must mention Simeon Polotski, tutor of the sons of Alexis, who published against the *raskolniks* the 'Rod of Government;' wrote light verses, panegyrics, sermons, dramatic compositions, maxims, and examples drawn from the Scriptures, and never ceased to remind the Tzar of a French king. "There was once," he wrote, "a King of France called Francis I. As he loved literature and science, though his ancestors hated them and lived in ignorance like barbarians, the sons of illustrious families sought instruction, in order to please the monarch. Thus knowledge spread through the country, for it is the custom of subjects to imitate the prince; all love what he loves. Happy is the kingdom whose king gives a good example to all!" Simeon was a White Russian; others, like Slavinetski and Satanovski, who were charged by Nikon with the translation of foreign books, were natives of Little Russia, of Kief the learned. These two western divisions of Russia served as a link between Muscovy and Europe.

Two writers of this epoch merit special mention. Gregory Kotochikhine, under-secretary of the *Prikaz of Embassies*, was obliged, in consequence of a quarrel with the voïevode Dol-

gorouki, to fly first into Poland and then into Sweden, where he wrote a curious treatise, called 'Russia under the reign of Alexis Mikhaïlovitch,' which appeared about 1666. He does not concern himself either with the clergy or the inferior classes, but gives a frightful picture of the ignorance, sensuality, and brutality of the boyards and nobles. So graphic is it that, as Polévoï remarks, we are forced involuntarily to ask, "In what state could the lower orders have been?" He speaks with horror and disgust of the administration of justice, compares foreign institutions with those of his own country to the advantage of the former, and regrets that his compatriots did not send their sons to be educated abroad.

Iouri Krijanitch, a Servian by birth and a Catholic priest, was one of those learned Slavs who now came into Russia to seek employment for their talents. He had proposed to himself three aims in coming to Moscow: 1. To elevate the Slavonic tongue by compiling a grammar and a lexicon, so that the Slavs might learn to speak and write correctly; and to place a larger number of words and phrases at their disposal, so that they might be able to express all the thoughts common to the human mind, and also political and general ideas. 2. To write the history of the Slavs, and to refute the falsehoods and calumnies of the Germans. 3. To unmask the tricks and sophisms made use of by foreign nations to deceive the Slavs. In his work entitled 'The Russian Empire in the middle of the 17th Century, dedicated to Alexis Mikhaïlovitch, and lately republished by M. Bezsonof, he touches on all points of manners and customs, politics, and political economy. Like Kotochikhine, he attacks ignorance and barbarism, and advocates instruction, study, and civilization, as being the only remedies for the misfortunes of Russia.

Krijanitch is the first of the Slavophiles, or the Pan-Slavists, as they are at present called. He appeals to all the Slav nations—"Borysthenites, or Little Russians, Poles, Lithuanians, and Serbs. He advises the Russians to mistrust equally Germans and Greeks. It was probably his philippics against the Greek clergy established in Russia that caused him in 1660 to be exiled to Tobolsk.

Ordine-Nachtchokine, son of a gentleman of Pskof, distinguished himself as a diplomatist in the negotiations for the Peace of Androusovo, which gave Kief and Smolensk to Russia. Summoned to take part in the councils of the Tzar, he applied his activity to all branches of the administration; to the army, that needed reform; to commerce, that must be freed from the interference of the voïevodes; to diplomacy, for which men skilled

in languages, representatives worthy of the Court of Russia, must be found. His object was to make Muscovy the centre of Asiatic and European trade ; he instituted an Armenian Company for the purchase of Persian silks, dreamed of a fleet on the Caspian, constructed the first Russian vessel on the Oka, had extracts from foreign news-letters regularly translated for the enlightenment of the sovereign, and thus founded, though for the Tzar's benefit alone, the Russian press.

As he had necessarily to praise the usages of foreign countries, and to find fault with those of Russia, Nachtchokine could not but make himself many enemies. His morality was equal to his talent : incorruptible, indefatigable, and master of himself, he was the first great European that Russia had produced. While praising Europe he still remained a Russian. In his old age he became a monk.

When Nachtchokine had to leave his post, the boyard Matvéef, a familiar friend of Alexis, was appointed his successor. One day, when the Tzar was dining with Matvéef, he noticed a young girl who was serving at table, and who pleased him by her modest and intelligent air. This was a motherless girl, Natalia Narychkine, to whom her uncle Matvéef had been a second father. "I have found a husband for her," said the Tzar to Matvéef some days after. This husband was the Tzar himself. The marriage drew closer still the ties that bound him to Matvéef. Now the latter was, like Nachtchokine, full of European ideas. His house was furnished and ornamented according to Western notions. His chosen guests did not give themselves up to the orgies authorized by national custom ; they behaved as courteously as if they were in a French *salon*. His Scotch wife, a Hamilton by birth, was the only lady of the Court who did not paint herself, and, instead of keeping herself secluded in her apartments, took part in the conversation of men. We may conceive the influence of the boyard and his wife on their adopted daughter ; and is it surprising that Natalia was the first Russian princess who drew back the curtains of her litter, and allowed her face to be seen by her subjects ? Matvéef protected foreign artists,—“masters in perspective writings,” as they were called. In the German *Slobode* of Moscow he established a sort of dramatic academy, where twenty-five merchants' sons learnt to act comedies. The Tzar acquired a taste for theatrical entertainments. Likatchof, his envoy at the Court of Florence, wrote to his sovereign enthusiastic letters full of the marvels which he had seen at the opera—of palaces which came and went, of a sea that rose and fell and filled itself with fish, of men who rode on monsters of the deep, or pursued each other into the clouds.

Moscow undertook to rival Florence. In a wooden theatre, ballets and dramas, adapted from the Bible, were represented before the Tzar: 'Joseph sold by his Brethren,' 'The Prodigal Son,' and 'Esther,' which preceded that of Racine by seventeen years. At Moscow, as at St. Cyr, the piece gave scope to many allusions. Here Esther was Natalia Narychkine; Mordecai was Matvéef, the protector of her youth; and the *vrémianchtchik* Haman, who was hung on the *tchélobitié* of Queen Esther, was, no doubt, Khitrovo, the former favorite. These pieces were enlivened by somewhat rough pleasantries. In 'Holofernes,' when Judith has cut off the head of the Assyrian voïevode, the servant cries "Here is a poor man who will be much astonished, on awaking, to find his head carried away!"

During this reign, when Russia was trying to assimilate herself to Europe, diplomacy naturally took rapid strides. Muscovy had entered into more or less close relations with all the Courts of the West.

In 1645, Alexis sent Gerasimus Doktourof to notify his accession to the King of England, Charles I. The Russian envoy arrived in England in the midst of the Revolution. Being received at Gravesend with great honors and the firing of guns by the company of merchants that traded with Russia, he at once inquired "where was the king?" They replied, they did not know exactly where he was, because for three or four years there had been a great civil war, and instead of the king they had now the Parliament, composed of deputies from all the orders, who governed London as well as the kingdoms of England and Scotland. "Our war with the king," said the merchants, "began for the sake of religion, when he married the daughter of the King of France. She, being a Papist, persuaded the king into various superstitious practices; it was by her counsel that the king instituted archbishops and called in the Jesuits. Many people, in order to follow the example of the king, made themselves Papists too. Besides this, the king wished to govern the kingdom according to his own will, as do the sovereigns of other States. But here, from time immemorial, the country has been free: the early kings could settle nothing: it was the Parliament, the men who were elected, that governed. The king began to rule after his own will, but the Parliament would not allow that, and many archbishops and Jesuits were executed. The king, seeing that the Parliament intended to act according to its own wish, as it had done from all time, and not at all according to the royal will, left London with the queen, without being expelled by anyone, saying that they were going away into other towns. Once out of London, he sent the queen to France,

and began to fight us, but the Parliament was the stronger. The Parliament is composed of two *palaty* (chambers): in one of them sit the boyards, in the other the men elected by the commons—the *sloujilé lioudi* and the merchants. Five hundred men sit in the parliament, and one orator speaks for all.”

These lessons in the English Constitution could not penetrate the brain of the Russian envoy. He only recognized the king, and persisted, according to the text of his instructions, in trying to deliver his letters of credit to the king himself. “Hast thou a letter from thy sovereign, and a mission to the Parliament?” they asked him. He replied, “I have neither a letter nor a mission to the Parliament. Let the Parliament send me immediately before the king, and give me an escort, carriages, and provisions. Let the Parliament present me to him—it is to him that I will speak.” His demand was naturally refused, and he wished instantly to leave for Holland, but this was not allowed.

The following year Charles I. was brought a prisoner into London. Doktourof insisted on being presented to him. His request was ill-timed. “You cannot be brought before him,” they said to him; “he no longer governs anything.” Doktourof then refused a dinner given to him by the Russian Company, and only yielded when the dinner was served at his own house. The Parliament, however, did not wish to interrupt the friendly relations with Russia.

Doktourof was summoned before the House of Lords on the 13th of June. At his entrance all the “boyards” took off their hats, and Lord Manchester, the “chief boyard,” rose. Then Doktourof, to the general consternation, made the following speech:—“I am sent by my sovereign to your king, Charles King of England. I have been sent as a courier (*gonets*) to negotiate important affairs of State, which offer great advantages to both sovereigns and to all Christendom, and may help to maintain peace and concord. It is the 13th of June, and, since I arrived in London on the 26th of November last, I have never ceased to show you the letter of the Tzar and to beg you to allow me to go before the king. You have kept me in London without permitting me either to have an interview with the king or to return to the Tzar; and yet in all the neighboring countries the route is free to all ambassadors, envoys, and couriers of the Tzar.”

Manchester replied that they would explain to the Tzar by letter their reasons for acting thus. They gave him a chair, and the English “boyards” likewise seated themselves; and he began to look about the House, of which he gives a minute description in his report. He was then conducted to the House of

Commons, and the dignitaries came to meet him preceded by the royal sceptre. He renewed his declarations, and then retired ceremoniously. In June 1646 he left England much discontented. Alexis could understand no more of the English Revolution than his envoy. He maintained, like Catherine II., the cause of kings against the liberty of the subjects. In May 1647 he received at Moscow Nawtingall, envoy of Charles I., who denounced the captivity of the king, and said Charles would see with pleasure the English Company deprived of its privileges, and everyone allowed to trade freely with Russia. Alexis listened to his request, and granted him, as aid to the king 30,000 *tchetverts* of corn, out of the 300,000 that were asked of him. But the English merchants settled in Russia accused Nawtingall of imposture, saying that the king's letter was apocryphal, and that the dog he had brought as a present to Alexis had never been bought by Charles I. Nawtingall was expelled in disgrace, and avenged himself by accusing his compatriots of a project of attacking Arkhangel, and of pillaging the Russian merchants. His honors as ambassador were then given back to him, but he quitted Russia.

When Alexis heard of the execution of Charles I., he published the oukase of June 1649, which, as a punishment to the regicides, forbade the English merchants to live in the cities of the interior, and confined them to Arkhangel. The Tzar furnished help in money and corn to Charles, Prince of Wales, who in 1660 became Charles II., and resumed relations with him when he ascended the throne of the Stuarts.

At the opening of the war with Poland, it occurred to Alexis to notify the fact to the sovereigns of the West. In 1653 he sent to Louis XIV. a certain Matchékine, who was also presented to Anne of Austria. In 1668 Peter Potemkine was accredited first to the Court of Spain, and then to that of France. It was just after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and it was not difficult for Russia to guess that the war would soon recommence. The object of the embassy was to induce Louis XIV. to enter into regular relations with Russia, and to send French vessels to Arkhangel. Potemkine had conferences with Colbert and the six merchant guilds of Paris. But the results of this embassy were hardly greater than those of the preceding one. The account of Potemkine contains some curious details and quaint reflections on the Spain and France of the 17th century, but is chiefly occupied with difficulties raised by him on questions of etiquette.

REIGN OF FEODOR ALEXIEVITCH (1676-1682).

On the death of Alexis, his eldest son Feodor succeeded to the crown. The Miloslavskis, Feodor's maternal relatives, profited by his accession to ruin their enemy, Matvéef who was accused of magic, deprived of his property and his title of boyard, and banished to Poustozersk. In this reign the Little Russian question received a solution. The hetman Samoïlovitch and Prince Romodanoviski defeated Dorochenko, and obliged him to resign the office of ataman. They then had to fight the Turks and Tatars, who twice invaded the Ukraine and advanced to Tchigirine.

The country, according to a contemporary account, was covered with ruined towns and castles, and heaps of human bones that whitened in the sun. Finally the Sultan concluded at Bakhtchi-Seraï a truce of twenty years, which ceded to Russia Zaporogia and the Ukraine. In 1681 Feodor sent a new embassy to Louis XIV.; his envoy being the son of the old Potemkine, who managed, according to the diplomatic historian Flasans, to give by his own wisdom and learning a favorable idea of the nation which he represented.

It was in this reign that an assembly was held of the higher clergy and the boyards, to legislate on the question of precedence (*miestnichestvo*), which continued to be one of the plagues of Russia. The assembly commanded that there should be no more disputes, and in its presence and that of the Tzar the 'Books of Rank' were solemnly burnt. In future whoever "disputed" was to be deprived of his nobility and his wealth.

In order to defend the orthodox Church against the heresies of the West, and to connect it more closely with the Eastern Church, Feodor founded the Slavo-Græco-Latin Academy of Moscow. Greek and Latin, Christian philosophy and theology, were taught there. The brothers Likhoudi were brought from Greece to be professors there. This school, although ecclesiastical, was an advance on all other establishments of the kind in Russia, and produced some brilliant pupils. Among them we may mention the mathematician Magnitski under Peter the Great, and the historian Bantych-Kamenski and the Metropolitan Plato under Catharine II. The school was afterwards transferred to the Monastery of Troitsa.

CHAPTER XXII.

PETER THE GREAT: EARLY YEARS (1682-1709).

Regency of Sophia (1682-1689)—Peter I.—Expeditions against Azof (1695-1696)—First journey to the West (1697)—Revolt and destruction of the *streitsi* Contest with the Cossacks: revolt of the Don (1706); Mazeppa (1709).

REGENCY OF SOPHIA (1682-1689) PETER I.

ALEXIS MIKHAILOVITCH had by his first wife, Maria Miloslavski, two sons (Feodor and Ivan) and six daughters; by his second wife Natalia Narychkine, one son (who became Peter I.) and two daughters. As he was twice married, and the kinsmen of each wife had, according to custom, surrounded the throne, there existed two factions in the palace, which were brought face to face by the death of Feodor. The Miloslavskis had on their side the claim of seniority, the number of royal children left by Maria, and above all, the fact that Ivan was the elder of the two surviving sons; but unluckily for them, Ivan was notoriously imbecile both in body and mind. On the side of the Narychkines was the interest excited by the precocious intelligence of Peter, and the position of legal head of all the royal family, which, according to Russian law, gave to Natalia Narychkine her title of "Tzarina Dowager." Both factions had for some time taken their measures and recruited their partisans. Who should succeed Feodor? Was it to be the son of the Miloslavski, or the son of the Narychkine? The Miloslavskis were first defeated on legal grounds. Taking the incapacity of Ivan into consideration, the boyards and the Patriarch Joachim proclaimed the young Peter, then nine years old, Tzar. The Narychkines triumphed: Natalia became Tzarina-Regent, recalled from exile her foster-father, Matvéef, and surrounded herself by her brothers and uncles.

The Miloslavskis' only means of revenge lay in revolt, but they were without a head; for it was impossible for Ivan to take the lead. The eldest of his six sisters was thirty-two years of age, the youngest nineteen; the most energetic of them was

Sophia, who was twenty-five. These six princesses saw themselves condemned to the dreary destiny of the Russian *tsarevni*, and were forced to renounce all hopes of marriage, with no prospects but to grow old in the seclusion of the *terem*, subjected by law to the authority of a stepmother. All their youth had to look forward to was the cloister. They, however, only breathed in action; and though imperial etiquette and Byzantine manners, prejudices, and traditions forbade them to appear in public, even Byzantine traditions offered them models to follow. Had not Pulcheria, daughter of an emperor, reigned at Constantinople in the name of her brother, the incapable Theodosius? Had she not contracted a nominal marriage with the brave Marcian, who was her sword against the barbarians? Here was the ideal that Sophia could propose to herself; to be a Tzardiévitsa, a woman-emperor. To emancipate herself from the rigorous laws of the *terem*, to force the "twenty-seven locks" of the song, to raise the *fata* that covered her face, to appear in public and meet the looks of men, needed both energy, cunning, and patience that could wait and be content to proceed by successive efforts. Sophia's first step was to appear at Feodor's funeral, though it was not the custom for any but the widow and the heir to be present. There her litter encountered that of Natalia Narychkine, and her presence forced the Tzarina-Mother to retreat. She surrounded herself with a court of educated men, who publicly praised her, encouraged and excited her to action. Simeon Polotski and Silvester Medviédef wrote verses in her honor, recalled to her the example of Pulcheria and Olga, compared her to the virgin Queen Elizabeth of England, and even to Semiramis; we might think we were listening to Voltaire addressing Catherine II. They played on her name Sophia (wisdom), and declared she had been endowed with the quality as well as the title. Polotski dedicated to her the 'Crown of Faith,' and Medviédef his 'Gifts of the Holy Spirit.' The *terem* offered the strangest contrasts. There acted they the 'Malade Imaginaire,' and the audience was composed of the heterogeneous assembly of popes, monks, nuns, and old pensioners that formed the Courts of the ancient Tzarinas. In this shifting crowd there were some useful instruments of intrigue. The old pensioners, while telling their rosaries, served as emissaries between the palace and the town, carried messages and presents to the turbulent *streltsi*, and arranged matters between the Tzarian ladies and the soldiers. Sinister rumors were skilfully disseminated through Moscow: Feodor, the eldest son of Alexis, had died, the victim of conspirators; the same lot was doubtless reserved for Ivan. What

was to become of the poor *tzarévi*, of the blood of kings? At last it was publicly announced that a brother of Natalia Narychkine had seized the crown and seated himself on the throne, and that Ivan had been strangled. Love and pity for the son of Alexis, and the indignation excited by the news of the usurpation, immediately caused the people of Moscow to revolt, and the ringleaders cleverly directed the movement. The tocsin sounded from 400 churches of the "holy city"; the regiments of the *streltsi* took up arms and marched, followed by an immense crowd, to the Kremlin, with drums beating, matches lighted, and dragging cannon behind them. Natalia Narychkine had only to show herself on the Red Staircase, accompanied by her son Peter, and Ivan who was reported dead. Their mere appearance sufficed to contradict all the calumnies. The *streltsi* hesitated, seeing they had been deceived. A clever harangue of Matvéef, who had formerly commanded them, and the exhortations of the Patriarch, shook them further. The revolt was almost appeased; the Miloslavskis had missed their aim, for they had not yet succeeded in putting to death the people of whom they were jealous. Suddenly Prince Michael Dolgorouki, chief of the *prikaz* of the *streltsi*, began to insult the rioters in the most violent language. This ill-timed harangue awoke their fury; they seized Dolgorouki, and flung him from the top of the Red Staircase on to their pikes. They stabbed Matvéef, under the eyes of the Tzarina; then they sacked the palace, murdering all who fell into their hands. Athanasius Narychkine, a brother of Natalia, was thrown from a window on to the points of their lances. The following day the *émeute* recommenced; they tore from the arms of the Tzarina her father Cyril, and her brother Ivan; the latter was tortured and sent into a monastery. Historians show us Sophia interceded for the victims on her knees, but an understanding between the rebels and the Tzarévna did exist; the *streltsi* obeyed orders. The following days were consecrated to the purifying of the palace and the administration, and the seventh day of the revolt they sent their commandant, the prince-boyard Khovanski, to declare that they would have two Tzars—Ivan at the head, and Peter as coadjutor; and if this were refused, they would again rebel. The boyards of the *douma* deliberated on this proposal, and the greater number of the boyards were opposed to it. In Russia the absolute power had never been shared, but the orators of the *terem* cited many examples both from sacred and profane history: Pharaoh and Joseph, Arcadius and Honorius, Basil II. and Constantine VIII.; and the best of all the arguments were the pikes of the *streltsi* (1682).

Sophia had triumphed : she reigned in the name of her two brothers, Ivan and Peter. She made a point of showing herself in public, at processions, solemn services, and dedications of churches. At the *Ouspinski Sobor*, while her brothers occupied the place of the Tzar, she filled that of the Tzarina ; only *she* raised the curtains and boldly allowed herself to be incensed by the Patriarch. When the *raskolniks* challenged the heads of the orthodox Church to discussion, she wished to preside and hold the meeting in the open air, at the *Lobnoé Miésto* on the Red Place. There was however so much opposition, that she was forced to call the assembly in the Palace of Facets, and sat behind the throne of her two brothers, present though invisible. The double-seated throne used on those occasions is still preserved at Moscow ; there is an opening in the back, hidden by a veil of silk, and behind this sat Sophia. This singular piece of furniture is the symbol of a government previously unknown to Russia, composed of two visible Tzars and one invisible sovereign.

The *streltsi*, however, felt their prejudices against female sovereignty awaken. They shrank from the contempt heaped by the Tzarévna upon the ancient manners. Sophia had already become in their eyes a "scandalous person" (*pozornoé litso*). Another cause of misunderstanding was the support she gave to the State Church, as reformed by Nikon, while the *streltsi* and the greater part of the people held to the "old faith." She had arrested certain "old believers," who at the discussion in the Palace of Facets, had challenged the patriarchs and orthodox prelates, and she had caused the ringleader to be executed. Khovanski, chief of the *streltsi*, whether from sympathy with the *raskol*, or whether he wished to please his subordinates, affected to share their discontent. The Court no longer felt itself safe at Moscow. Sophia took refuge with the Tzarina and the two young princes in the fortified monastery of Troïtsa, and summoned around her the gentlemen-at-arms. Khovanski was invited to attend, was arrested on the way, and put to death with his son. The *streltsi* attempted a new rising, but, with the usual fickleness of a popular militia, suddenly passed from the extreme of insolence to the extreme of humility. They marched to Troïtsa, this time in the guise of suppliants, with cords round their necks, carrying axes and blocks for the death they expected. The Patriarch consented to intercede for them, and Sophia contented herself with the sacrifice of the ringleaders.

Sophia, having got rid of her accomplices, governed by aid of her two favorites—Chaklovity, the new commandant of the *streltsi*,

whom she had drawn from obscurity, and who was completely devoted to her, and Prince Vassili Galitsyne. Galitsyne has become the hero of an historic school which opposes his genius to that of Peter the Great, in the same way as in France Henry, Duke of Guise, has been exalted at the expense of Henry IV. He was the special favorite, the intimate friend of Sophia, the director of her foreign policy, and her right hand in military affairs. Sophia and Galitsyne labored to organize a Holy League between Russia, Poland, Venice and Austria against the Turks and Tatars. They also tried to gain the countenance of the Catholic Powers of the West ; and in 1687 Jacob Dolgorouki and Jacob Mychetski disembarked at Dunkirk, as envoys to the Court of Louis XIV. They were not received very favorably : the King of France was not at all inclined to make war against the Turks ; he was, on the other hand, the ally of Mahomet IV., who was about to besiege Vienna while Louis blockaded Luxemburg. The whole plan of the campaign was, however, thrown out by the intervention of Russia and John Sobieski in favor of Austria. The Russian ambassadors received orders to re-embark at Havre, without going further south.

The government of the Tzarévna still persisted in its warlike projects. In return for an active co-operation against the Ottomans, Poland had consented to ratify the conditions of the Treaty of Androusovo, and to sign a perpetual peace (1686). A hundred thousand Muscovites, under the command of Prince Galitsyne, and fifty thousand Little Russian Cossacks, under the orders of the hetman Samoïlovitch, marched against the Crimea (1687). The army suffered greatly in the southern steppes, as the Tatars had fired the grassy plains. Galitsyne was forced to return without having encountered the enemy. Samoïlovitch was accused of treason, deprived of his command, and sent to Siberia ; and Mazeppa, who owed to Samoïlovitch his appointment as Secretary-at-war, and whose denunciations had chiefly contributed to his downfall, was appointed his successor. In the spring of 1689 the Muscovite and Ukranian armies, commanded by Galitsyne and Mazeppa, again set out for the Crimea. The second expedition was hardly more fortunate than the first : they got as far as Perekop, and were then obliged to retreat without even having taken the fortress. This double defeat did not hinder Sophia from preparing for her favorite a triumphal entry into Moscow. In vain Peter forbade her to leave the palace ; she braved his displeasure and headed the procession, accompanied by the clergy and the images and followed by the army of the Crimea, admitted the generals to kiss her hand, and distributed glasses of brandy among the officers. Peter left Moscow

in anger, and retired to the village of Preobrajenskoé. The foreign policy of the Tzarévna was marked by another display of weakness. By the Treaty of Nertchinsk, she restored to the Chinese Empire the fertile regions of the Amour, which had been conquered by a handful of Cossacks, and razed the fortress of Albazine, where those adventurers had braved all the forces of the East. On all sides Russia seemed to retreat before the barbarians.

Meantime Peter was growing. His precocious faculties, his quick intelligence, and his strong will awakened alike the hopes of his partisans and the fears of his enemies. As a child he only loved drums, swords, and muskets. He learned history by means of colored prints brought from Germany. Zotof, his master, whom he afterwards made "the archpope of fools," taught him to read. Among the heroes held up to him as examples, we are not surprised to find Ivan the Terrible, whose character and position offer so much analogy to his own. "When the Tzarévitch was tired of reading," says M. Zabiéline, "Zotof took the book from his hand, and, to amuse him, would himself read the great deeds of his father, Alexis Mikhaïlovitch, and those of the Tzar Ivan Vassiliévitch, their campaigns, their distant expeditions, their battles and sieges : how they endured fatigues and privations better than any common soldier ; what benefits they had conferred on the empire, and how they extended the frontiers of Russia." Peter also learnt Latin, German, and Dutch. He read much and widely, and learnt a great deal, though without method. Like Ivan the Terrible, he was a self-taught man. He afterwards complained of not having been instructed according to rule. This was perhaps a good thing. His education, like that of Ivan IV., was neglected, but at least he was not subjected to the enervating influence of the *terem*—he was not cast in that dull mould which turned out so many idiots in the royal family. He "roamed at large, and wandered in the streets with his comrades." The streets of Moscow at that period were, according to M. Zabiéline, the worst school of profligacy and debauchery that can be imagined ; but they were, on the whole, less bad for Peter than the palace. He met there something besides mere jesters ; he encountered new elements which had as yet no place in the *terem*, but contained the germ of the regeneration of Russia. He came across Russians who, if unscrupulous, were also unprejudiced, and who could aid him in his bold reform of the ancient society. He there became acquainted with Swiss, English, and German adventurers—with Lefort, with Gordon, and with Timmermann, who initiated him into European civilization. His Court was composed of Leo

Narychkine, of Boris Galitsyne (who had undertaken never to flatter him), of Andrew Matvéef (who had marked taste for everything European), and of Dolgorouki, at whose house he first saw an astrolabe. He played at soldiers with his young friends and his grooms, and formed them into the "battalion of playmates," who manœuvred after the European fashion, and became the kernel of the future regular army. He learnt the elements of geometry and fortification, and constructed small citadels, which he took or defended with his young warriors in those fierce battles which sometimes counted their wounded or dead, and in which the Tzar of Russia was not always spared. An English boat stranded on the shore of Yaousa caused him to send for Franz Timmermann, who taught him to manage a sailing boat, even with a contrary wind. He who formerly, like a true boyard of Moscow, had such a horror of the water that he could not make up his mind to cross a bridge, became a determined sailor: he guided his boat first on the Yaousa, then on the lake of Peréiaslavl. Brandt, the Dutchman, built him a whole flotilla; and already, in spite of the terrors of his mother, Natalia, Peter dreamed of the sea.

"The child is amusing himself," the courtiers of Sophia affected to observe; but these amusements disquieted her. Each day added to the years of Peter seemed to bring her nearer to the cloister. In vain she proudly called herself "autocrat"; she saw her stepmother, her rival, lifting up her head. Galitsyne confined himself to regretting that they had not known better how to profit by the revolution of 1682, but Chaklovity, who knew he must fall with his mistress, said aloud, "It would be wiser to put the Tzarina to death than to be put to death by her." Sophia could only save herself by seizing the throne—but who would help her to take it? The *streltsi*? But the result of their last rising had chilled them considerably. Sophia herself, while trying to bind this formidable force, had broken it, and the *streltsi* had not forgotten their chiefs beheaded at Troïtsa. Now what did the emissaries of Sophia propose to them? Again to attack the palace; to put Leo Narychkine, Boris Galitsyne, and other partisans of Peter to death; to arrest his mother, and to expel the Patriarch. They trusted that Peter and Natalia would perish in the tumult. The *streltsi* remained indifferent when Sophia, affecting to think her life threatened, fled to the *Dievitchi Monastyr*, and sent them letters of entreaty. "If thy days are in peril," tranquilly replied the *streltsi*, "there must be an inquiry." Chaklovity could hardly collect four hundred of them at the Kremlin.

The struggle began between Moscow and Preobrajenskoé,

the village with the prophetic name (the *Transfiguration* or *Regeneration*). Two *streltsi* warned Peter of the plots of his sister, and, for the second time, he sought an asylum at Troïtsa. It was then seen who was the true Tzar ; all men hastened to range themselves around him : his mother, his armed squires, the "battalion of playmates," the foreign officers, and even the *streltsi* of the regiment of Soukharef. The Patriarch also took the side of the Tzar, and brought him moral support, as the foreign soldiers had brought him material force. The partisans of Sophia were cold and irresolute ; the *streltsi* themselves demanded that her favorite Chaklovity should be surrendered to the Tzar. She had to implore the mediation of the Patriarch. Chaklovity was first put to the torture and made to confess his plot against the Tzar, and then decapitated. Medviédéf was at first only condemned to the knout and banishment for heresy, but he acknowledged he had intended to take the place of the Patriarch and to marry Sophia ; he was dishonored by being imprisoned with two sorcerers condemned to be burned alive in a cage, and was afterwards beheaded. Galitsyne was deprived of his property, and exiled to Poustozersk. Sophia remained in the *Dievitchi Monastery*, subjected to a hard captivity. Though Ivan continued to reign conjointly with his brother, yet Peter, who was then only seventeen, governed alone, surrounded by his mother, the Narychkines, the Dolgoroukis, and Boris Galitsyne (1689).

Sophia had freed herself from the seclusion of the *terem*, as Peter had emancipated himself from the seclusion of the palace to roam the streets and navigate rivers. Both had behaved scandalously, according to the ideas of the time—the one haranguing soldiers, presiding over councils, walking with her veil raised ; the other using the axe like a carpenter, rowing like a Cossack, brawling with foreign adventurers, and fighting with his grooms in mimic battles. But to the one her emancipation was only a means of obtaining power ; to the other the emancipation of Russia, like the emancipation of himself, was the end. He wished the nation to shake off the old trammels from which he had freed himself. Sophia remained a Byzantine, Peter aspired to be a European. In the conflict between the Tzarévna and the Tzar, progress was not on the side of the *Dievitchi Monastery*.

EXPEDITIONS AGAINST AZOF (1695-1696) — FIRST JOURNEY TO THE WEST (1697).

The first use the Tzar made of his liberty was to hasten to Arkhangel. There, deaf to the advice and prayers of his mother, who was astounded at this unexpected taste for salt water, he gazed on that sea which not Tzar had ever looked on. He ate with the merchants and the officers of foreign navies; he breathed the air which had come from the West. He established a dockyard, built boats, dared the angry waves of this unknown ocean, and almost perished in a storm, which did not prevent the "skipper Peter Alexiévitch" from again putting to sea, and bringing the Dutch vessels back to the Holy Cape. Unhappily, the White Sea, by which, since the time of Ivan IV., the English had entered Russia, is frostbound in winter. In order to open permanent communications with the West, with civilized countries, it was necessary for Peter to establish himself on the Baltic or the Black Sea. Now the first belonged to the Swedes, and the second to the Turks, as the Caspian did to the Persians. Who was first to be attacked? The treaties concluded with Poland and Austria, as well as policy and religion, urged the Tzar against the Turks, and Constantinople has always been the point of attraction for orthodox Russia. Peter shared the sentiments of his people, and had the enthusiasm of a crusader against the infidel. Notwithstanding his ardent wish to travel in the West, he took the resolution not to appear in foreign lands till he could appear as a victor. Twice had Galitsyne failed against the Crimea; Peter determined to attack the barbarians by the Don, and besiege Azof. The army was commanded by three generals, Golovine, Gordon, and Lefort, who were to act with the "bombardier of the Preobrajenski regiment, Peter Alexievitch." This regiment, as well as three others which had sprung from the "amusements" of Preobrajenskoé—the Semenovski, the Botousitski, and the regiment of Lefort—were the heart of the expedition. It failed because the Tzar had no fleet with which to invest Azof by sea, because the new army and its chiefs wanted experience, and because Jansen, the German engineer, ill-treated by Peter, passed over to the enemy. After two assaults, the siege was raised. This check appeared the more grave because the Tzar himself was with the army, because the first attempt to turn from the "amusements" of Preobrajenskoé to serious warfare had failed, and because this failure would furnish arms against innovations, against the *Germans* and the *heretics*, against the new tactics,

It might even compromise, in the eyes of the people, the work of regeneration (1695).

Although Peter had followed the example of Galitsyne, and entered Moscow in triumph, he felt he needed revenge. He sent for good officers from foreign countries. Artillerymen arrived from Holland and Austria, engineers from Prussia, and Admiral Lima from Venice. Peter hurried on the creation of a fleet with feverish impatience. He built of green wood twenty-two galleys, a hundred rafts, and seventeen hundred boats or barks. All the small ports of the Don were metamorphosed into dockyards; twenty-six thousand workmen were assembled there from all parts of the empire. It was like the camp of Boulogne. No misfortune—neither the desertion of the laborers, the burnings of the dockyards, nor even his own illness—could lessen his activity. Peter was able to write that, “following the advice God gave to Adam, he earned his bread by the sweat of his brow.” At last the “marine caravan,” the Russian armada, descended the Don. From the slopes of Azof he wrote to his sister Natalia: * “In obedience to thy counsels, I do not go to meet the shells and balls; it is they who approach me, but tolerably courteously.” Azof was blockaded by sea and land, and a breach was opened by the engineers. Preparations were being made for a general assault, when the place capitulated. The joy in Russia was great, and the *streltsi*’s jealousy of the success of foreign tactics gave place to their enthusiasm as Christians for this victory over Islamism, which recalled those of Kazan and Astrakhan. The effect produced on Europe was considerable. At Warsaw the people shouted, “Long live the Tzar!” The army entered Moscow under triumphal arches, on which were represented Hercules trampling a pacha and two Turks under foot, and Mars throwing to the earth a *mourza* and two Tatars. Admiral Lefort and Schein the generalissimo took part in the *cortège*, seated on magnificent sledges; whilst Peter, promoted to the rank of Captain, followed on foot. Jansen, destined to the gibbet, marched among the prisoners (1676).

Peter wished to profit by this great success to found the naval power of Russia. By the decision of the *douma* three thousand families were established at Azof, besides four hundred Kalmucks, and a garrison of Moscow *streltsi*. The Patriarch, the prelates, and the monasteries taxed themselves for the construction of one vessel to every eight thousand serfs. The nobles, the officials, and the merchants were seized with the fever of this holy war, and brought their contributions towards

* His mother died in 1694, his brother Ivan in 1696.

the infant navy. It was proposed to unite the Don and the Volga by means of a canal. A new appeal was made to the artisans and sailors of Europe. Fifty young nobles of the Court were sent to Venice, England, and the Low Countries, to learn seamanship and shipbuilding. But it was necessary that the Tzar himself should be able to judge of the science of his subjects; he must counteract Russian indolence and prejudice by the force of a great example; and Peter, after having begun his career in the navy at the rank of "skipper," and in the army at that of bombardier, was to become a carpenter of Saardam. He allowed himself, as a reward for his success at Azof, the much longed-for journey to the West.

In 1697 Admiral Lefort and Generals Golovine and Vosnitsyne prepared to depart for the countries of the West, under the title of "the great ambassadors of the Tzar." Their suite was composed of two hundred and seventy persons—young nobles, soldiers, interpreters, merchants, jesters, and buffoons. In the *cortège* was a young man who went by the name of Peter Mikhailof. This *incognito* would render the position of the Tzar easier, whether in his own personal studies or in delicate negotiations. On the journey to Riga, Peter allowed himself to be insulted by the governor, but laid up the recollection for future use. At Königsburg the Prussian Colonel Sternfeld delivered to "M. Peter Mikhailof" "a formal brevet of master of artillery." The great ambassadors and their travelling companion were cordially received by the Courts of Courland, Hanover, and Brandenburg. Sophia Charlotte of Hanover, afterwards Queen of Prussia, has left us some curious notes about the Tzar, then twenty-seven years of age. He astonished her by the vivacity of his mind, and the promptitude and point of his answers, not less than by the grossness of his manners, his bad habits at table, his wild timidity, like that of a badly brought-up child, his grimaces, and a frightful twitching which at times convulsed his whole face. Peter had then a beautiful brown skin, with great piercing eyes, but his features already bore traces of toil and debauchery. "He must have very good and very bad points," said the young Electress; and in this he represented contemporary Russia. "If he had received a better education," adds the princess, "he would have been an accomplished man." The suite of the Tzar were not less surprising than their master; the Muscovites danced with the Court ladies, and took the stiffening of their corsets for their bones. "The bones of these Germans are devilish hard!" said the Tzar.

Leaving the great embassy on the road, Peter travelled quickly, and reached Saardam. The very day of his arrival he

took a lodging at a blacksmith's, procured himself a complete costume like those worn by Dutch workmen, and began to wield the axe. He bargained for a boat, bought it, and drank the traditional pint of beer with its owner. He visited cutleries, ropewalks, and other manufactories, and everywhere tried his hand at the work: in a paper manufactory he made some paper. However, in spite of the tradition, he only remained eight days at Saardam. At Amsterdam his eccentricities were no less astonishing. He neither took any rest himself, nor allowed others to do so; he exhausted all his *ciceroni*, always repeating, "I must see it." He inspected the most celebrated anatomical collections; engaged artists, workmen, officers, and engineers; and bought models of ships, and collections of naval laws and treaties. He entered familiarly the houses of private individuals, gained the good will of the Dutch by his *bonhomie*, penetrated into the recesses of the shops and stalls, and remained lost in admiration over a dentist.

But, amidst all these distractions, he never lost sight of his aim. "We labor," he wrote to the Patriarch Adrian, "in order thoroughly to master the art of the sea; so that, having once learnt it, we may return to Russia and conquer the enemies of Christ, and free by his grace the Christians who are oppressed. This is what I shall long for, to my last breath." He was vexed at making so little progress in shipbuilding, but in Holland everyone had to learn by personal experience. A naval captain told him that in England instruction was based on principles, and these he could learn in four months; so Peter crossed the sea, and spent three months in London and the neighboring towns. There he took into his service goldsmiths and gold-beaters, architects and bombardiers. He then returned to Holland, and, his ship being attacked by a violent tempest, he reassured those who trembled for his safety by the remark, "Did you ever hear of a Tzar of Russia who was drowned in the North Sea?" Though much occupied with his technical studies, he had not neglected policy; he had conversed with William III, but did not visit France in this tour, for "Louis XIV.," says St. Simon, "had procured the postponement of his visit;" the fact being that his alliance with the Emperor, and his wars with the Turks, were looked on with disfavor at Versailles. He went to Vienna to study the military art, and dissuaded Leopold from making peace with the Sultan. Peter wished to conquer Kertch in order to secure the Straits of Ienikale. He was preparing to go to Venice, when vexatious intelligence reached him from Moscow.

REVOLT AND DESTRUCTION OF THE STRELTSI.

The first reforms of Peter, his first attempts against the national prejudices and customs, had raised him up a crowd of enemies. Old Russia did not allow herself quietly to be set aside by the bold innovator. There was in the interior a sullen and resolute resistance, which sometimes gave birth to bloody scenes. The revolt of the *streltsi*, the insurrection of Astrakhan, the rebellion of the Cossacks, and later the trial of his son and first wife, are only episodes of the great struggle. Already the priests were teaching that Antichrist was born. Now it had been prophesied that Antichrist should be born of an adulteress, and Peter was the son of the *second* wife of Alexis, therefore his mother Natalia was the "false virgin," the adulterous woman of the prophecies. The increasingly heavy taxes that weighed on the people were another sign that the time had come. Others, disgusted by the taste shown by the Tzar for German clothes and foreign languages and adventurers, affirmed that he was not the son of Alexis, but of Lefort the Genevan, or that his father was a German surgeon. They were scandalized to see the Tzar, like another Gregory Otrépief, expose himself to blows in his military "amusements." The lower orders were indignant at the abolition of the long beards and national costume, and the *raskolniks* at the authorization of "the sacrilegious smell of tobacco." The journey to the West completed the general dissatisfaction. Had anyone ever before seen a Tzar of Moscow quit Holy Russia to wander in the kingdoms of foreigners? Who knew what adventures might befall him among the *niémtsi* and the *bousourmanes*? for the Russian people hardly knew how to distinguish between the Turks and the Germans, and were wholly ignorant of France and England. Under an unknown sky, at the extremity of the world, on the shores of the "ocean sea," what dangers might he not encounter? Then a singular legend was invented about the travels of the Tzar. It was said that he went to Stockholm disguised as a merchant, and that the queen had recognized him, and had tried in vain to capture him. According to another version, she had plunged him in a dungeon, and delivered him over to his enemies, who wished to put him into a cask lined with nails, and throw him into the sea. He had only been saved by a *streletz* who had taken his place. Some asserted that Peter was still kept there; and in 1705 the *streltsi*, and *raskolniks* of Astrakhan still gave out that it was a false Tzar who had come back to Moscow—the true Tzar was a prisoner at *Stekoln*, attached to a stake.*

* A. Rambaud, 'La Russie Epique,' p. 303.

In the midst of this universal disturbance, caused by the absence of Peter, there were certain symptoms peculiarly disquieting. The Muscovite army grew more and more hostile to the new order of things. In 1694 Peter had discovered a fresh conspiracy, having for its object the deliverance of Sophia; and at the very moment of his departure from Russia he had to put down a plot of *streltsi* and Cossacks, headed by Colonel Tsykler. Those of the *streltsi* who had been sent to form the garrison of Azof pined for their wives, their children, and the trades they had left in Moscow. When in the absence of the Tzar they were sent from Azof to the frontiers of Poland, they again began to murmur. "What a fate is ours! It is the boyards who do all the mischief; for three years they have kept us from our homes." Two hundred deserted and returned to Moscow; but the *douma*, fearing their presence in the already troubled capital, expelled them by force. They brought back to their regiments a letter of Sophia. "You suffer," she wrote; "later it will become worse. March on Moscow. What is it you wait for? There is no news of the Tzar." It was repeated through the army that the Tzar had died in foreign lands, and that the boyards wished to put his son Alexis to death. It was necessary to march on Moscow and exterminate the nobles. The military sedition was complicated by the religious fanaticism of the *raskolniks* and the demagogic passions of the popular army. Four regiments revolted and deserted. Generals Schein and Gordon, with their regular troops, hastened after them, came up with them on the banks of the Iskra, and tried to persuade them to return to their duty. The *streltsi* replied by a petition setting forth all their grievances: "Many of them had died during the expedition to Azof, suggested by Lefort, a German, a heretic; they had endured fatiguing marches over burning plains, their only food being bad meat; their strength had been exhausted by severe tasks, and they had been banished to distant garrisons. Moscow was now a prey to all sorts of horrors. Foreigners had introduced the custom of shaving the beard and smoking tobacco. It was said that these *niémsti* meant to seize the town. On this rumor, the *streltsi* had arrived, and also because Romodanovski wished to disperse and put them to the sword without anyone knowing why." A few cannon-shots were sufficient to scatter the rebels. A large number were arrested; torture, the gibbet, and the dungeon awaited the captives.

When Peter hastened home from Vienna, he decided that his generals and his *douma* had been too lenient. He had old grievances against the *streltsi*; they had been the army of Sophia, in opposition to the army of the Tzar; he remembered the inva-

sion of the Kremlin, the massacre of his mother's family, her terrors in Troïtsa, and the conspiracies which all but delayed his journey to the West. At the very time that he was travelling in Europe for the benefit of his people, these incorrigible mutineers had forced him to renounce his dearest projects, and had stopped him on the road to Venice. He resolved to take advantage of the opportunity by crushing his enemies *en masse*, and by making the Old Russia feel the weight of a terror that would recall the days of Ivan IV. The long beards had been the standard of revolt—they should fall. On the 26th of August he ordered all the gentlemen of his Court to shave themselves, and himself applied the razor to his great lords. The same day the Red Place was covered with gibbets. The Patriarch Adrian tried in vain to appease the anger of the Tzar by presenting to him the wonder-working image of the Mother of God. "Why hast thou brought out the holy icon?" exclaimed the Tzar. "Retire and restore it to its place. Know that I venerate God and His Mother as much as thyself, but know also that it is my duty to protect the people and punish the rebels."

On the 30th of October there arrived at the Red Place the first instalment of 230 prisoners : they came in carts, with lighted torches in their hands, nearly all already broken by torture, and followed by their wives and children, who ran behind chanting a funeral wail. Their sentence was read, and they were slain, the Tzar ordering several officers to help the executioner. John George Korb, the Austrian agent, who as an eye-witness has left us an authentic account of the executions, heard that five rebel heads had been sent into the dust by blows from an axe wielded by the noblest hand in Russia." The terrible carpenter of Saardam worked and obliged his boyards to work at this horrible employment. Seven other days were employed in this way ; a thousand victims were put to death. Some were broken on the wheel, and others died by various modes of torture. The removal of the corpses was forbidden : for five months Moscow had before its eyes the spectacle of the dead bodies hanging from the battlements of the Kremlin and the other ramparts ; and for five months the *streltsi* suspended to the bars of Sophia's prison presented her the petition by which they had entreated her to reign. Two of her confidants were buried alive ; she herself, with Eudoxia Lapoukhine, Peter's wife, who had been repudiated for her obstinate attachment to the ancient customs, had their heads shaved and were confined in monasteries. After the revolt of the inhabitants of Astrakhan, who put their voievode to death, the old militia was completely abolished, and the way left clear for the formation of new troops.

CONTEST WITH THE COSSACKS : REVOLT OF THE DON (1706);
MAZEPPA (1709).

The *streltsi* was not the only military force of ancient Russia whose existence and privileges had become incompatible with the organization of the modern State. The "armies" (*voïska*) of Cossacks—those republican and undisciplined warriors who had been formerly the rampart of Russia, and were her outposts against the barbarians—had to undergo a transformation. The empire had numerous grievances against them: the Cossacks of the Ukraine and those of the Don had given birth to the first and the second of the false Dmitris, and from the army of the Don had sprung the terrible Stenko Razine.

In 1706 the Cossacks of the Don revolted against the Tzarian government, because they were forbidden to give an asylum to the peasants who fled from their masters, or to those who took refuge from taxation in the camp. The ataman Boulavine, and his lieutenants Nekrassof, Frolof, and Dranyi, summoned them to arms. They murdered Prince George Dolgorouki, defeated the Russians on the Liskovata, took Tcherkask, threatened Azof, all the while protesting their fidelity to the Tzar, and accusing the voïevodes of having acted "without orders." They soon, however, suffered defeat at the hands of Vassili Dolgorouki, brother of the dead man. Boulavine was stabbed by his own soldiers, and Nekrassof fled with two thousand men to the Kuban. The rebel camp was laid waste, and Dolgorouki was able to write: "The chief mutineers and declared traitors have been hung; of the others, one out of every ten; and all these dead malefactors have been laid on rafts and abandoned to the river, to strike terror into the hearts of the Dontsi, and to cause them to repent."

Since Samoflovitch had been removed, Mazeppa had been the hetman of the Little Russian Cossacks of the Ukraine. In his youth a page of John Casimir, King of Poland, that adventure had befallen him which the poem of Lord Byron and the pictures of Horace Vernet have rendered famous. Loosed from the back of the unbroken horse which had carried him into the solitudes of the Ukraine, he had entered the Cossack army, and, by betraying all chiefs and parties in turn, he had risen through all the grades of military service. He owed the office of hetman to Galitsyne and Sophia, but was one of the first to embrace the cause of Peter. His elevation gained him many enemies, but the Tzar, who admired his intelligence and believed in his fidelity, delivered up to him his accusers. He executed the monk

Salomon, who pretended to reveal Mazeppa's intrigues with the King of Poland and Sophia; Mikhaïlof in 1690, and the *diak* Souzlof in 1696, were likewise put to death.

All this time the Ukraine was being steadily undermined by factions. In the Cossack army there always existed a Russian party, a party who longed for Polish government, and a party who wished to do homage to the Turks. In 1693 Petrek, one of the chiefs, invaded the Ukraine with 40,000 Tatars, but was forced to retreat. Besides this, the views of the army and those of the sedentary populations of the Ukraine were always at variance. The hetman dreamed of becoming independent, the officers disliked being responsible to anyone, and the soldiers wished to live at the expense of the country, without either working or paying taxes, after the manner of the ancient nobles; but the farmers who had created the agricultural prosperity of the country, the citizens who could not work in security, in fact all the peaceful laboring population, determined to get rid of the turbulent military oligarchy, and hailed the Tzar of Moscow as a liberator.

Mazeppa represented the military element of the Ukraine, and was hated by the more peaceful classes. The Tzar overwhelmed him with proofs of confidence, but Mazeppa feared the strengthening of the Russian State. He remembered how one day in an orgie the Tzar had seized him by the beard and violently shaken him. The taxes imposed on the vassal State of Little Russia became daily heavier, and in the war with Charles XII. they increased still more. Everything was to be feared from the imperious humor and autocratic pretensions of Peter. The invasion of the Swedes, now imminent, would necessarily precipitate the crisis; and either Little Russia would gain her independence by the help of the foreigners, or their defeat on her soil would give a mortal blow to her prosperity and hopes for the future. Feeling the approach of the hour when he must obey the White Tzar, Mazeppa allowed himself to be drawn into communications with Stanislas Leszczinski, the King of Poland set up by the Swedish party. The witty Princess Dolskaïa had given him an alphabet in cipher. Up to that time Mazeppa had delivered to the Tzar all letters tampering with his fidelity, and, in return, the Tzar surrendered to him all his accusers. When he received the letters of the princess he smiled and said, "Wicked woman, she wants to detach me from the Tzar." He did not give up the letter, but burned it. When the hand of Menchikof's sister was refused to one of his cousins, when Menchikof himself began to give direct orders to the commanders of the *polks*, when the Swedish war and the march

of the Muscovite troops limited his power and augmented the burdens of his territory, when the Tzar sent pressing injunctions for the equipment of the army in European style, when he felt around him the spirit of rebellion against Moscow, he wrote to Leszczinski, saying that he did not think the Polish army sufficiently strong, but assuring him of his goodwill. His confidant, Orlik, was in the secret of all his intrigues. Some of his subordinates who had penetrated his designs made another attempt to denounce him to the Tzar : among these were Palei, celebrated in the songs of the Ukraine ; Kotchoubey, whose daughter Mazeppa had taken ; and Iskra. The information was very exact and revealed his secret conferences with the emissaries of the King and of Princess Dolskaia. It failed, like former denunciations, through the blind confidence of Peter : Palei was sent to Siberia ; Iskra and Kotchoubey were tortured, forced to confess themselves false witnesses, delivered up to the hetman, and beheaded. Mazeppa was conscious that such extraordinary good fortune could not last, and the malcontents urged him to think of their common safety. At this moment Charles XII. arrived in the neighborhood of Little Russia. "The devil has brought him," cried Mazeppa ; and he tried between the two powers to save the independence of his little State, without delivering himself over completely either to Charles XII. or Peter the Great. When the latter invited him to join the army, he pretended that he was ill, and even received extreme unction. But Menchikof and Charles were approaching—a choice must be made. Mazeppa left his bed, assembled his most faithful Cossacks, and crossed the Desna to effect a junction with the Swedish army. Then Peter the Great made a proclamation denouncing the treason of Mazeppa, his alliance with the heretics, his plot to restore the Ukraine to Poland, and to fill the monasteries and temples of God with Uniates. He was cursed in all the churches of Russia. Batourine, his capital, was taken by Menchikof, sacked and destroyed ; his accomplices, whom he had abandoned, died on the wheel and the gibbet ; he himself fled, after the battle of Pultowa, to the Turkish territory, and perished miserably at Bender. A new hetman, Skoropadski, was elected in his stead ; the mass of the people and the Cossack army pronounced loudly for the Tzar, and the Swedes had to cope with the rising of the entire population of the Ukraine. In spite of this, the independence of Little Russia was past. The privileges of the Cossacks were over, and twelve hundred of them were sent to work at the Canal of Ladoga. A Muscovite official was joined to Skoropadski to govern "in concert with the advice of the hetman." Muscovite subjects were allowed to hold lands in the Ukraine by the same title as the Little Russians ; Menchikof

and Chafirof were given large domains there by Skoropadski, whose daughter married another Muscovite, Tolstoï, created commandant of the *polk* of Niéjine. In 1722 Little Russia, whose affairs up to that time had been conducted by the department of Foreign Affairs, was governed by a special office founded at Moscow under the name of "Little Russian Affairs." This was clear proof that the Ukraine had ceased to be an autonomous State. When Skoropadski died, Peter did not nominate a successor, declaring that "the treasons of the preceding hetmans did not allow a decision to be made lightly in this grave matter of election, and that he needed time to find a man of assured fidelity."

From this time the institutions of the Ukraine were modified at the will of Peter the Great and his successors. The hetmanate was now abolished, now restored, till the last man who held the title, a courtier of Catherine II., abdicated in 1789. The affairs of the Ukraine were sometimes directed by the office of Little Russia, sometimes by the office of Foreign Affairs, till the time when, under Catherine II., it became an integral part of the empire. As to the Zaporogues, after their *sétcha* had been taken by Peter the Great, they emigrated to the Crimea, obtained their restoration to the Lower Dnieper from Anne, found the neighboring country already transformed, and, as their existence seemed incompatible with security and colonization, were finally expelled in 1775.

From the year 1709 we may say that there no longer existed in the empire a single military force that could oppose its privileges to the will of the Tzar.

THE
HISTORY OF RUSSIA

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1877

BY

ALFRED RAMBAUD

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TRANSLATED BY

LEONORA B. LANG

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Son.

Son.

Son.

Son.

Feodor Kostika.

Ivan.

Three sons.

Zachary.

Son.

Iouri.

Andrei.

Roman.

[illegible]

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF ROMANOF (continued).

Maria — MIKHAIL — Eudoxia Strechnef.
Dolgorouki.

Maria — ALEXIS — Natalia Narychkine.
Miloslavski.

Daughter of — FEODOR — Maria IVAN V. — Prascovia SOPHIA. Five
Somen Apraxine. Solykof. daughters.
Grouchitski

Leopold. — Catherine. ANNE — Duke of A daughter.
Duke of Courland.
ecklenburg.

ANNE — Anton, Duke of Brunswick.

IVAN VI.

Eliza — ALICE — JULIE of — Constantine — Antonia NICHOLAS — Char- Mik- Frede- Alexan- — Joseph Helena — Duke Mary — Duke Anna — Will-
beth 1811. Saxe- lotte hall rika of dra Hunga- Mecklenburg- of fine lam II.
Three daughters. Coburg. Prussia. Wurt- Wurt- King of
died young. of Lovics). Catherine- George, Duke of Mecklenburg-Strellitz. of Olden- burg.
burg. King of Holland.

Mary — ALEXANDER II. Constantine — Alexandra Nicholas — Olga Mary — Max, Duke Olga — Charles Alexandra — Prince of
Wilhel. of of of
mina of Saxe-Altenburg. Oldenburg. Leuchtenburg. Wurttemberg.
Hesse, of Hesse.

Nicholas. Olga — George, Viera — Eugene Constant- Dmitri Viatcheslaf. Nicho- Mikhal. George. Alexan- Serge.
King of Greece. Wurttemberg. of the. las. tasia. der.

Nicholas Eugene
Alexander III — Dagmar of Denmark. 1847. 1850. born 1857. Paul, born 1840.
born 1845. Schwerin. 1850. born 1857. born 1840.
Nicholas, born 1838. George, born 1871. Alfred. Marie. Melita. Dare.

Nicholas, died 1866. ALEXANDER III — Dagmar of Denmark. 1847. 1850. born 1857. Paul, born 1840.
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Nicholas, born 1838. George, born 1871. Alfred. Marie. Melita. Dare.

Nicholas, born 1838. George, born 1871. Alfred. Marie. Melita. Dare.

HISTORY OF RUSSIA.

CHAPTER I.

PETER THE GREAT : STRUGGLE WITH CHARLES XII. (1700-1709).

**Narva (1700) : conquest of the Baltic provinces—Charles XII. invades Russia :
Pultowa (1709).**

NARVA (1700) : CONQUEST OF THE BALTIC PROVINCES.

PETER I. had navigated the White Sea, and conquered a port on the Sea of Azof ; but by the Baltic alone could he secure rapid and regular communication with the nations of the West. It was only by taking up a position on the Baltic that Russia could cease to be an Oriental State, and could form part of Europe. The Baltic at that time belonged to Sweden, whose possessions on the coasts—Finland, Carelia, Ingria, Esthonia, Livonia, and Pomerania—made it a Swedish Mediterranean. Stockholm was situated in the centre of the monarchy of the Vasas, instead of lying, as it does at present, on its maritime frontier. To “open a window” into the West, it was necessary to break in some point the chain of Swedish possessions. The opportunity seemed favorable. The struggle still continued in Sweden between the aristocracy and the crown ; the last king, Charles XI., had in 1680 rendered his authority absolute, and ordered the nobles to restore to the throne all the crown lands alienated since 1609. This edict of resumption, scarcely mitigated by a promise of indemnity, ruined the aristocracy. In Livonia especially, the German nobility, descendants of the old Order, protested strongly. They sent a deputation to the king, Charles XI., with John Reinhold Patkul at its head. He was a proud, energetic,

vindictive, and intelligent man, whose free speech displeased the king; and as his colleagues supported him in all his acts, he and they were arrested, carried before a court-martial, and condemned to death. Patkul managed to escape, and burning with rage he sought on all sides enemies of Charles XI. and his young son Charles XII. It was he who proposed to Augustus of Saxony, king of Poland, a scheme by which Sweden was to be attacked simultaneously by all her neighbors. Poland was to take from her Livonia and Esthonia, Russia was to conquer Ingria and Carelia, Denmark was to invade Holstein, which belonged to a brother-in-law of Charles XII. Peter accepted the overtures of the King of Poland: he desired nothing better than to carry out the designs of Ivan the Terrible and of his father Alexis. The youth of the new King of Sweden, and his reputed incapacity, led Peter to expect rapid success. Peter I. acceded to the coalition by virtue of the Treaty of Preobrajenskoé. In the manifesto by which he declared war, he took pains to recall his grievances, puerile though they were, against the governor of Riga.

When Peter appeared under the walls of Narva, Patkul at first rejoiced, but speedily became uneasy; he had not intended that Narva should be attacked by the Russians, but advised Augustus not to raise the question. The coalition was almost immediately smitten by two unexpected blows. The King of Denmark, threatened in Copenhagen, had been forced to sign the Treaty of Traventhal, and at the approach of the Swedes the King of Poland had been forced to raise the siege of Riga. Without waiting to pursue the Poles, Charles turned against the Russians.

A desire to please the victors has caused the numerical disproportion between the two armies to be exaggerated. Voltaire himself was forced to rectify, in his 'History of Peter the Great,' the numbers that he had given in the 'History of Charles XII.' The latter had hardly 8430 men; the Russians amounted to 63,500 men, of whom only 40,000 took part in the action. The army was composed of regular troops, beside *streltzi*, Cossacks, *dilti-boyarskié*, and men raised in haste. In the absence of the Tzar, who had quitted the camp on the previous evening to hasten the arrival of the reinforcements, it was placed under the command of an old general of the Emperor of Germany the Duc de Croÿ, whom the troops suspected from the fact of his being a stranger. In the siege of Narva, they had at their backs the Narova, or river of Narva, and occupied a fortified line of seven versts (4 miles), the whole extent of which it was impossible to defend. In some places there was only a single line of

soldiers, placed about six feet from one another. In front, about the centre, they had erected a great battery; before the entrenchments, on the route to Revel, were outposts to the number of 4000 men.

On the 30th (19th) of November, 1700, the battle began by a cannonade that lasted till two in the afternoon. At that time the Swedes reached the foot of the entrenchments under cover of a snow-storm, which prevented the Russians from seeing twenty paces in front. In an instant the Swedes had crossed the fosse and the parapet, and the Russian camp was seized with panic. "The Germans have betrayed us," cried the soldiers, and began to stab the foreign officers. The Duc de Croï and his staff saw no refuge from their own soldiers except in flight to the Swedish camp. Cheremetief, who commanded the cavalry, hurried to the river Narova, and succeeded in crossing it, though more than a thousand men were lost in the passage. One body alone defended itself with the energy of despair: the Preobrajenski and the Semenovski, favorite regiments of Peter the Great, which had been organized after the European fashion, entrenched themselves in haste behind a barrier formed of artillery wagons, and repulsed all the attacks of the Swedes, directed by the king in person. In spite of this gallant defence, the Russian army was cut in two by the capture of the great central battery. Night came on and increased the disorder. The right wing, commanded by Dolgorouki, Golovin, Boutourline, and Alexander, Tzarévitch of Imeritia, entered into negotiations with the king; the generals signed a capitulation which insured them a free retreat with arms, standards, and baggage, but they had to abandon all their artillery, except six pieces of cannon. The Preobrajenski and Semenovski guards left their fortress of wagons and retired in good order, and to hasten their retreat the Swedes themselves built them a bridge over the Narova. The left wing, which had suffered more severely, was obliged to sign a more rigorous capitulation: it was allowed to retire, but had to lay down its arms. Charles XII. then allowed the Russian army to cross the river, neither from generosity nor disdain, as has sometimes been said, but from prudence. Wrede, the Swedish general, writes: "If the Russian general Weide, who had 6000 men under arms, had had the courage to attack us, we should have been lost; we were completely exhausted, having had neither rest nor food for many days, and our soldiers were so intoxicated with the wine that they found in the Russian camp that it would have been impossible to restore order." The King of Sweden, by slightly straining the terms of capitulation, retained as prisoners Croï and the officers who had taken refuge

in his camp. Many remained for twenty years in Sweden. Besides the prisoners, the Russians had lost 6000 men, the Swedes nearly 2000 men.

There are salutary defeats and fatal victories. Charles was overwhelmed by flatteries from the whole of Europe. Medals were struck in his honor with the inscriptions, "*Superant operata fidem*," or again, "*Tres uno contudit ictu*." The young king could not entirely shake off the intoxication of his success. "He dreams of nothing but war," writes his general Stenbock; "he no longer listens to advice; he behaves as one who thinks that God directly inspires him for what he has to do." He despised enemies so easily conquered, and, counting the Russian army for nothing, made great preparations for the downfall of the harmless King of Poland. During five years he did nothing but plot for his dethronement, meddling in the intrigues of the Polish diets, and trying to crush the partisans of Augustus, as if the elevation and support of Stanislas Leszczinski had been really of vital importance to Sweden in the same way as the possession of its maritime provinces. Peter understood how much it was for his advantage that his rival should be thus occupied; he aided Augustus of Saxony with troops and money, to keep his own hands free in the regions of the Baltic. It was enough for him to know that the impetuous King of Sweden was for some time entangled among the marshes and intrigues of Poland.

Peter had taken courage after Narva. Nothing was really lost, since the greater part of his army remained intact; he had only to turn to profit this rude lesson in the military art. He increased the fortifications of Pskof, Novgorod, and the frontier towns; every one was set to work. He frightened, by terrible examples, robbers of treasure and dishonest officials. With the church bells he cast three hundred cannon; he created ten new regiments, each consisting of a thousand dragoons. He sent 250 children to the military schools.

The year after the defeat at Narva, Cheremetief attacked the Swedish general Slipenbach near Ehresfer in Livonia. The Russians were the more numerous, but it was an advance to conquer the Swedes, even at odds of three to one. Out of 7000 men Slipenbach lost 3500, and only 350 prisoners were taken—a fact which proves the fierceness of the fighting. This "eldest of Russian victories" was celebrated at Moscow by a triumph in which the arms, guns, and banners of the vanquished filed past, Cheremetief was created field-marshal, and Peter exclaimed, "Glory be to God! one day we shall be able to beat the Swedes" (1701). The same year seven Swedish vessels were repulsed by the fleet of the Tzar. In 1702 Cheremetief again defeated

Slipenbach and Hümmelsdorff, took from him all his artillery, and killed 6000 out of his 8000 men.

The ultimate aim of Peter was the possession of the Neva, which had belonged to the early Russian princes, and where Saint Alexander Nevski had won his glorious surname by victories over Swedish enemies. He took Noteburg, the ancient Orécheck (*the nut*) of the Novgorodians, which commanded the Neva where it leaves Lake Ladoga, and called it Schlüsselburg (fortress of the key), because the post would make him master of the river. Near the mouth of the Neva the Swedes held the small fort of Nienschantz; he captured and destroyed it, and in a neighboring island he founded the citadel round which his future capital was to cluster; the islet of Cronslott became Cronstadt, which was to close against the Scandinavians the entrance on the side of the sea. The Neva was his. The same year (1703) he seized two Swedish vessels in its waters—"an unheard-of success," he wrote to Moscow. Then Koperie, Iam, and Dorpat (once a vassal city of Novgorod) fell into his hands, and he revenged himself for his defeat at Narva by capturing that town (1704), and by protecting the citizens from his own soldiers, who were drunk with blood. During this time Livonia and Esthonia, provinces inherited by Charles XII., were given up to frightful devastation, worse than that of the Palatinate by Louis XIV. The days of Ivan the Terrible seemed to have returned, The Russians signalized the reconquest of their ancient territory by atrocities. Volmar, Marienburg, Wenden, and Wesen were pillaged; Cheremetief only spared Riga, Pernau, and Revel (or Kobylan, as it was called by the Tchouds). The Letto-Finnish country was made a desert; the Cossacks, Kalmucks, Bachkirs, and Tatars did not know what to do with their prisoners. The Zaporogues alone carried 4000 captives—men, women, and children—back to the Lower Dnieper. Neither the capture of the fortresses, the burning of the towns, nor the extermination of the people, could distract Charles XII. from the attempt to ruin Augustus.

In 1705 the Tzar felt it was necessary to keep an eye on the actions of the Swede in Poland, and not to allow his ally Augustus to be entirely crushed. It was enough to have taken from him his share of the booty, Esthonia and Livonia. The Russians crossed the Dwina, occupied Courland and Wilna, and concentrated themselves in an entrenched camp at Grodno. Peter, like Ivan the Terrible, had not only to struggle with his external enemies; the internal factions had not yet been subdued. At the moment that he was preparing to give battle to the Swedes, the revolt of Astrakhan obliged him to send to the

Lower Volga a portion of his troops under Cheremetief, one of his best generals. It was time Cheremetief arrived, for already the *streltsi* of Astrakhan had appealed for help to the Cossacks. The Russian army in Lithuania found itself for an instant in great straits: Schulenburg, the general of Augustus, had been defeated at Frauenstadt (1706), and been forced to fall back on Saxony. Thanks to the skilful dispositions of Peter, the Russian army succeeded in retreating without opposition to Kief. About the year 1706 Menchikof inflicted on the Swedish general Mardefelt, with nearly equal numbers, a bloody defeat near Kalisch.

CHARLES XII. INVADES RUSSIA: PULTOWA (1709).

Charles XII. had pursued the army of the King of Poland into Saxony; to punish his new enterprise against Stanislas Leszczinski and his entrance into Warsaw, he crushed the Electoral States by his extortions and requisitions; he traversed Silesia without deigning to ask leave of the Emperor Joseph, despising the protestations of the diet of Ratisbon; he received the complaints of the Protestants of this province who were persecuted by Austria, and appeared before the malcontents of Hungary as the great redresser of wrongs. This happened at the most critical moment in the war of the Spanish Succession. France, defeated at Hochstadt, Ramilies, and Turin, turned her eyes towards victorious Sweden. England, Holland, Austria, Brandenburg, Hanover, all the powers concerned in the attack on the French frontiers, trembled lest the Swedish army should assail the coalition in the rear. Had not Sweden been the ally of France since the time of Gustavus Adolphus and of Oxenstiern? Had she not been the companion of her days of glory? Did she not owe France her great position in Germany? Had she not to fear lest she might suffer from the defeat of France? Was not Charles XII. at this moment receiving subsidies from the Grand Monarque? Was his help not entreated by the French envoys? The fate of the world seemed to lie in the hands of the young victor. If he turned to the West, if he revenged his own grievances and those of Protestantism against Austria, France was saved, and Sweden, whom fearful things awaited on the plains of Russia, was saved also. There was a pause of anxious and solemn expectation, all the greater because the proud and silent monarch had allowed no hint of his projects to escape him. The situation appeared so grave that in April 1707 Marlborough resolved to seek him in his camp. Few words were exchanged between

these two great captains, whose characters were so different, but the clever Englishman was able to guess Charles's hatred and jealousy of France; he saw that his eyes glittered at the mention of the Tzar; he remarked spread out on the table a map of Russia. Marlborough retired full of hope. Those who feared Charles agreed to whatever he proposed to them; Augustus accepted the humiliating treaty of Altranstadt; he delivered up Patkul, whom the Tzar had accredited to him as ambassador, and whom, in spite of his inviolable position, the son of Charles XI. broke on the wheel. The Emperor relinquished a hundred churches to the Protestants of Silesia, dismissed a chamberlain of whom the King had reason to complain, surrendered 1500 Russian refugees, and recalled 400 German officers who had taken service with the Tzar. The Elector of Brandenburg signed a perpetual peace. Charles XII. might now break up his camp at Leipzig; he saw only one enemy, the Tzar of Russia.

The adversary of Peter the Great was an admirable knight-errant rather than a sovereign. The absolute power of which he became possessed at an early age left without counterpoise his fiery temper and obstinate character—his “iron head,” as the Turks said at Bender. Voltaire observes that he carried all his virtues to such an excess that they became as dangerous as the opposite vices. His dominant virtue and vice was a passion for glory. Glory, and glory alone, was to him the end of war. He does not appear to have understood that it was possible to acquire it by practising the arts of peace. Up to the moment when the news of the coalition formed against him revealed to him his military vocation, he seemed the most insignificant of all the European princes. His conduct appeared to be regulated, not by the political principles current in the eighteenth century, but by some strange and archaic point of honor. He only knew Alexander the Great as the romantic hero of Quintus Curtius, and this phantom he took for his ideal. He was nourished on the old Scandinavian sagas, and we may truly say that the soul and spirit of the old vikings revived in him; he had their wonderful deeds forever before his eyes, and the versified maxims of the Scalds forever present to his memory. Charles XII. was a hero of the Edda set down by mistake in a matter-of-fact century. A Russian historian, M. Guerrier, calls him “The last of the Varangians”; he was the last of those Scandinavian adventurers who had marched over the Russian plains from Novgorod to Kief, but to whom henceforth the road to the south remained forever shut. Pitiless to others as well as to himself, we find him undergoing useless dangers and

fatigues, seeking adventures like a sea-king who had only his head to risk ; considering a war as a single combat between two champions, which could only end, if not with the death, at least with the dethronement, of the vanquished ; fighting not to gain crowns, but to distribute them ; giving largesses to his soldiers as if he had always the treasures of pillage, the "red gold of Fafnir's heath," at his disposal ; despising all the luxuries of life, like the Northmen who boasted of never having slept beneath a roof : flying from women, "whose silken hairs," say the sagas, "are nets of perfidy" ; regarding a backward movement as dishonor, and considering prudent advice an evidence of weakness ; ready to face water, as in the marshes of Lithuania ; or fire, as in the conflagration of Bender. He had his own guard of *drabans*, as the *konungs* of fabulous times had their *droujina*, as Alexander had his *hetairoi*. His companions also are heroes of sagas, and legend has gilded their exploits. It is related in Sweden that Hinstersfelt carried off the enemy's guns on his shoulders, and that, passing through a vaulted gateway, from which hung a ring, he put his little finger through it and pulled himself up by it, and with him the horse which he pressed between his knees. "When I have nine of my drabans with me," said Charles, "nothing can hinder me from going where I will." He was thus impelled to seek adventures in distant lands, and, like the warriors of old, to "win the world by the force of his arm." He sent officers even into Asia and Egypt to reconnoitre and to collect information.

The poet Pouchkine puts into the mouth of the disappointed Mazeppa the following remark :—"I have been mistaken about this Charles ; no doubt he is a bold and audacious youth ; he can gain two, or even three battles ; he can fall suddenly on the enemy, eat his breakfast, reply to a bomb with a burst of laughter ; like any sharpshooter, he can glide by night into the camp of the foe, overthrow some Cossack as he has done to-day, give blow for blow, and wound for wound : but he is not of a stature to cope with the giant ; he wishes to make Fortune manœuvre like a regiment at the sound of the drum. He is blind, obstinate, impatient ; he is thoughtless and presumptuous ; he believes in God knows what star. He measures by his past success the new forces of his enemy. He must be taught better. I am ashamed in my old age to have allowed myself to be seduced by a military wanderer,—to have been dazzled, like a young girl, by the courage and the luck of an adventurer."

The two adversaries were to meet at last. Charles quitted Saxony with 43,000 men, enriched with the spoils of the country ; he left behind 10,000 to support Stanislas on the

throne, and marched towards the Niemen. He was the first to enter Grodno with 600 men, and only the prodigies of valor which he performed prevented his being captured by the Russian rear-guard (1708). The Tzar, in pursuance of a system which was to be followed in 1812, fell back on Russia, laying waste Lithuania as he went. The Swedish name was still a universal terror. Besides the 33,000 men who followed Charles, Lewenhaupt was to bring up 18,000 from Poland. No Russian force seemed fit to cope with the most experienced army in Europe. The internal affairs of Russia also troubled Peter; it was at this decisive moment that the revolt of Boula-vine, in the camp of the Don, occurred, and the first agitation among the Cossacks of the Dnieper. Before risking the safety of his empire, within which terrible disorders were still fermenting, before exposing his new creations to the horrors of an invasion, Peter tried to negotiate with his enemy; he offered to be content with a single port on the Baltic. I will treat with the Tzar in Moscow," said Charles.

From the Niemen, across the forest of Minsk, where the Swedes were obliged to cut a passage with their axes, Charles XII. reached the Berezina, which he crossed at the head of a body of 3000 men. At Hollosin he came up with 20,000 Russians; whose steadiness should have given him pause, for they only yielded at the seventh charge of the king. He reached the Dnieper at Mohilef, and even got as far as Mstislaf. At Dobroë, south of Smolensk, he attacked a body of 10,000 Russians and 6000 Kalmucks. This time he had a horse killed under him, two aides-de-camp killed at his side, and, finding himself alone with five men, slew twelve foes with his own hand, and only escaped by a miracle. Russia, however, was not going to allow herself to be conquered so easily. He then found himself on the road to Moscow, which Napoleon was afterwards to take, 300 miles from the Russian capital. It was already the end of September; winter approached, and showed signs of being severe; provisions were scarce, and Charles was advised to retreat from Mstislaf to Mohilef, and there await Lewenhaupt, who would bring up 18,000 men and plenty of food. Charles, however, allowed himself to be tempted by the offers of Mazeppa, who promised him a reinforcement of 30,000 Cossacks, and by the hopes of abundance in the fertile plains of the south. Besides, as he confessed to Gyllenkruk, who was horrified by this confidence, "he had no plan." So he turned towards the Ukraine. Then the Tzar and his generals hung like wolves on the flank of Lewenhaupt, who found himself isolated and without support on the plains of the

Dnieper. At Lesna, on the banks of the Soja, they fought a battle which raged for three days, and where, this time, the numbers were equal. The Swedish general lost 12,000 out of his 18,000 men, and was forced to spike his cannon and burn a thousand wagon-loads of provisions, besides the 6000 captured by the Russians. All the convoy, which was the only hope of the royal army, was destroyed. Lewenhaupt only brought to Charles what remained from the disaster.

By this time winter had come, the terrible winter of 1709. In the forced marches which the King of Sweden had the imprudence to impose on his army, the men, who lacked winter clothing, and the starving horses perished by thousands; the guns were thrown into the river for want of beasts to transport them. The very crows fell dead from the cold, and the doctors were employed in amputating frost-bitten hands and feet. Charles continued his march, ascertained the distance which separated him from Asia, and consoled his half-naked soldiers with the assurance that he would conduct them so far that they could only receive news of Sweden three times a year. A soldier showed him the horrible mouldy bread on which the army was fed. Charles took it, tasted it, and observed quietly, "It is not good, but it may be eaten."

The arrival of spring did not put an end to the sufferings of the army. Prince Menchikof sacked Batourine, the capital of the fugitive hetman, and razed the *sétcha* of the Zaporogues (May 1709). Charles reached the walls of Pultowa, and halted there, to wait for the Turks and the Poles of Leszczinski, who were never to arrive. While awaiting them he determined to attack Pultowa, "for a diversion." It was in vain that the uselessness of the enterprise and the impossibility of success were represented to him. What was the good of wasting powder and the munitions of war, which had now become rare in the camp? "Yes," replied the Iron-head to Gyllenkruck, "we are obliged to do extraordinary things to gain honor and glory;" and to Piper, "An angel would have to descend from heaven with orders for me to go before I stirred from this place." When had his favorite heroes of the Eddas ever been seen to retreat? He made Gutman, his servant, recite the saga of Rolf Ericson, who "vanquished the Russian sorcerer in the isle of Retusari, and conquered all Russia and Denmark, so that his name is honored and glorified throughout the North." Menchikof then came up and showed that he had profited by the lessons of the Swedes by making a feint, which enabled him to throw some troops into Pultowa.

The Tzar arrived (4th—15th June, 1709) with 60,000 men,

whom he covered by an entrenchment raised during a single night. Charles's army was now reduced to 29,000 men, who lacked everything, suffered as much from the extreme heat as they had formerly done from the extreme cold, and were exhausted by suffering and privations. He had only four field-pieces against the seventy-two guns of the Tzar. In one of his nightly sallies, when he was trying to harass the enemy's vanguard, Charles received a wound in his heel which necessitated a cruel operation, and on the day of the famous battle (27th June—8th July, 1709) he had to be carried in a litter. The generals on whom the responsibility of command fell could not agree; he himself thwarted the dispositions of Rehnskold, who was nominated general-in-chief.

Peter had confided the centre to Cheremetief, the right to Renne, the left to Menchikof, and the artillery to Bruce. He then harangued his troops. "The moment is come," he said; "the fate of our country is to be decided. You must not think 'it is for Peter we fight'; no, it is for the empire confided to Peter, it is for the country, it is for our orthodox faith, for the Church of God. As for Peter, know that he is ready to sacrifice his life for a prosperous and glorious future for Russia."

The Swedes took the offensive. "All those who have served in the Swedish army," says Voltaire, "know that it was impossible to resist their first shock." They saw in victory an end of their sufferings, and fought like the wild Bersarkers of the legends. They charged with fury the cavalry placed at the right of the Russians, wounded Renne, who had to yield his command to Bauer, and took two redoubts. Peter, in trying to rally his cavalry, received a ball in his hat. Menchikof had three horses killed under him.

Unluckily for Charles, the corps of Kreutz, which ought to have made a *détour* and fallen on the enemy's flank, was lost, and never appeared. The superior artillery of the Russians arrested the charge of the Swedes. Menchikof marched boldly on their rear, and thus separated the body of the army from the camp under Pultowa, which he finally reached. The Russian fire on the front of the Swedes was so violent that the horses harnessed to Charles's litter were killed; his drabans then took it in turns to carry him, but twenty-one out of the twenty-four were left where they fell. The Russian cavalry rallied, and the Russian infantry which was now put in motion broke the Swedish line. Attacked in front by Peter, and in the rear by Menchikof, the Swedes were speedily thrown into disorder. They fled, and Charles was placed on horseback by his guards, and obliged to go with the stream. He hardly escaped being taken.

Accompanied by Mazeppa and by the Pole Poniatowski, he arrived after two days' flight at the banks of the celebrated Borys-thenes, which in the tenth century so many Scandinavian fleets had sailed down. He crossed the Dnieper in a little boat with Mazeppa, and continued his route to Otchakof. It was thus that "the last of the Varangians and the last of the free Cos-sacks entered the land of the Sultan as fugitives." The Swedes had lost about 10,000 men—3000 were taken on the field of battle; the bulk of the army, which had continued, under Lew-enhaupt, its march to the Dnieper, had to pause on its banks. Menchikof, sent there hastily by the Tzar, obliged 16,000 more Swedes to lay down their arms (Capitulation of Perevolotchna). Of the magnificent army which at Leipzig had made all Europe tremble, not a battalion escaped.

The evening after the battle the Tzar received in his tent those Swedish generals whose names had been cited among the first captains of the age. He treated these glorious prisoners courteously and drank to the health of "his masters in the art of war." He accepted the grades of general and vice-admiral, the Russian churches resounded with songs of triumph, the Tzar was exalted in eloquent sermons, and Kourbatof wrote to him, "Rejoice, because obedient to the Word of God thou hast exposed thy life for thy servants; rejoice, because thou hast forged thine army by thy courage, as men heat gold in a furnace; rejoice, because thou mayest hope for the realization of thy dearest wish—the domination of the sea of the Varangians." Peter after Pultowa, like Charles after Narva, tasted in his turn the sweets of glory. But the success of Pultowa differed from the success of Narva. Narva had been only a victory; Pultowa marks a new era in universal history. Sweden, which under Gustavus Adolphus, and again under Charles XI., had played in Europe the part of a great Power, which had even obtained an importance out of all proportion with her actual resources, was suddenly relegated to the third rank among States. The place she had left vacant in the North was taken by a nation which had at its disposal far larger resources, besides a greater power of expansion. The shores of the Baltic were to pass into its hands. Already Russia declared herself, not only a Power of the North, but a Power of Europe. Muscovy, which, had been formerly held in check by little Sweden, by anarchic Poland, by decrepit Turkey, or even by the Khan of the Tatars, was destined to become formidable to France, to England, and to the house of Austria. With Russia, the Slav race, so long humiliated, made a triumphal entry into the stage of the world. Finally, Pultowa was not only a victory, it was the proof of the

regeneration of Russia ; it justified the Tzar, his foreign auxiliaries, his regular army ; it left his hands free to reform, gave to the empire a new capital, and promised to Europe a new civilized people. " Now," he wrote to Apraxine from the field of battle, " the first stone for the foundation of St. Petersburg is laid, by the help of God."

CHAPTER II.

PETER THE GREAT: THE REFORMS.

General character of the reforms; the instruments of Peter the Great—Social reforms: the *tsin*; emancipation of women—Administrative, military, and ecclesiastical reforms—Economic reforms; manufactures—Utilitarian character of the plans of education—Foundation of St. Petersburg (1703).

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE REFORMS: THE COLLABORATORS OF PETER THE GREAT.

1. THE way for the reforms of Peter the Great had been made smooth by those of Alexis, and by all the movement of the 17th century. Under the Ivans, under Boris, under the early Romanofs, Russia had been gradually thrown open to strangers. It by no means followed that the whole country was disposed to follow Peter the Great in his innovations. Opposed to him were those who had refused to accept the reforms of Nikon, and many who, while accepting them, had no idea of going further. The *raskols*, and certain members of the State Church, were his enemies; the Russian people were more averse to innovation than any in Europe. "Novelty brings calamity," says a proverb; the nobles were also hostile to everything that could contribute to autocratic centralization.

Peter the Great found, then, a steady resistance among the majority of the nation; to conquer it, where persuasion and his own example did not suffice, he employed the energy of his semi-barbarous character, and the terrible resources of absolute power. By main force he dragged the nation in the path of progress; at every page of his reforming edicts we find the knout and the penalty of death.

2. These innovations effected by the prince were not intended to prejudice his own authority; nay, they had, we may say, for their sole end the transformation of a patriarchal into a modern despotism. The force of the government was to be increased without any essential change in its character. The Tzar remained as much an autocrat as Ivan the Terrible, but his au-

thority was to be exercised by means of more perfect instruments, and by agents subjected to the disciplines and rules of the West.

3. The mass of the people still remained serfs and attached to the soil,—twenty millions of human beings were the property of the territorial oligarchy; but, notwithstanding, the Russian nation was to be furnished with the instruments necessary to enter into regular communications with the free people of Europe. Russia was to seem a state centralized and civilized like the France of Louis XIV., yet the patriarchal and Asiatic principle, which, confounding paternal and territorial authority with political rule, presided over the relations of the father with his children, of the Tzar with his subjects, of the proprietor with his slaves, of the superior with his inferiors, was still unimpaired. On a social organization, which seemed to date from the 11th century, were to rise diplomacy, a regular army, a bureaucratic hierarchy, schools and academies, and the trade and manufactures of a luxurious civilization.

4. A fourth characteristic of the reforms of Peter the Great was that, in order completely to transport European civilization into Russia, he was obliged to borrow everything from strangers, without always having the time to choose the institutions best suited to his purpose. What was meant by civilization was then, and is still, the civilization of the West; therefore Peter surrounded himself with Dutchmen, Englishmen, Scotchmen, Swiss, and Germans. For the same reason he imported in the mass manufactures, trades, and artisans; had Western books translated, and sprinkled his administrative terminology with words borrowed from Sweden or Germany. That he might introduce Western ideas, he made himself a Dutchman and a German, forbade his subjects to wear the long garments peculiar to Asia, and wished them to adopt the short trousers, the cocked hat, and buckled shoes of Europe.

5. There was nothing servile, however, in this imitation; it was the method of a man of genius, who wished to outstrip time and hasten reforms by a hundred years. He intended that the Russians should be the pupils and not the subjects of the Germans; and as under his German dress he remained a Russian patriot, he reserved the first posts in the army and State for the natives. No doubt we may cite among his fellow-workers his admiral, the Genevese Lefort; the Scotch Gordon, created general; Bruce, a Scotchman born in Westphalia, who organized the artillery, directed the diplomacy, and after the publication of the almanack passed with the people for a sorcerer and a magician. Ostermann, son of a pastor in the county of La

Marck, was a skilful negotiator, of whom Peter said that he never committed faults in diplomacy; Münich, a good engineer, who later became field-marshal, and meantime constructed for Peter the canal of the Ladoga, was a native of the county of Oldenburg. But among the chosen companions of Peter the Great, in the nest of "Peter's eaglets," as Pouchkine calls them, we find many Russians, and in the highest post among these men Menchikof, a "new man," who rose from nothing to become prince, field-marshal, admiral, and conqueror, but whose probity did not stand as high as his talents. Another was Boris Cheremetief, a great noble, whose name and exploits are still preserved in the songs of the people, who travelled in the West before Peter, and came back to Russia in German clothes, a man as honest as he was brave, first in date of the Russian marshals. There were also Dmitri Mikhaïlovitch, head of the princely family of Galitsyne, who devoted himself to the reformer, though detesting "new men"; his brother Michael Galitsyne, who when he became field-marshal continued to show to his elder brother an old-fashioned deference, and refused to sit at the same table with him; Jacob Dolgorouki, who could brave the wrath of Peter and force him to hear the truth; Golovine, high admiral and diplomatist; Apraxine, admiral, conqueror on the Swedish seas; the diplomatist Golvokine, grand chancellor; Chafirof, vice-chancellor of the empire; Gregory and Vassili Dolgorouki; Andrew Matvéef; the Kourakines, ambassadors, father and son, to the courts of the West. Not to be forgotten are the intelligent and quick-tempered Jagoujinski, afterwards procurator-general of the senate; Tolstoï, an accomplice of Sophia, pardoned on account of his high intelligence, an excellent negotiator and administrator of justice; Romodanovski, the cruel director of the State inquisition; Kourbatof, the financier of the new *régime*, besides three Little Russians, three ecclesiastics, three brilliant pupils of the Academy of Kief, —Saint Dmitri of Rostof, Stephen Javorski, and Feofane Prokopovitch, to whom we must add the bishop Feofilakt Lopatinski. Such were the Russian men of the *vrémia* of Peter the Great.

SOCIAL REFORMS: THE "TCHIN;" EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN.

The most numerous class in Russia was that on which the reform made the State press with a daily increasing weight, and which paid by the sweat of its brow for the expenses of regeneration—the rural population. It was subdivided into *odnovortsi*, peasants with a free or even noble origin; into farmers on the

métayer system (*polavinki*), who cultivated the land of the nobles and handed over to them half the products, but who had retained their personal liberty; into *peasants* of the crown, of the monasteries and of proprietors, all attached to the soil. The edicts of Peter confounded all these classes, and subjected all the cultivators to a capitation tax and a fixed residence: this was equivalent to serfage. The reasons which had caused Godounof to legalize their attachment to the soil still subsisted in all their original force, and were likely to cause severe legislation. The tax on the *fires* became the tax upon *heads*, and the proprietors, by a considerable augmentation of their seignorial authority, were intrusted with its collection. Peter the Great merely promulgated an edict which sought to regulate the sale of slaves. "If the sale cannot be abolished completely, slaves must be sold by families without separating husbands from wives, parents from children, and no longer like head of cattle, a thing unheard of in the whole world." This act, at least in its philanthropic clauses, never received any sanction. Anne Ivanovna later legalized this shameful abuse by collecting her dues on the sale of slaves.

The inhabitants of the towns were divided into three categories. To the first belonged bankers, manufacturers, rich traders, physicians, chemists, capitalists, merchants, jewellers, workers in metal, and artists; to the second, small traders and masters of crafts; to the third, the lowest class of journeymen and artisans. The first two of these divisions took the German name of "first and second guilds," and were invested with certain privileges.

Foreigners obtained the right of freely engaging in trade or commerce, of acquiring real property, of intermarrying with Russians, of entering the service of the State, of practising their respective modes of worship, and of leaving the empire at will, on condition of giving up the tenth of their goods.

The Russian nobility assumed the character of a *nobility based on service*. The two ideas of nobility and the service of the Tzar became correlative. Every noble was obliged to serve, and whoever, Russian or foreigner, entered the service of the State became a gentleman. Peter the Great was as inexorable as Louvois in exacting service from the aristocracy: every *dворянин* was at the disposal of the government till his death. Thus was the distinction finally effaced between the two kinds of lands possessed by the nobles, the *pomiestia*, or fiefs, and the *votchiny* or allods; both were henceforward only held as fiefs of the Tzar, on condition of military service. Up to this time the civil, military, naval, and ecclesiastical hierarchies had no common standard. Peter established in each hierarchy corresponding

grades, confounded hereditary nobility and the nobility of service, and distributed the officers of the State among the fourteen degrees of the Tchin. These extended, in the civil order, from the registrar of the college to the chancellor of the empire; in the military order, from the cornet or ensign to the field-marshal; in the fleet, from the standard-bearer to the high admiral; in the court, from the *tafeldecker* to the grand chamberlain; in the Church, from the deacon to the metropolitan.

Peter borrowed from German legislation a settlement wholly antipathetic to the Russian laws, which insisted on equality in the division of property. He introduced the custom ("Majorat") by which the property passed to the heir with the title. In virtue of this new law, the land of a noble belonged exclusively to the eldest, or to one of the sons nominated heir by his father. Peter saw in this practice, which was to survive him but a short time, the following advantages: the noble families could no longer ruin and impoverish themselves by repeated partitions of the property; the peasants would be happier under the rule of one rich proprietor than under that of his needy co-heirs; the younger branches, no longer reckoning on the paternal estate, would be obliged to seek their livelihood in commerce or in the service of the State, "idleness being the mother of all the vices." The younger members of the nobility were besides only to be admitted into the service under certain conditions of elementary or special instruction, and technical preparation. Even marriage was forbidden to an uneducated gentleman. The foundation of the orders of Saint Andrew and Saint Catherine finished the destruction of the barrier of caste.

The seclusion of women was an Asiatic custom with which Peter waged fierce war. He would abolish the *terem* locked "with twenty-seven bolts," the *fata* over the face, and litters with closed curtains. Six weeks before every marriage the betrothal was to take place, and from that moment the bridal pair might freely see each other, and might even break off the engagement if they were not satisfied on further acquaintance. Fathers and guardians had to swear that they would not marry young people against their will; and masters, that they would not force the consent of their slaves. Midwives were forbidden to put to death misshapen infants. Peter the Great took wives and daughters from their domestic cloisters, and brought them into the life of European *salons*. He instituted assemblies, free meetings which might take place in any house, where men and women appeared in European dress, where they partook together of refreshments, danced Polish or German dances, and where French or Swedish prisoners served as teachers of manners. The assemblies

of Peter the Great were at first only a parody of those of Versailles. Bergholtz complains that men allowed themselves to smoke in the presence of the ladies; that the ladies sat apart, embarrassed, dressed up, silently watching each other; that the drunken nobles were often carried away by their drunken lackeys. Did not Peter himself institute as a punishment for any breach of good behavior the emptying of the "great eagle," a huge goblet filled with brandy? To amuse the new society and give life to his capital, he invented masquerades, cavalcades of disguised lords and ladies, the feast of fools, the Great Conclave, presided over by the "Prince-pope" surrounded by "Cardinals" dead drunk. He forbade the use of servile diminutives and prostrations before the Tzar, and by blows with his cane he taught his nobility to feel themselves free men and Europeans.

ADMINISTRATIVE, MILITARY, AND ECCLESIASTICAL REFORMS.

The ancient *douma* of the boyards was replaced by the "directing senate," composed of nine members, which at first never acted save in the absence of the prince. The number was afterwards increased, and it became permanently both the great council of government, high committee of finance, and supreme court of justice. Peter commanded the Senate to be obeyed like himself, but on all important questions the Senate made its report to the Tzar. He appointed, in connection with this body, a procurator-general, charged with superintending the execution of the laws. Peter often reproached the new senators with conducting affairs "after the old fashion," with dragging out deliberations, and taking bribes. He had to make a new rule, in virtue of which senators were forbidden, under different penalties, to cry out, to beat each other, or to call each other thieves.

Peter suppressed the ancient Muscovite *prikazes*. He created instead, by the advice of Leibnitz, and after the German model, "colleges" of government similar to those by which the regent Orleans replaced the ministers of Louis XIV. There were ten of these colleges: those of foreign affairs, war, admiralty, treasury, revenue, justice, property of the nobles, manufactures, mines, and commerce. A collection of Swedish edicts was translated for their use. As they had few capable men, strangers were employed, in the proportion of one for each college, and often they were obliged to resort to interpreters to enable them to understand each other. Captive Swedish officers and dra-

goons might be seen administering the empire. Peter sent for Slavs from Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, as being quicker at learning the Russian language. He despatched forty young men to Königsberg to study the elements of administration and finance. This autocrat permitted his colleges to elect their presidents. In 1722 the office of president of the college of justice being vacant, he assembled at the palace the senators, generals, officers, and a hundred members of the nobility, and after having taken their oaths made them proceed to the election in his presence.

Before Peter the Great the provincial governments were in hopeless confusion. The governors of provinces and the voïevodes directed at once war, finance, justice, and superintendence of buildings. Peter divided the empire into twelve governments, subdivided into forty-three provinces; the former were administered by governors and vice-governors, the latter by voïevodes. These representatives of the sovereign were assisted by a council, or *landrath*, elected by the nobles. The towns received an autonomous and municipal government; the citizens elected *burgomasters*, and these a president or mayor. The burgomasters and the mayor formed the *rathhaus* or corporation of the city. In special cases the citizens of the first and second *guilds* were summoned to the council. All the magistrates of Russia were subject to a chief magistrate, chosen from the municipal council of St. Petersburg, of which one-half was composed of foreigners. The chief magistrate watched over the prosperity of commerce and manufactures, sanctioned the sentences of death pronounced by the corporations of the province, decided disputes between the *rathhaus* and the citizens, confirmed the municipal elections, and sent in reports to the Senate. He was nominated by the Tzar. The towns had their *landmiliz*. The patriarchal and socialist constitution of the rural communes was not touched.

Ignorance, inexperience, and corruption were the vices of the new administration. The functionaries had always present to their minds the advice of the ancient Tzars—"Look to thy office, and indemnify thyself." Peter attacked with fury this deeply-rooted abuse, practised by the chief personages of the empire, headed by Menchikof. The exactions of the governor provoked a revolt at Astrakhan. Another governor of the same city was condemned by Peter to be torn by pigs. Gagarine, governor of Siberia, and Lapoukhine, of Revel, were decapitated. Chafirof was pardoned on the scaffold. Nesterof, after having made the denunciation of thieves a profession, was himself broken on the wheel as a thief. One day

Peter made one of his nobles show him the accounts of his expenditure, and proved to him that he himself robbed the State, and was robbed in turn by his steward. The Tzar beat him with his own hand, and said to him, "Now go and find your steward, and settle accounts with him." It is said that Menchikof himself was not safe against the imperial correction. The recruits were the chief sufferers from their extortions. These unhappy men, who were torn from their native villages and chained like galley-slaves, were thrown into prison on arriving at their halting-place, were fed upon mushrooms which their captains made them graze on in the forests, and naturally died by hundreds before reaching their regiments. Peter was obliged to invite his subjects to denounce the thieves by promising to give the accusers the *tchin* and the fortune of the accused.

The code of Alexis Mikhailovitch was no longer suitable to the Russia of Peter the Great. The latter wished to adopt the Swedish code, and to modify what was inapplicable in it to the Russians by means of ancient Muscovite laws, or new legislation. This project could not be realized. In criminal cases he still employed torture, though with mitigations. He replaced the old *pravege* by labor in the public works. He introduced a written procedure in the tribunals, which had all the faults of an inquisitorial procedure. Justice was administered in various districts, now by tribunals properly so called, now by the voïevodes, the *landrichter*, or by the magistrates of the towns. At Petersburg sat the supreme court, consisting of delegates from the Senate.

The Petersburg police was controlled by the *general politz-meister*, that of Moscow by the *ober-poltiz-meister*. In the large towns there was an inspector of police for every ten houses; all the citizens over twenty years of age had to enter the service of the watch. The governors, voïevodes, commissioners of the country, and all who held authority were responsible for the public safety. The Russia of that date needed strict superintendence. Moscow, whose streets were common sewers, began to be paved with wood. Servants, under penalty of fines, stripes, or the knout, were enjoined to keep the house-front clean. Beggars multiplied; well-to-do citizens were not ashamed to ask for alms, or to send their children to beg in the streets; they were in future to be arrested and taken before the police. People who pretended to be in the public service and were furnished with false credentials, and imposed on the credulity of the peasants, were sought out and punished. Hospitals were established for the sick, workhouses for vagabonds, mad people were housed together, coiners and forgers were rigorously proceeded against.

Most difficult of all to deal with were the brigands. Brigandage was habitual in Russia, and was favored by the vast and vacant wilds, the deep forests, the passive temper of the peasants, who did not dare to arm for the defence of one of their members, and would allow him to be despoiled and tortured in presence of the whole village by a few bandits. The brigands formed themselves into great troops, armed and disciplined in the European manner, furnished with cavalry and artillery; they pillaged the Crown taverns, burned the villages, invaded the dwellings of the nobles, and took the small towns by assault. Their recruits were Cossacks, fugitive peasants, soldiers who had deserted, unfrocked priests; gentlemen and even noble ladies were seen riding at their head, thus augmenting their revenues by robbery. Battles had to be fought before security could be restored.

The open or sullen opposition his reforms met with caused Peter to create a State inquisition. This opposition came to light on all occasions. The ladies of honor, who wore the European costume when the Tzar was present, threw it off with contempt when he went away. Insulting placards were affixed to the walls. Even in the bosom of his own family the Tzar met with hostility. He instituted the bureau of reformation (*Préobrajenskoe prikaz*), or *secret court of police*, which has left a terrible memory. To ruin his enemy a man had only to raise the cry of *slovo i diélo* (word and deed), immediately the accuser and accused were arrested and conducted to the "hall of the question," which the latter seldom left unconvicted.

In the matter of finance Peter replaced the tax on fires, which gave rise to perpetual disputes, by a poll-tax. Ecclesiastics, nobles, broken soldiers, the inhabitants of the Baltic provinces, Bachkirs, and Lapps were alone exempted from it. Even free peasants were liable. Kourbatof introduced the tax of the *eagle paper* (*gerbovaïa boumagha*), or stamped paper. But in the midst of the terrible necessities of war Peter had recourse to other expedients. The officials were often deprived of part of their pay. The raskolniks were doubly taxed. Those who wore beards had to pay from 30 to 100 roubles, according to their fortune. The peasants were taxed two *deniers* for their beards when they entered the towns. Baths, mills, huts, and bees were taxed.

One day Peter ordered all oak coffins at the makers' to be seized and sold for his profit. The crown had for a long while absorbed the commerce of soda, potash, and of tar, which were the produce of the forests of the north. The revenues of the State, in fifteen years alone, from 1710 to 1725, rose from three to ten million roubles.

After the dissolution of the *streltsi*, the regular army was composed of infantry and dragoons, dressed in European uniforms, and raised to 210,000 men. The peasantry were subjected to a system of conscription, which was to be for long a source of despotism and tyranny. At this period was formed a whole popular literature of "lamentations of recruits." The irregular troops of the Cossacks and the tribes of the east furnished endless numbers of soldiers. A maritime conscription was established along the banks of the lakes, rivers, and the sea. Soon the Russian fleet numbered 48 ships of the line, 800 boats of a lower class, and 28,000 sailors.

On the death of the patriarch Adrian, who had little sympathy with the reforms (1700), Peter conferred on Stephen Javorski the title of "Superintendent of the Patriarchal Throne." Peter had resolved to abolish this institution of Godounof, and to give to the Church herself the collegiate organization with which he was at that time so fascinated. The preamble of the edict instituting the Holy Synod, which was compiled by Feofane Prokopovitch, is very curious: "The collegiate organization will not cause the country to fear the troubles and seditions that may arise when only one man finds himself at the head of the Church. The simple people are not quick to seize the distinction between the spiritual and imperial power; struck with the virtue and the splendor of the supreme pastor of the Church, they imagine that he is a second sovereign, equal and even superior in power to the autocrat. If a dispute takes place between the Patriarch and the Tzar, they are disposed to take the side of the former, believing that they thus embrace the cause of God." This mistrust of the spiritual power is again found in the Oukaze, where bishops are recommended to avoid pride and show, never to allow themselves to be supported under the arm in walking, unless they are ill, and to permit no prostrations before them. In the same manner as Peter had suppressed the hetmanate and established the College of Little Russia, he suppressed the patriarchate, and founded the Holy Synod. He wished to be sole emperor in Moscow, as in the Ukraine.

The Holy Synod was composed of a certain number of bishops, among whom a procurator-general, often a soldier, represented the Tzar. The Holy Synod was to be the instrument of reform in the Church. Each bishop was ordered to keep a school in his palace; the sons of the popes who refused to be educated were to be taken as soldiers. The grave question of monasteries was re-opened, but Peter did not yet dare to undertake the liquidation of their property. As Russia needed to be peopled, no Russian was allowed to become a monk till he was

thirty. No servant of the State might enter a cloister without leave. As the monks showed themselves more and more hostile to reform, they were forbidden to shut themselves up to write, or to have ink or pens in their cells. They were, however, compelled to work at some trade. Hospitals and schools were given into their charge, and also broken-down soldiers, who found in the monastery an honorable asylum. The bishops, on the contrary, were encouraged by Peter to write. Stephen Javorski published his book called 'The Signs of the Antichrist,' to refute Talitski, who had seen in the reforms of Peter the omens of the end of the world. As Voltaire relates, Talitski was put to death, and Javorski rewarded. 'The Stone of the Faith,' another of his works, was directed against Protestantism, while Saint Dmitri of Rostof wrote his 'Researches on the Raskolnik Church of Brynsk.'

Assailed at once by the religions of the West and by the raskol sects, the orthodox Church was forced to defend herself. The raskols were about this time divided into communities with priests and communities without priests (*bezpopovchtchina*). The most fanatical raskolniks fled into the deep forests, and there founded hermitages and even centres of population, which escaped for a long while the knowledge of government. Tracked and driven to extremity, certain enthusiasts burned themselves in a sort of *auto da fé*. Many of these shepherds of the desert, like Daniel Vikoulof and the brothers Denissof, made themselves famous by polemical works. Peter wished to relax the systems of preceding régimes, and protected all peaceable subjects who did not interfere with politics. Passing though the deserts of the Vyga, he found there a colony of industrious raskolniks, ordered them to be left in peace, and begged them to pray for him. "God," he said, "has given the Tzar power over the nations, but Christ alone has power over the consciences of men." He contented himself with doubling the taxes, and imposing a peculiar dress on the raskolniks of Moscow. Being however, a true believer, he regarded the faith of the raskol as an error, and did not wish it to spread. Penalties were enforced against its propagators, and precautions taken with regard to their listeners. The proper attendance every Sunday at church and an Easter Communion became a matter of obligation.

He followed the same policy with regard to Western religions, allowed foreigners to have their churches in St. Petersburg, and himself attended the French church, where his chair is still preserved. The Nevski Prospect, bordered with dissenting churches, was the "prospect of tolerance." He protected the Capuchins established at Astrakhan, and even tried to live

on good terms with the Jesuits ; but as they continued to work at their propaganda, they were banished in 1689, then recalled, then again definitely expelled in 1710. " He endured the Capuchins," says Voltaire, " as being monks of no consequence, but regarded the Jesuits as dangerous political enemies." The friend of the Dutch and the English persecuted the foreign Protestants who insulted the orthodox faith by word or deed. A Russian woman, Nastasia Zima, having spread the principles of Luther, was conducted, with her husband and six other neophytes, before the terrible secret chamber, and was cruelly tortured.

ECONOMIC REFORMS : MANUFACTURES.

Peter the Great had toiled so hard to establish himself on the Baltic because he felt that the White Sea, frozen over for so many months in the year, was insufficient to secure to Russia uninterrupted communication with the West. When St. Petersburg was founded, he wished to suppress Arkhangel for the benefit of the new port, and forbade the merchants to carry their merchandise down the Dwina. This project met with the most lively opposition. Apraxine assured him that such a measure would be the ruin of Russian commerce. The Dutch traders and the Hanseatic towns represented that the money they had spent in establishing themselves at Arkhangel would be lost, that it would be necessary to build vessels for the Baltic on an entirely different model, that they were obliged to pay Sound dues, and that in case of a war the smallest merchant ships would there need a convoy. The Russians who were accustomed to go to Arkhangel showed great repugnance to the journey to St. Petersburg, across a wide space without forage, and where they would find no inns such as had been established for centuries on the route to the White Sea. It was necessary to make a complete revolution in the habits of Russian commerce, in the distribution of the centres of industry and of the *dépôts*. The conductors of the caravan, in despair at the length of the voyage, often deserted, abandoning the wagons, or pillaging the merchandise. Peter the Great yielded, leaving time to justify his preference for the new city. He authorized trade both by way of Arkhangel and St. Petersburg, contenting himself with raising by a fourth the tariff of customs of the former town. Above all, he resolved to connect the city of the Neva with the great river artery of Russia, the Volga. To this end he created the canal of the Ladoga, projected a communication

of the White Sea with the Gulf of Finland, and hoped to unite the Black Sea with the Caspian by means of a canal between the Don and the Volga.

Peter negotiated treaties of commerce with many European States, stirred up the national agriculture, whose progress had been hindered by the slavery of the people, promulgated an edict which forced them to reap with scythes, instead of the old hooks, encouraged the cultivation of the vine and the mulberry in the regions of the south-east, ordered tobacco to be planted, introduced new kinds of cattle into the central provinces (such as that of Kholmogory), stimulated sheep-farming, which was necessary for wool factories, sent for Silesian shepherds, and made the Russians go to learn their trade in Silesia, and created besides the imperial stud. He took measures to preserve the forests, and sought for beds of combustible minerals. To counteract the indolence of such nobles as might have mines upon their lands, he declared that, in the case of their remaining unworked, strangers should have leave to work them, paying only a small premium to the proprietor. He decreed stripes and the penalty of death against any one who should dare to interfere with the mining labors and researches. Under him began the fortunes of the Demidofs, the great metallurgists, as in the reign of Ivan IV. the fortunes of the Strogonofs. He founded and encouraged his courtiers to found manufactures of chemical productions; of cloth, from the managers of which he purchased the materials which he wanted for the uniforms of the army; of sail-cloth, for which the navy would furnish a ready market. The French were specially skilled in making use of the Russian wool. The Russians owe them the first manufactories of tapestries; a Frenchman named Manvriou opened a stocking manufactory at Moscow. The Englishman Humphrey introduced an improvement in the fabrication of Russian leather; the Tzar required every town to send a certain number of shoemakers to take lessons in their art at Moscow, threatening them, if they continued to work in their old way, with confiscation and the galleys. The admiral Apraxine manufactured silk brocades. A moujik invented a lacquer superior to anything in Europe, except that of Venice. Thanks to the versatility of the national genius, economic progress would have immensely developed if the Tzar had been able to secure the Russian merchants against the cupidity of the great and the exactions of the officials, a danger already noted by Fletcher in the sixteenth century. Notwithstanding this drawback, more than two hundred mills were opened in this reign.

UTILITARIAN CHARACTER OF THE ESTABLISHMENTS FOR
INSTRUCTION.

Peter the Great took great pains with the education of his people. He felt that the surest means of obtaining those who would help him and would continue his work was gradually to initiate the nation into his new ideas, and little by little to reconcile them to reform. He especially insisted on the education of the sons of nobles and priests, for the means of instructing the mass of the people had long been wanting. A certain number of elementary schools were, however, founded in all the provinces, and the pupils of the mathematical schools of St. Petersburg were sent there as masters. These schools of Peter's had all a practical character and a present utility. Classical studies were neglected, and he did not trouble himself to create supplementary establishments to the Greco-Latin academy at Moscow. In his fierce struggle with the forces of the past he hastened to throw Russia open to his natural auxiliaries, the ideas and sciences of the West. The schools he multiplied were special schools—a naval academy, a school of engineers, a school of book-keeping. The literature he encouraged was a literature of translation, which enabled a huge mass of European ideas to be introduced in the lump; or else a polemic literature, to plead the cause of reform before the opinion of Russians and foreigners. It was for this reason he had an enormous number of technical books translated, employing for the purpose the professors of the Greco-Latin academy, the brothers Likhoudi, who had retired to Novgorod, and even the members of the synod. They worked at Moscow, and many books were translated abroad, some at first into Tcheque, so that the Muscovites might more easily reproduce them in their own tongue. History, geography, jurisprudence, political economy, navigation, military sciences, agriculture, and languages, were soon represented in Russia by numerous books, translations from Western languages. Peter himself gave his brigade of writers advice which shows his practical sense, and even his instinctive literary taste. "You must," he said to Zotof, "beware of translating word for word without knowing the complete meaning of the text. You must read with care, become penetrated with the sense of your author, must be able to think his thoughts in Russian, and only after that try to reproduce them." He also recommended them to refrain from long dissertations and useless digressions, "with which the Germans fill their books to make them appear thicker, and which only serve to waste time and

to disgust the reader." On the other hand, he forbade the suppression of some passages in Puffendorf, where Russian barbarism is denounced. His subjects must learn to blush for their rudeness before they could cure themselves of it. He caused books to be printed in Holland, in which he attempted to teach the Europeans what Russia was, and to appreciate her reforms; whilst he published others in Russia to make his subjects acquainted with Europe. He had recourse to Saint Dmitri, Feofane, and Feofilakt, who by their polemical writings combated superstitions and sects hostile to the State. Other writers turned into ridicule on the stage, in what were called operettas, all the enemies of reform, fanatical raskolniks, the deacon who wept because his son was torn from him and sent to school, the *employés* who fished in troubled waters, the partisans of the ancient customs, who regretted the "good old times," when German garments were unknown, and men wore long beards. Natalia, Peter's sister, associated herself in his work, by composing Russian plays. The merchant Passochkof wrote his book on 'Poverty and Riches,' a sort of *domostroï*, where all the changes in manners since the time of the priest Silvester can be followed. Passochkof dared to lift his voice in favor of the oppressed peasant, to demand the establishment of a tribunal before which all Russian subjects should be equal, a regular organization of justice and administration, which should protect the people against those who rob in public (brigands and thieves) and those who steal in secret (*employés* and officials). He expected everything of Peter. "Unhappily," he says, "our great monarch is almost alone, with ten others, in pulling upwards, while millions of individuals pull downwards. How then can we hope for a good result?"

Peter needed means of rapid publication. Now Russian printing had made little progress since the 16th century; it had tried specially to imitate the ancient Slavonic manuscripts, and its method was extremely slow. Peter abandoned the Slavonic alphabet, no longer in use except for the Church books; he was the creator of the Russian alphabet properly so called, the civil alphabet. He improved the machines and the types, imported Dutch printers, and made printing an instrument of a powerful and rapid propaganda. In his reign there were two printing presses instead of one at Moscow, four at St. Petersburg, and others at Tchernigof, Novgorod the Great, and Novgorod-Severoki. He founded the Gazette of St. Petersburg, the first public newspaper in Russia.

A prince who had studied medicine and surgery in the West, who sometimes practised on his courtiers, took out a tooth or

lanced an abscess, could **not** neglect an art so necessary to his vast empire, where the mortality of infants was a bar to the increase of population. He entrusted to Doctor Bidloo the management of the hospitals, and the instruction of fifty young men. In 1718 he put forth an edict enjoining the collection of valuable minerals, of extraordinary bones that might be found in the fields, of antique inscriptions on stone or metal, or any monstrosities of birth occurring among men or animals. "There are certain to be some of these births," says the ordinance, "but ignorant people make mysteries of them, believing that the birth of these monsters is due to some diabolic influence. This is impossible, for it is God and not the devil who is the creator of all things." Peter had a taste for geography: in 1719 he fitted out an expedition to Kamschnatka, to solve the question asked by Leibnitz, Is Asia united to America? In 1720 he opened a school of cartography. The science of history also has deep obligations to him: in 1722 he ordered a collection to be made, in the archives of the monasteries, of the chronicles and letters of the Tzars, and had copies taken of them. Polykarpof wrote a History of Russia from the 16th century, for which the Tzar gave him a reward of 200 roubles. Finally, in 1724, Peter the Great, already correspondent of the Academy of Sciences in Paris, founded that of St. Petersburg, and assigned it a revenue of 25,000 roubles on the revenues of the customs of Narva, Dorpat, and Pernau, desiring it above all to devote itself to translations, and to teach its pupils practical sciences and languages. The utilitarian character of Peter's creations is found even in his Academy. As it was not possible at that time to count on the Russians to form a learned body, the first academicians were necessarily foreigners. Germany furnished Wolff and Hermann; France, Bernouilli and De l'Isle. Thus a country which as yet had neither secondary schools nor universities was given an academy.

FOUNDATION OF ST. PETERSBURG (1703).

St. Petersburg had just been founded. Its situation, as Goethe remarks, "recalls that of Amsterdam, or of Venice, the Italian Amsterdam." The wide and majestic Neva, which issues from the great lakes of the north, there divides into four arms, the great and little Neva, and the great and little Nevka. If we add to these her numerous affluents, the Fontanka, the Okhta, and the two Tchernaias, we shall at present find about **fourteen watercourses, a lake, eight canals, and nineteen islands.**

It is the aquatic city *par excellence*, and is exposed to terrible inundations when the prodigious reservoirs of the Ladoga and Onega overflow. No building is ever made there without first strengthening the foundation by driving in innumerable piles of wood. When Peter the Great first cast his eyes over the country, after the capture of Nienschantz, there were only dark forests, vast marshes, dreary wastes, where, according to the poet, "a Tchoud fisherman, a sorrowful son of his stepmother Nature, might occasionally be seen alone on the marshy shore, casting his worn-out line into these nameless waters." The Finnish names then borne by the islands, on which palaces were afterwards to rise, are very significant; there were the Isle of Brushwood, the Isle of Birches, the Isle of Goats, the Isle of Hares, the Isle of Buffaloes, Isle Michael (a name for the bear), and the Wild Isle. In Eniçary, or "the Isle of Hares," Peter built in 1703 the new fortress (Saint Peter and Saint Paul). There he assembled regular soldiers, Cossacks, Tatars, Kalmucks, Ingrian or Carelian natives, and peasants of the interior, in all more than 40,000 men. No tools were provided for their first labors; the moujik dug the soil with sticks or his nails, and carried the earth in his caftan. He had to sleep in the open air among the marshes; he often lacked food, and the workmen died by thousands. Afterwards the service was made more regular. Peter installed himself in the celebrated little wooden house on the right bank, watching the building, sometimes piloting with his own hand the first Dutch ships which ventured into these waters, sometimes giving chase to Swedish vessels, which came to insult the infant capital. On the Isle of Buffaloes, on the northern bank of the Neva, afterwards the Vassili-Ostrof, numerous edifices rose; the southern bank, which became the real site of the town, was at that time neglected. It only contained the Admiralty, to which Anne Ivanovna added a spire; the church of Saint Isaac, then built of wood, now of marble and bronze; that of Saint Alexander Nevski, where Peter the Great deposited the remains of the first conqueror of the Swedes; the house of Apraxine, where Elizabeth built the Winter Palace, the already splendid *hôtels* of the Millionaïra, and where the Nevski Prospect, the most magnificent boulevard in Europe, was to run. The city was built by dint of edicts. Finns, Esthonians, Tatars, Kalmucks, Swedish prisoners, and merchants of Novgorod were transplanted thither; and in 1707 they were aided by 30,000 day laborers from the country. To attract all the masons of the empire, it was forbidden on pain of exile and confiscation to construct stone houses anywhere but at St. Petersburg. Every proprietor owning five hundred peasants was obliged to raise a

stone house of two stories ; those who were poor clubbed together to build one among themselves. Every boat that wanted to enter had to bring a certain number of white stones, for stone was lacking in these wastes. Forage was also wanting, and to save forage Peter proscribed the use of carriages, and encouraged navigation by the river and canals ; every inhabitant must have his boat, the court could only be approached by water.

In 1706 Peter wrote to Menchikof that all was going on wonderfully, and that "he seemed here in paradise." He decorated the church of the fortress with carvings in ivory, the work of his own hands ; hung it with flags conquered from the Swedes ; consecrated there his little boat, "ancestor of the Russian fleet" ; and, breaking through the tradition which insisted on the princes being buried at Saint Michael at Moscow, chose out at Saint Peter and Saint Paul his own tomb and that of his successors. "Before the new capital," says Pouchkine, "Moscow bowed her head, as an imperial widow bows before a young Tzarina."

St. Petersburg had another enemy besides the Swedes—the inundations. The soil was not yet raised by the incessant heaping up of materials ; the granite quays did not yet confine the formidable river. In 1705 nearly the whole town was flooded ; in 1721 all the streets were navigable, and Peter was nearly drowned in the Nevski Prospect. The enemies of reform, exasperated by the desertion of Moscow, rejoiced over these disasters, and predicted that this German town, built by foreign hands and soiled by the presence of heretic temples, would disappear beneath the floods. One day the place of this cursed city should be sought in vain. Even at the end of the reign of Peter, it was the general opinion that after his death the court and the nobility would return to Moscow, and that the city and the fleet created by the Tzar would be abandoned. They were mistaken ; the town that he had flung like a forlorn hope on the newly-conquered soil remained the seat of the empire. Russia is almost the only State that has built her capital on her very frontiers. St. Petersburg was not only to be the "window" open to the West, but it was to be also the centre of the Russian regeneration. More freely, more completely than at Moscow the Holy, where everything recalled the traditions and recollections of the past, Peter could enthrone at St. Petersburg the sentiments of toleration for the Protestant and Catholic religions, and sympathy for strangers, who were always detested at Moscow. He could more easily persuade the nobles to adopt German fashions, to speak Western languages, to cultivate

sciences and useful arts, to discard with the national cast the old Russian prejudices. At Moscow, the City of the Tzars, foreigners were confined in the German *slobode*; at St. Petersburg, the City of the Emperors, the Russian and the stranger would meet and mingle.

CHAPTER III.

PETER THE GREAT: LAST YEARS (1709-1725).

War with Turkey: treaty of the Pruth (1711)—Journey to Paris (1717)—Peace of Nystad (1721)—Conquests on the Caspian—Family affairs; Eudoxia; trial of Alexis (1718); Catherine.

WAR WITH TURKEY: TREATY OF THE PRUTH (1711).

CHARLES XII., who had allowed himself to be detained in Poland during the five years that followed Narva, was to languish at Bender during five other years that followed Pultowa (1709-13). Peter turned this new delay to advantage with as much energy as the former. Charles's Polish king Leszczinski was obliged to retire into Pomerania, and Augustus of Saxony re-entered Warsaw. In the north Peter completed the conquest of Livonia and Esthonia, took a slice out of Finland, thus widening the opening he was trying to secure on the Baltic, and captured Riga, Dünamunde, Pernau, Revel, Viborg, and Kixholm (1710). He could not conquer Courland, a subject state of Poland, but he paved the way for its union with Russia by marrying the Duke to Anne Ivanovna, daughter of his brother Ivan.

The agents of Sweden and of Stanislas, Désaleurs, ambassador of France, and the Khan of the Tatars, all urged the Divan to go to war. Achmet III. longed to recapture Azof. Peter learned that his ambassador had been confined in the Seven Towers, and that Baltagi-Mahomet was assembling an immense army in the plains of Adrianople. The Tzar received this declaration of war almost with joy; the whole of Russia trembled with gladness at the thought of treading in the steps of her ancient princes, of marching to the "Sovereign City" (Tzargrad), of freeing the Christians of the East, of exterminating the old enemies of the Slav race, and of eclipsing the glory of Ivan the Terrible. The Eastern world was shaken to its depths: Kantemir, Hospodar of Moldavia, Brancovane, Hospodar of Wallachia, Servians, Montenegrins, and Greeks, all ardently desired a liberator. Carried away by his enthusiasm, Peter committed, in 1711, the same fault as Charles XII. in 1709. He counted on the doubtful help that he might find in these barbarous and

thinly-peopled countries, and did not wait for the more effective contingent of 30,000 men promised him by Augustus. He crossed the Dniester, found Moldavia almost destitute of inhabitants, devastated by locusts, without a commissariat, while the Hospodars were undecided and powerless as Mazeppa. Kan-temir, deserted by most of his boyards, appeared nearly alone in the Russian camp. Brancovane, Hospodar of Wallachia, declared for the Sultan. Peter found himself on the banks of the Pruth, with 38,000 weary and starving soldiers, surrounded by 200,000 Turks or Tatars. The bravery displayed by this handful of men in a fight in which 7000 Janissaries perished, made the Grand Vizier pause and reflect. He heard that Renne, Peter's lieutenant, had taken Braillof and menaced the bridges thrown across the Danube.

Notwithstanding this success, the greatest consternation reigned in the Russian camp, which was encumbered with wounded men and women. It was Catherine, the future empress, who revived their courage. She collected all the money and jewels that could be found in the camp as a present for the Grand Vizier, and persuaded the Tzar to send envoys to the Turkish entrenchments. These envoys had orders to make any sacrifice demanded by the Turk to restore Azof, Livonia, even Esthonia and Carelia, but to hold fast Ingria, the loss of which would involve that of the new capital, and rather sacrifice even Pskof. Peter was ready to yield in the Polish question. If the Turks demanded that they should surrender at discretion, the Russians were prepared to force a passage, and to fight to the last man." The Vizier's demands were smaller than were anticipated: he contented himself with the restitution of Azof, the destruction of the fortresses erected on the Turkish territory, and the promise that Charles XII. should be left in peace when he returned to his own kingdom. Such was the celebrated Treaty of the Pruth or Falksen, which caused universal joy in the Russian army, but which always left a trace of sadness in Peter the Great. To have come as deliverer of the Christian world and to be forced to capitulate, to surrender Azof, his first conquest, to annihilate his fleet on the Black Sea, which had cost him so many efforts! He took his revenge on another side!

JOURNEY TO PAR (1717)—PEACE OF NYSTAD (1721)—CONQUESTS ON THE CASPIAN.

In 1712 and 1713, while France was passing through a supreme crisis in the war of the Spanish Succession, the Russians, with their Danish and Saxon allies, were expelling the Swedes

from Pomerania. In May 1713 a fleet of 200 Russian ships, commanded by Apraxine, with Peter for vice-admiral, left the Neva, took Helsingfors, capital of Finland, and Abo, the library of which was sent to St. Petersburg, and disembarked troops who defeated the Swedes at Tammerfors. The following year the Russians again defeated the enemy's fleet at Hanko, and occupied the isles of Åland. Even Stockholm was threatened, the Russians not being more than fifteen miles from the Swedish capital. The capture of Nysslot completed the conquest of Finland, and Charles XII., who hastened from Bender, could save neither Stralsund nor Wismar. After long hesitation, the King of Prussia had joined his enemies, and the last Swedish fortresses in Pomerania had fallen. The Elector of Hanover, King of England, also turned against him, and took Verden, a possession of Charles on the Weser. With Sweden deprived of her provinces in the German empire, the results of the Treaty of Westphalia were imperilled. The war in the North, formerly localized in the Eastern Baltic, became a European war, and threatened the equilibrium of the Continent. Russian armies, for the first time, poured into Northern Germany. Peter, who had married one of his nieces to the Duke of Courland, found a husband for the other, Catherine Ivanovna, in the Duke of Mecklenburg, and lent his support to help this prince to reduce his nobility to obedience. North Germany seemed ready to fall under the Muscovite yoke, as in the seventeenth century she had passed under the Swedish rule. The allies of the Tzar began to fear his ambition. The Mecklenburg nobles took their revenge by everywhere stirring up enemies against him. Bernsdorff induced George of Hanover to break off his alliance with the Tzar, and two other Mecklenburgers obtained the promise of the King of Denmark to close the gates of Wismar on Peter. Peter felt that he also must find support, and, as the question had now become European, must seek European allies. It was at this juncture that Baron Görtz undertook to reconcile him with Charles XII., whose courage was to be used to overthrow the King of England, and to replace the Stuart dynasty on the throne. Peter wished, moreover, to enter into relations with France. In 1711 he had sent Gregory Volkof to Louis XIV., to ask his mediation, but the Grand Monarque thought himself too deeply involved with Sweden, though Charles had but scantily fulfilled his own obligations. After the death of Louis XIV. the Duke of Orleans became Regent. Peter decided to visit Versailles, and Zotof, his agent at the Court of France, assured him of the good-will of the Duke. The Tzar had therefore grounds to hope for the conclusion of a close alliance with

a powerful kingdom, and perhaps to look forward to the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with the young King Louis XV. The circumstances under which Peter made his second journey to the West were all unlike those of his former tour. He was no longer the young prince, only half civilized, master of a nearly unknown State in Eastern Europe, but the conqueror of Pultowa and of Hankül, the master of the Baltic and Northern Germany, the reformer of a numerous people, the founder of a new capital and a new empire, the head of a great European nation.

"This monarch," says Saint Simon, "astonished Paris by his extreme curiosity on all points of government, commerce, education, and police,—a curiosity which disdained nothing, but probed everything. All his conduct displayed the breadth of his views and the acuteness of his reasoning. His manner was at once the most dignified, the proudest, the most sustained, and at the same time the least embarrassing. He had the sort of familiarity that springs from boundless liberty, but he was not exempt from a trace of the old-world rudeness of his country, which made him abrupt and even uncourteous, and with nothing certain about his wishes but the fact that not one of them was to be contradicted. His habits at meals were rough; the revelry that followed was even more barbaric. He seldom tried to hide in his establishment the freedom and the self-will of a king. The wish to be at his ease, dislike of being made a spectacle, the habit of liberty for which he was accountable to none, made him prefer hired carriages, even *fiacres*. He would jump into the first empty carriage he met with, without caring to whom it belonged, and have himself driven about the town or beyond the walls. He was a very tall man, well made, though rather thin, his face somewhat round, with a wide forehead, beautiful eyebrows, a short nose, thick at the end; his lips were rather thick, his skin brown and ruddy. He had splendid eyes, large, black, piercing, and well opened; his expression was dignified and gracious when he liked, but often wild and stern, and his eyes, and indeed his whole face, were distorted by an occasional twitch that was very unpleasant. It lasted only a moment, and gave him a wandering and terrible look, then he was himself again. His air expressed intellect, thoughtfulness, and greatness, and had a certain grace about it. He wore a linen collar, a round peruke, brown and unpowdered, which did not reach his shoulders; a brown *juste-au-corps*, with gold buttons, a vest, breeches, stockings, and neither gloves nor cuffs; the star of his order on his coat, and the ribbon underneath it; his coat was often unbuttoned, his hat lay on the table and never on his

head, even out of doors. In this simplicity, however shabby might be his carriage or scanty his suit, his natural air of greatness could not be mistaken."

Peter visited both the Regent and the King, took Louis XV. in his arms, to the great consternation of the courtiers, and wrote to his wife Catherine: "The little king is scarcely taller than our dwarf Loaki; his face and figure are distinguished and he is tolerably intelligent for his age." The Tzar, despised all that was merely fashionable and unproductive luxury, and occupied himself entirely with government, commerce, science, and military affairs. He neglected to call on the princes of the blood, but entered the shops of coach-builders and goldsmiths. He tasted the soup of the Invalides, drank their health, struck them on the shoulder, and treated them as comrades. The Gobelins, the Observatory, the King's garden, the collection of plans in relief of fortified places, the works of the Pont Tournant, and the machine at Marly, captivated his attention. A medal was struck for him at the Mint with his own effigy and the motto "*Vires acquirit eundo.*" He was present at a meeting of the Academy of Sciences, which elected him a member, and corrected with his own hand a map of his dominions which was shown to him. He embraced a bust of Richelieu at the Sorbonne, and wished to see Madame de Maintenon as a relic of the great reign.

Things did not run quite as smoothly as he wished in the matter which had chiefly brought him to France. He sought an ally against George I.; but the English alliance was then the corner-stone of the French foreign policy. "The Tzar," says Saint Simon, "had an intense desire to unite himself with France. Nothing could have been better for our commerce, or for our position with regard to Germany, the North, and the whole of Europe. Peter held England in check by her fears for her commerce, and King George by his fears for his German territories. He made Holland treat him with respect, and kept the Emperor in great order. . . . No one can deny that he made a grand figure both in Europe and Asia, and that France would have gained enormously by an alliance with him. . . . We repented long ago of our fatal infatuation for England, and our silly contempt for Russia."

Notwithstanding the mad confidence of the Regent in the Abbé Dubois, the plenipotentiaries of Peter the Great concluded at Amsterdam, after the return of the Tzar to his dominions, a treaty of commerce with France (1717). The two Powers, now joined by Prussia, declared that they specially united to guarantee the Treaty of Utrecht, and the eventual peace of the

North; they laid down the basis of a defensive alliance, the ways and means hereafter to be considered. Peter afterwards found himself slightly compromised in the plans of Görtz and Alberoni, which caused a coolness between them. A regular communication between the two countries was, however, inaugurated. First Kourakine and then Dolgorouki were nominated ambassadors at Paris, while Campredon represented France at St Petersburg. More than once negotiations were set on foot for Elizabeth's marriage, sometimes with Louis XV., sometimes with the Duke of Bourbon, or some other French prince. France lent her good offices to Russia, in the matter of peace with Sweden.

Görtz was on the point of reconciling Peter with Charles, and a congress had already opened in the isles of Aland, between Bruce and Ostermann on the one hand and Görtz and Gyllenburg on the other, when the King of Sweden was killed in Norway (1718). An aristocratic reaction broke out at Stockholm: Charles Frederic of Holstein-Gottorp, nephew of Charles XII., was excluded from the throne, and the crown was offered to the youngest sister of the late king, Ulrica-Eleonora, wife of Frederic of Hesse-Cassel, who was regarded as more pliable. An aristocratic constitution was established which deprived the crown of nearly all its prerogatives, and left Sweden a prey to fifty-three years of anarchy and insignificance. Authority passed into the hands of a diet composed of the deputies of the four orders (nobles, clergy, citizens, and peasants), but in which the nobles had a decided majority. Görtz was recalled to Stockholm and condemned to death, and his policy was abandoned. The Diet revived, on the contrary, the alliance with Hanover, and resolved to continue the war with Russia, with the probable support of the English fleet. Peter accepted the challenge, and waged with his enemies a war of extermination. In 1719 his army landed on the shores of Sweden itself, and burned two towns and a hundred and twenty-nine villages. Apraxine extended his ravages to within seven miles of Stockholm. In 1720 the devastation recommenced, in the very presence of the English fleet, which did not dare to pursue the Russians into the recesses of the Swedish coast. In 1721 the Diet decided to treat. Peter kept Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, part of Finland, and Carelia. Such was the Peace of Nystad, which avenged Ivan the Terrible and Alexis Mikhaïlovitch.

When the Tzar felt the weight of this twenty-two years' war lifted from his shoulders, he returned to St. Petersburg to announce the happy news of peace to his people, and, mounted on a platform, he drank to the health of his subjects. A whole week

was given up to fêtes and masquerades. Peter, in his joy, burned 12,000 roubles' worth of powder, put on a fancy dress, danced on the table, and "sang songs." The Senate united with the Holy Synod in a great council, decreed to the Tzar the title of "Great, Father of his Country, and of Emperor of all the Russias." It was thus that the son of Alexis became, according to the popular songs, "the first emperor of the country." Feofane Prokopovitch preached one of his most beautiful sermons on this occasion.

Peter's great desire was to make Russia the centre of communication between Asia and Europe. He had conquered the shores of the Baltic, but it was necessary that he should find an equivalent for Azof and throw open at least one of the seas of the East. Persia, mistress of the Caspian, was then a prey to anarchy under a weak prince, who was attacked by rebels on all sides. Russian merchants had been robbed, and Peter took advantage of this pretext for war to seize Derbend, and himself commanded the expedition which descended the Volga, from Nijni to Astrakhan (1722). The operations still continued after his departure : the Russians took Bakou, interfered in the internal affairs of Persia, promised help to the Shah against his enemies, and occupied Daghestan, Ghilan, and Mazanderan, with Recht and Asterabad.

FAMILY AFFAIRS : EUDOXIA ; TRIAL OF ALEXIS (1718) ; CATHERINE.

The last years of Peter the Great were saddened by terrible domestic tragedies. He had been married, at the age of seventeen, to Eudoxia Lapoukhine, the daughter of a very conservative family. As she shared the views of her relations, Peter soon began to hate her. After the capture of Azof he signified that he did not wish on his return to find her at the palace, and she was obliged to retire to the Pokrovski monastery at Souzdal. Soon afterwards he obtained a divorce, in order to marry Catherine. Banished and divorced, Eudoxia still retained her power. In the eyes of the people, and of a large part of the clergy, she remained the Tzar's only lawful wife ; she was the mother of the Tzarévitch Alexis, over whose mind and character she had, during the frequent absences of the Tzar, exercised the most fatal influence. After the dismissal of Eudoxia, Peter paid more attention to the education of his heir, and gave him foreign masters. It was too late : Alexis was already a young man. Narrow-minded, indolent, lazy, feeble, and obstinate, the son of the reformer was a pure Lapoukhine. Whilst Peter was expos-

ing himself on battle-fields in Finland, Lithuania, and the Ukraine, Alexis was surrounded by monks, devotees, and visionaries; the way to his heart lay in the abuse of the reforms and the new laws. Against his own wishes he was forced to marry Charlotte of Brunswick at Torgau, but consoled himself with the idea that he would one day have the heads of the authors of the marriage. When his confidant tried to make him fear that he would only alienate the nobles, "I spit upon them," he replied. "the people are on my side. When my father dies, I shall have only to say a word in the ear of the archbishops, who will tell their priests, who will whisper it to their parishioners, and I shall be made Tzar, even were it in spite of myself." During his travels in Germany he would learn nothing, he wounded his hand that he might not be obliged to draw, and alleged his feeble health as an excuse for living in idleness. Peter tried to bring him to reason. "Disquiet for the future destroys the joy caused by my present successes. I see that you despise all that can make you worthy to reign after me. What you term incapacity I call rebellion, for you cannot excuse yourself on the ground of the feebleness of your mind and the weakness of your health. We have only struggled from obscurity through the toils of war, which has taught other nations to know and respect us, and yet you will not even hear of military exercises. If you do not alter your conduct, know that I shall deprive you of my succession. I have not spared, and I shall not spare, my own life for my country and my people: do you think that I shall spare yours? I would rather have a stranger, who was worthy, for my heir, than a good-for-nothing member of my own family." Alexis still persisted that he had neither health nor memory, and would prefer becoming a monk. His confidant, Kikine, advised him to dissemble, and to allow himself to be shut up in a convent: "You can come out of it," he said; "they do not nail the *khlobouque* on your head." During his father's travels in the West, the Tzarévitch fled to Germany with his mistress, the serf Euphrosyne. He went to the court of Vienna, which promised to provide him with a secret and secure asylum. It was in this manner that he was successively confined in the castle of Ehrenberg, in the Tyrol, and of Sant' Elmo, near Naples. His father's agents, who had instantly started in pursuit, ended by tracing him, and Tolstoï obtained an interview with Alexis, who was assured of pardon, and persuaded to return to Moscow. The Tzar immediately assembled the three orders at the Kremlin, arraigned the prisoner before it, and obliged him to sign a formal renunciation of the crown. Alexis had also to denounce his accomplices, and in the course of the interrogation some terrible disclosures were

made to Peter. His son was the centre of a permanent conspiracy against his reforms, the hope of all who after his death would seek to destroy his work. If Alexis had consented to enter the cloister, it was in the expectation of one day leaving it, his renunciation of the throne could not have been sincere: he did not belong to himself, he belonged to the enemies of his father, who would understand how to absolve him from his vows. Peter learnt, among other things, that Alexis had solicited at Vienna the armed protection of the Emperor, that he had intrigued with Sweden, and that, on the occasion of a sedition in the Russian army of Mecklenburg, he entered into relations with the leaders, and only awaited a letter to hasten to the camp. He had longed for the death of his father, and his confessor, Varlaam, had said, "We all desire it." The threads of the plot between the palace of the Tzarévitch and the convent of the divorced Tzarina were soon grasped. Eudoxia was treated, not as a nun, but as a Tzarina; she had her court of malcontents, wore a secular costume, was mentioned in the prayers like a sovereign. Dositheus, Archbishop of Rostof, had predicted to her the approaching death of the Tzar, and to hasten it the Archimandrite Peter made hundreds of prostrations before the holy images. A certain Glebof, who had established a correspondence in cypher with the Tzarina, avowed he was her lover, and that he was to marry her after the death of the Tzar. Her relations, her brother Abraham Lapoukhine, among others, were concerned in these intrigues and hopes. Peter crushed with cruel penalties this nest of conspirators. Glebof was impaled, Dositheus broken on the wheel, Lapoukhine tortured and beheaded, thirty people put to death or exiled, Eudoxia whipped and confined in New Ladoga. The affair of the Tzarévitch had changed its character after all these revelations; there could now be no question of clemency. Peter had no longer to deal with a lazy and disobedient son, but with a traitor who had become the chief of his enemies within and the ally of those without, and who had sought foreign aid. Peter had to choose between his reforms, for Alexis had openly promised to abandon St. Petersburg, the navy, the Swedish conquests, and to return to Moscow. There was no hope now of putting him in a condition where he would be harmless after the death of his father. Alexis knew they could not "nail the *khlobouque* on his head," and the seclusion of a convent had not prevented Eudoxia from indulging in secular hopes. Henceforth Alexis only found in his father an inexorable judge. Twice he suffered the knout; and a tribunal composed of the highest officials of the State condemned him to death. The difficulty seemed to

lie in the execution of the sentence, but two days after the sentence was passed it became known that he had ceased to live. Divers rumors as to the manner of his death were circulated in the Memoirs of the time : some say it was caused by a sudden apoplexy, or a disarrangement of his entrails, arising from deep emotion ; some that he was beheaded with an axe, struck down with a club, suffocated under cushions, strangled with his cravat : some reports put him to death by poison, others that his veins were opened. All that is certain is, that on the morning of the fatal day the Tzar compelled his son to appear before a commission of nine of the greatest men of the State. About what then took place these nine men were forever silent ; but it seems now to have been ascertained that in order to wring fresh confessions from the Tzarévitch the knout was again applied to him, and that he died from the consequences of the torture.

Peter had already another family. In 1702, at the sack of Marienburg, the Russians had made prisoner a young girl, about whose condition, origin, and nationality original authorities differ. It seems most probable that she was a Livonian, one of a family of serfs called Skavronski ; that she was a servant at the house of the pastor Glück, and that she had been betrothed to a Swedish dragoon. It was thus that in obscurity and dishonor her imperial destiny began. The captive passed from hand to hand, and was successively mistress of Cheremetief and of Menchikof, who ceded her to Peter the Great. Though ignorant and completely illiterate, she fascinated the Tzar by the vivacity of her mind, the correctness of her judgment, and something free and adventurous about her which contrasted with the manners of the Russian *terem*, and marked out this Lutheran slave as the future Empress of Russia. Their marriage, secretly contracted, received a final consecration under the fire of the Ottoman batteries on the Pruth. In memory of the services then rendered by Catharine to the Tzar and to the country, Peter founded the Order "for love and fidelity," and solemnly married her in 1712. He did not, however, dare to take her with him in his journey to France. The contrast would have been too obvious at Versailles between the ladies of the proud French nobility and this foreign slave ; between the cultivated wit of a Sévigné and a Deffand and this empress who could not sign her name ; between the refinements of the French fine ladies and the awkward wench described by the Margravine of Baireuth.

"The Tzarina," says the German princess, "was small and clumsily made, very much tanned, and without either grace or an air of distinction. You had only to see her to know that she was low-born. From her usual costume you would have taken

her for a German comedian. Her dress had been bought at a second-hand shop; it was very old-fashioned, and covered with silver and dirt. She had a dozen orders, and as many portraits of saints or reliquaries, fastened all down her dress, in such a way that when she walked you would have thought by the jingling that a mule was passing." In 1721 Peter promulgated the celebrated edict which recognized the right of the Russian sovereign to nominate his successor, thus derogating from the hereditary principle which seems the very essence of the monarchy. Peter invoked the precedent of Ivan the Great, and the "Absalomian revolt" of Alexis. To justify this measure of the Tzar, Feofane Prokopovitch wrote his book, called 'Justice founded on the Will of the Sovereign, (*Pravda voli monarchéi*). By Catharine Peter had had two sons, Peter and Paul, who died when children, and two daughters—Anne, married to the Duke of Holstein, and Elizabeth, who became Tzarina. Besides these, Alexis had left a son by Charlotte of Brunswick, afterwards Peter II., who was then named last in the public prayers. In 1723 Peter the Great published a manifesto, recalling the services Catharine had rendered, and solemnly crowned her Empress. This was the culmination of her strange destiny. Soon it began to change; the Emperor thought he had discovered proofs of her infidelity, and spoke of repudiating her. Anyhow, he had not yet exercised the right of naming his successor, claimed two years before. His health was broken by his toils and his excesses, and he no longer took any care of himself. One day he flung himself into icy water up to his waist to save a boat in distress, felt an attack of illness coming on, caught cold again in the "benediction of the waters," and died without being able either to speak or write his last wishes. He was then only fifty-three years of age.

He was above all a man of war, marked as such by his tall figure, his robust limbs, his nervous and sanguine temperament, and his arm as strong as a blacksmith's. His life was a struggle with the forces of the past, with the ignorant nobles, with the fanatical clergy, with the people who plumed themselves on their barbarism and national isolation, with the Cossack and Strelitz, representatives of the old army, and with the raskol, representative of the old superstition. This combat, which shook Russia and the world, he found repeated in his own family. It began with his sister Sophie, and continued with his wife Eudoxia and his son Alexis. Entirely given up to his terrible task, Peter all his life disdained pomp, luxury, and every kind of display. The first Emperor of Russia, the founder of St. Petersburg, forgot to build himself a palace; his favorite residence of

Peterhof is like the villa of a well-to-do citizen of Saardam. His table was frugal, and what he sought in his orgies of beer or brandy was a stimulant or a distraction. The people have preserved his memory in their songs or popular traditions; they delight in repeating, "he worked harder than a *bourlak*." This well-filled life was like a fever of perpetual activity, in which Peter, with Russia, panted and exhausted himself. Is it wonderful that he roughly hurled all obstacles out of his way? His movement was prompt and his hand heavy; the staff of Ivan IV. seems to have passed into his grasp. We have seen him strike with his cane the greatest lords, Prince Menchikof among the number. He bent to his will men, things, nature, and time; he realized his end by despotic blows. For a long while yet Russian and foreign historians will either hesitate to pass a final judgment on him, or will advance contradictory opinions.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WIDOW AND GRANDSON OF PETER THE GREAT : CATHERINE I.
(1725-1727) AND PETER II. (1727-1730).

The work of Peter the Great continued by Catherine—Menchikof and the Dolgorouki—Maurice de Saxe in Courland.

THE WORK OF PETER THE GREAT CONTINUED BY CATHERINE.

At the death of Peter the Great the nation was divided into two parties : one supported his grandson, Peter Alexiévitch (then twelve years old), the other wished to proclaim Catherine the Livonian. The Galitsynes, the Dolgoroukis, Repnine, and all Old Russia desired to place the crown on the head of Peter Alexiévitch ; but those who owed their elevation to Peter I., those who were involved in the trial of his son,—Prince Menchikof, Admiral Apraxine, Boutourline (Colonel of the Guard), the Chancellor Golovkine, Jagoujinski (Procurator-General of the Senate), the German Ostermann, Tolstoï (who had induced Alexis to quit the Castle of Sant' Elmo), the Bishop Feofane (author of the *Pravda voli monarchii*), and the members of the tribunal which had condemned the Tzarévitch—all felt their only hope of salvation lay in Catherine. They were the more capable and the more enlightened ; they held the power actually in their hands—directed the administration and commanded the army. Their adversaries felt that they must be content with a compromise. Dmitri Galitsyne proposed to proclaim Peter II., but only under the guardianship of the Empress-widow. Tolstoï opposed this, on the ground that it was the most certain means of arming one party against the other, of giving birth to troubles, of offering hostile factions a pretext for raising the people against the regent. He proved that, in the absence of all testamentary disposition, Catherine had the best right to succeed Peter I. She had been solemnly crowned, and had received the oaths of her subjects ; she was initiated into all the State secrets, and had learned from her husband how to govern. The officers and regiments of Guards loudly declared in favor of the heroine of the

Pruth. It was at last decided that she should reign alone, and absolute, by the same title as the dead Tzar. No doubt it was a novelty in Russia—a novelty even greater than the regency of Sophia. Catherine was not only a woman, but a foreigner, a captive, a second wife, hardly considered as a wife at all. There was more than one protest against a decision which excluded the grandson of Peter the Great from the throne, and many raskolniks suffered torture rather than take the oath of allegiance to a woman.

Menchikof, one of the early lovers of Catherine, found himself all-powerful. He was able to stop the trial for maladministration commenced against him by the late Tzar, and obtained the gift of Batourine, the ancient capital of Mazeppea, which was equivalent to the whole principality of the Ukraine. His despotic temper and his bad character made him hated by his companions. Discord broke out among the "eaglets" of Peter the Great. Jagoujinski went to weep publicly over the tomb of the Tzar. Tolstoï was afterwards sent to Siberia. Catherine succeeded, however, in bridling the ambition of her favorite, and refused to sacrifice her other councillors to him.

This *régime* was the continuation of that of Peter. It disappointed the pessimist predictions which announced the abandonment of St. Petersburg and the fleet, and the return to Moscow. Most of the schemes of the reforming Tzar were carried out. The Academy of Sciences was inaugurated in 1736; the publication of the *Gazette* was carefully watched over; the Order of Alexander Nevski was founded; Behring, the Danish captain, was placed at the head of the scientific expedition to Kamschatka, Chafirof, recalled from banishment, was ordered to write the History of Peter the Great; Anne Petrovna solemnly married the Duke of Holstein, to whom she had been betrothed by her father. On the other hand, the Senate and the Holy Synod lost their title of "directing," and affairs of State had to be conducted in the "Secret High Council," composed of Menchikof, of the Admiral Apraxine, of the Chancellor Golovkine, Tolstoï, Dmitri Galitsyne, and of the Vice-Chancellor Ostermann, which met under the presidency of the Empress.

On her death-bed, Catherine nominated Peter Alexiévitich, her husband's grandson, as her successor, and, in default of Peter, her two daughters Anne of Holstein and Elizabeth. During the minority of the young Emperor the regency was exercised by a council composed of the two *Tzarévni*, of the Duke of Holstein, of Menchikof, and of seven or eight of the principal dignitaries of the empire.

Menchikof had taken measures to keep his high appointment

under the new reign, and even to increase his power. He had obtained from Catherine the promise that she would consent to the young prince's betrothal to his own daughter, though she was the elder by two years. He assigned his own palace on the right bank of the river as the Emperor's residence, and surrounded him by men devoted to his own interests. He caused himself to be made Generalissimo, and signed his letters to his sovereign with the words, "Your father." He had the members of his own family inscribed in the almanac with those of the imperial house, and his daughter mentioned in the public prayers. He even planned to marry Natalia Alexiévna to his son at the same time that his daughter became the wife of the Emperor. Peter II. soon began to be impatient of the government of the Generalissimo. Menchikof had given him as tutor the Vice-Chancellor Ostermann, but the young prince detested study, and preferred to hunt with his favorite, Ivan Dolgorouki. The clever Ostermann took care to make Menchikof responsible for his appointment as tutor, and to excuse himself as best he could to the prince. One day the Emperor sent a present of nine thousand ducats to his sister Natalia. Menchikof had the insolence to take them from the princess, saying that "the Emperor was young, and did not yet know how to use money properly." This time Peter rebelled, and the prince appeased him with great difficulty. Another enemy of the Generalissimo, who managed playfully to undermine his popularity, was Elizabeth, the young aunt of Peter II., and the daughter of Peter the Great. She was then seventeen years old, bright, gay, and careless, with a pink-and-white complexion and blue eyes; and she laughed the intolerable guardiai out of power. An illness of Menchikof, by keeping him away from court, paved the way for his fall. Peter II. accustomed himself to the idea of getting rid of him. When the prince recovered and began as usual to oppose his wishes, Peter quitted Menchikof's palace, caused the furniture belonging to the Crown to be removed from it and placed in the imperial palace, treated his *fiancée* with marked coldness, and finally commanded the Guards to take no orders but from their colonels. This was the prelude to a public disgrace. In September 1727 Menchikof was arrested, despoiled of all his dignities and decorations, and banished to his own lands.

The Dolgoroukis profited by the revolution they had prepared, but immediately committed the same fault as Menchikof, and surrounded Peter with the same officious attentions. Like Menchikof, they banished all who offended them (even Ostermann, to whom the Emperor began to be attached; and the old Tzarina Eudoxia Lapoukhine, who had been recalled

from the prison in Ladoga.) Using as a pretext some insulting placards recalling the services of Menchikof, they exiled him to Berezof in Siberia, where he died in 1729. Unwarned by his example, they imposed on the prince a new bride—Catherine Dolgorouki, the sister of his favorite Ivan. Their administration then assumed the character of a reaction against the reforms of Peter the Great. Ostermann and all the faithful servants, foreign or Russian, of the “Giant Tzar,” saw with sorrow the return of the court to Moscow, and its indifference to all European affairs. In order the better to keep their master to themselves, the Dolgoroukis flattered his tastes for frivolity and dissipation, and organized great hunting parties which lasted for whole weeks. Peter would have wearied of them in the end as he did of Menchikof. He had already replied to his aunt Elizabeth, who complained that she was left without money, “It is not my fault; they never execute my orders, but I shall find means of breaking my fetters.” The crisis happened, but not as had been expected. In January 1730 the young Emperor caught cold at the ceremony of the benediction of the waters, and died suddenly of small-pox. He was seventeen years old.

The two reigns of Catherine and Peter II., which only lasted in all five years, were peaceful.

In 1726 Russia had concluded a treaty of alliance with the Court of Vienna, and found herself involved, in 1727, in the war of the quadruple alliance. Notwithstanding the efforts of Kourakine and of Campredon, the failure of the projected marriage of Louis XV. and Elizabeth had produced a coldness between France and Russia. The most curious episode in the foreign relations was the attempt of Maurice de Saxe, illegitimate son of the king Augustus, to get possession of the Duchy of Courland. The offer of his hand had been accepted by the Duchess Anne Ivanovna, now a widow; he had been elected at Mittau by the deputies of the nobility. Neglecting the protest of the Polish diet and the remonstrances of France and Russia, he raised troops with the money produced by the sale of the diamonds belonging to an abbeſs of Quedlimburg, and a French comedian, his mother Aurora von Königsmark, and his mistress Adrienne Lecouvreur, and began to put the duchy in a state of defence. He was disavowed by his father, and Cardinal Fleury did not dare to support him even indirectly. Menchikof, left more free since the death of Catherine I., was himself a candidate for the Duchy. He sent Lascy, at the head of 8000 men, to expel the Saxon adventurers; and the future victor of Fontenoy could only collect 247 men in the isle of Usmaüs, and was obliged, in his retreat, to swim across an arm of the sea. His election was

annulled, his father publicly called him a *galopin*, and Courland once more fell back under Russian influence.

A treaty with Prussia was signed under Peter II., in virtue of which the two Powers engaged at the death of Augustus to support the candidate whom they might choose for Poland. The Emperor Charles VI. and the "sergeant-king" sounded Russia about an eventual dismemberment of the republic of Poland. This is the first time the question of partition was mooted.

In Asia, Jagoujinski concluded on the Boura a treaty of commerce with the Celestial Empire, in the name of Peter II. Every three years Russian caravans might go to Peking and trade without paying dues. Russia might keep four priests at Peking, and six young men to learn Chinese. Kiakhta, on the Russian territory, and Maimaitchine, on the Chinese territory, were the authorized depôts.

CHAPTER V.

THE TWO ANNES: REIGN OF ANNE IVANOVNA, AND REGENCY OF ANNE LEOPOLDOVNA (1730-1741).

Attempt at an aristocratic constitution (1730): the "Bironovchtchina"—Succession of Poland (1733-1735) and war with Turkey (1735-1739)—Ivan VI.—Regency of Biren and Anne—Revolution of 1741.

ATTEMPT AT AN ARISTOCRATIC CONSTITUTION (1730): THE "BIRONOVCHTCHINA."

THE untimely death of the last male heir of Peter I. had taken all the world by surprise. It was so sudden that no party had been formed to determine the succession. Peter had left two daughters, Elizabeth and Anne, Duchess of Holstein, who died in 1728, and was represented by her son, afterwards Peter III. The Tzar's brother, Ivan Alexiévitch V., had also left two daughters, Anne Ivanovna, Duchess of Courland, and Catherine Ivanovna, Duchess of Mecklenburg; the wishes of some even turned towards the late Emperor's grandmother, the Tzarina Lapoukhine. Alexis Dolgorouki, father of the friend of Peter II., had yet a bolder idea; he claimed the throne for his daughter Catherine, although she was not even Peter's wife, but only his *fiancée*, and had the audacity to boast of a "certain will" of the sovereign, instituting her his heir. This proposal naturally found little favor in the Secret High Council, and was rejected with contempt, even by a part of the house of Dolgorouki, whose chiefs did not relish the notion of being the subjects of their niece. Another step was decided on. In the absence of the prudent Ostermann, who summoned to his aid a pretended illness, and the fact of his being a foreigner, the Secret High Council was, with the addition of the marshals Dolgorouki and Galitsyne, almost entirely composed of the great Russian nobility. It found itself, as the principal organ of government, invested with the chief power, and master of the position. It resolved to profit by these circumstances to limit the supreme authority, to give to the Russian aristocracy a sort of constitu-

tional charter, and to impose on the sovereign who might be elected a kind of *pacta conventa*, such as existed in the republic of Poland. Elizabeth and the Duchess of Holstein, being the nearest to the throne, would no doubt manifest the greatest reluctance to accept these conditions. Thus it was necessary to turn to another branch of the family of Romanof, to the line of Ivan, and offer the crown to a princess who, having no hopes of gaining the throne, would be ready to accede to all the Council wished. The Council then resolved to open negotiations with Anne Ivanovna, and to propose to her the following terms:—1. The High Council should always be composed of eight members to be renewed by co-option, and to be consulted by the Tzarina in all affairs of Government. 2. Without the consent of the Council she was to make neither peace nor war, to impose no taxes, to alienate no crown lands, to nominate to no post nor any rank above that of colonel. 3. She was to put to death no member of the nobility, nor confiscate the property of any noble, without a regular trial. 4. She was neither to marry nor to choose a successor without the consent of the Council. “And,” adds the draft of the letter laid before her for signature, and containing the points indicated, “in case of my ceasing to fulfil my engagements, I shall forfeit the crown of Russia.” This was the *si non non* of the Cortez of Aragon. If this constitution had been carried out, Russia would have become an oligarchic republic instead of an autocratic empire, a sort of *pospolite* where nothing would have remained of the work of the Ivans and Peter the Great. The High Council likewise proposed to fix the seat of government at Moscow.

This constitution, which assured to the Russian nobles the inviolability of their persons and property (the English *habeas corpus* and right of taxation), raised, however, a general outcry. What! impose on Russia the same anarchic institutions that the three Northern powers had maintained in Poland? All the guarantees, all the rights, all the authority were reserved to the members of the High Council. Instead of one Tzar they would have eight. And who were these eight? Golovkine and Ostermann excepted, they were all Galitsynes and Dolgoroukis—two Galitsynes and four Dolgoroukis; the empire was to be the property of the two families. If the monarchical instincts of the greater number, and the aristocratic jealousy of many others, were excited, the partisans of reform were troubled at finding in the supreme council only the members of the old *noblesse*, and the upholders of the ancient order of things. The discontent broke forth in murmurs and turmoils; the High Council was obliged to take severe measures against meetings—a singular

inauguration of the reign of liberty, which proved how little sympathy the attempt of the nobles met with from the nation.

A few days later the High Council convoked the general assembly to listen to the letter in which Anne Ivanovna announced her acceptance of all the conditions. "There was no one present," says Archbishop Feofane, "who heard the letter who did not tremble in all his limbs. Even those who had hoped much from this reunion lowered their ears like poor asses : there was a 'hush' and a general murmur, but none dared to speak or cry out." The five hundred people present silently affixed their signatures. The new Empress made, however, her solemn entrance into Moscow. Vassili Loukitch and his party constituted themselves the guards of the Empress, surrounded her jealously, and saw that no enemy of the constitution came near her. The malcontents, with Feofane at their head, agitated the clergy and the people. They found means to pass some notes to the Empress, acquainting her with the situation, and imploring her to act energetically. Children or ladies-in-waiting served as go-betweens. On the 25th of February, 1731, the members of the Council were deliberating, when they were suddenly summoned before the Empress. They were much astonished to find an assembly composed of eight hundred persons, belonging to the senate, the clergy, the nobility, and to the different administrations, who laid before Anne a petition that she would examine the complaints addressed to the High Council about the new constitution. At the lower end of the hall the officers of the guard cried out in excitement, "We do not want them to lay down the law to the Empress. Let her be an autocrat like her predecessors!" Others offered "to lay at her feet the heads of her enemies." She calmed their agitation, and prorogued the sitting till the afternoon, when the deputies presented a formal request for the re-establishment of autocracy. The Empress was astonished, and exclaimed, "What ! the conditions sent me at Mittau, were they not the will of the whole nation ?" "No, no," they cried. "Then," she said, turning to Vassili Loukitch, "you have deceived me."

Such was the check received by the first liberal constitution that had ever been tried in Russia. "The table was prepared," said Prince Dmitri Galitsyne, "but the guests were not worthy. I know that I shall pay for the failure of this enterprise ; so be it. I shall suffer for my country, I have not long to live, and those who cause me to weep will one day weep themselves." The Galitsynes and Dolgoroukis did indeed expiate this generous attempt, in which unhappily they had taken no thought of the time nor the country. Anne's vengeance was cunning, refined

and gradual. She began by banishing them to their property ; then, seeing that no one protested, exiled them to Siberia. Finally, encouraged by the universal silence, she crowned her revenge. The marshals Dolgorouki and Galitsyne died in prison ; Vassili Loukitch and two other Dolgoroukis were beheaded ; Ivan, the former favorite, was broken on the wheel at Novgorod. With these sufferings is associated the touching and tragic history of Natalia Cheremetief, betrothed wife of Ivan Dolgorouki, who, having accepted his hand in the days of his prosperity, persisted in sharing his misfortunes.

Anne Ivanovna was then thirty-five years of age. In her youth she had lived in the dreary court of Mittau, a bride sought for her duchy, the political plaything of the four Northern courts, despised by Menchikof, and receiving orders and reproaches from Moscow. The bitterness of her regrets and her disappointments was painted in her severe countenance, and reflected in her soured and coldly cruel character. A head taller than the gentlemen of her court, with a hard and masculine beauty, and the deep voice of a man, she was imposing, and even terrible. The aristocratic attempt of 1730 had made her mistrust the Russians, and she felt that a project less exclusive and more clever than that of the High Council would perhaps have had a chance with the Russian nation. By precaution, and from taste, she surrounded herself with Germans, Biren or Biron at the head of them, a Courlander of low extraction, whom the ducal nobility had refused to admit amongst them, and whom she created Duke of Courland and Prince of the Holy Empire. She made Lœwenvald manager of court affairs, Ostermann chief of the foreign administration, Korff and Kayserling of the embassies ; Lascy, Münich, Bismark, and Gustaf Biren of the army. It was in Germany that she chose to seek for her successor,—Anne, daughter of Catherine Ivanovna, Princess of Mecklenburg, with her husband, the Duke of Brunswick Bevern, and their little emperor, Ivan VI. The Germans ruled in Russia, just as the Tatars had formerly done ; and a new word, *Bironovitchina*, expressive of the new régime, was coined on the model of the old *Tatarchitchina*. But if the Germans were triumphant, was it not the fault of the Russians themselves ? The “ eaglets ” of Peter the Great had torn each other to pieces. Menchikof had ruined Tolstoi and Jagoujinski, and was in his turn destroyed by the Dolgoroukis, themselves victims, with the Galitsynes, of the national hate. Besides all this, the strangers who took their posts and filled the place they had left vacant were far more laborious and more exact than the natives. The Russians had still to pass through a hard school to acquire the qualities they lacked.

The new government was pitiless towards the Russians: Feofilakt Lopatinski was deposed and imprisoned in Viborg, for having edited Stephen Javorski's book against the Protestants ('The Stone (Peter) and the Faith'); and Volynski, one of those who had most loudly protested in favor of autocracy, had the misfortune to offend the favorite by his anti-German sentiments, and was cruelly tortured and beheaded. Thousands of executions and banishments decimated the upper classes, and a merciless collection of arrears of taxes, which Russian indolence had allowed to accumulate, desolated the country, while the peasants beheld their last head of cattle, their last tool, sized by the government for payment. The new despotism methodically organized its means of oppression. No doubt it suppressed the High Council, in order to restore the epithet of "directing" to the senate, but in reality it was the *Cabinet* composed of the ministers, and presided over by the Empress, that regulated all affairs. The old "Prikaz of Reformation" was re-established under the name of the "Secret Court of Chancery," and the cruel Ouchakof placed at the head. As the Empress had confidence only in her guards, two new regiments, the *Ismailovski*, and the horse guards, were created. Foreign officers were everywhere, and the brothers of the German favorites distributed among themselves the ranks of colonel and lieutenant-colonel.

Reassured as to the solidity of her throne, Anne only thought how to make up for the time she had wasted in *ennui* and regret. She surrounded herself with jesters, and, as if to humiliate the nation, she forced Nastasia and Anisia, two Russian princesses, and a Volkonski and a Galitsyne, two Russian princes, to gulp balls of pastry, or to crouch in the position of hens sitting on eggs, for the amusement of the court. Balls, fêtes, and masquerades followed each other without interruption. The Empress set the example of unbridled luxury, till then unheard of in Russia, and ruinous to a poor country. Up to that time the greatest nobles and ladies had taken no heed of the caprices of fashion; they replaced their clothes when they became old, and wore without shame the garments of their grandparents. Manstein informs us that, under Anne, a courtier with a revenue of two or three thousand roubles cut but a poor figure; *costumiers* got rich in two or three years; people carried their patrimony, often the price of whole villages, on their backs; they played heavily at *faro* and at *quinze*. In the luxury with which the court of Anne dazzled Russia, there was a mixture of antique barbarism and bad German taste which moved the mirth of Western travellers. For one well-dressed woman there were ten who made themselves frightful objects. "Among the men," says

Manstein, "the most gorgeous coat was often accompanied by an ill-combed wig; a beautiful piece of stuff was spoilt by a clumsy tailor; or, if the dress chanced to be successful, the equipages were defective; a superbly dressed man would arrive in a shabby old vehicle drawn by two screws." "The favorite Biren," relates Prince Dolgoroukof, "loved bright colors, therefore black coats were forbidden at court, and every one appeared in brilliant raiment: nothing was seen but light blue, pale green, yellow, and pink. Old men like Prince Tcherkasski, or the Vice-Chancellor Ostermann, arrived at the palace in rose-color costumes." This was of slight importance. Russian taste would be formed in time, especially by the help of another school. The Germans prepared the way for the French. From the point of view of dress and domestic economy, the *Bironovitchina* marks an important revolution in Russia.

Manners were still very gross. Anne amused herself with low buffoonery. Manstein says she liked Italian and German comedies for the sake of the frequent blows with a stick. Volynski, a Cabinet minister, thrashed the poet Trédiakovski. There were complaints that in the army the superior officers obliged the military doctors to serve them as cooks or hair-dressers. The exposure on poles of the heads or quarters of traitors had only just been suppressed by Peter II. Jagoujinski, the Procurator-General of the Senate, got so intoxicated that he ventured to insult the old Ostermann before the Empress, who shook with laughter. Soltykof, Governor of Moscow, denounced Tchikirine, the official who, "forgetting that he was in the house of her Majesty, had refused to get drunk."

It is an important fact that the German masters of Russia resolved to maintain the reforms of Peter. After her coronation, Anne returned to Saint Petersburg.

She abolished entail, which Peter the Great had unfortunately borrowed from Western nations, and which had produced sad results in Russia. The fathers of families taxed their peasants to wring out portions for the younger sons; if they bequeathed the land to the eldest, they gave the cattle to the other sons. On the other hand, the time devoted to the education and the military service of the young nobles was more clearly defined. From the age of seven to that of twenty the young noble was to study, and from twenty to forty-five he was to serve the State. Examinations were established, to test the progress of the boys; from twelve to sixteen they had to appear before a board, and whoever after the second examination was found ignorant of the catechism, arithmetic, and geometry, was forced to become a sailor. These rigorous

measures prove how indifferent the mass of the nobles then were to the advantages of education. It cannot be denied that the rule of the Germans, rough instructors though they were, had a salutary influence on Russian civilization. On the suggestion of Munich, the "corps of cadets" for 360 young nobles was founded at St. Petersburg. General education held a larger place in his programme than purely military instruction. Boys were prepared for the civil service as well as for the army. Orthography, style, rhetoric, jurisprudence, ethics, heraldry, arithmetic, fortifications, artillery, geography, general history, and the history of Germany (not Russia) were all taught. The most industrious and the most distinguished pupils might, after they had finished the preliminary courses, follow those of the Academy of Sciences.

SUCCESSION OF POLAND (1733-1735) AND WAR WITH TURKEY (1735-1739).

With regard to the East, the government of Anne Ivanovna resolved to abandon the Persian provinces conquered by Peter the Great where the climate had proved fatal to the Russian armies.

In 1733, after the death of Augustus II., the question of the succession of Poland was re-opened. Prussia, which desired to weaken Poland, did not wish to support either the French candidate, Leszczinski, or the Saxon candidate, Augustus III. Austria, on the contrary, which would gladly have beheld Poland sufficiently strong to aid her against the Turks, declared for Augustus. Russia, whose object it was to remain mistress in Poland and Courland, cared little who was elected, provided it was neither a powerful prince nor a client of France. Now Louis XV. thought himself bound in honor to maintain the cause of his father-in-law, Stanislas Leszczinski, the former *protégé* of Charles XII. The Power whose interests in this affair almost corresponded with those of Russia was therefore the house of Austria. The Austro-Russian alliance, inaugurated under Catherine I., was cemented under Anne Ivanovna. Prussia, whose project of partition had been set aside, remained neutral. The struggle between France and Russia began by a diplomatic rivalry. We find at Berlin La Chétardie pitted against Jagoujinski; at Stockholm, Saint Séverin against Michael Bestoujef; at Copenhagen, Plélo against Alexis Bestoujef; at Constantinople, Villeneuve against Neplouef; at Warsaw, Monti, against Lœwenwald. France hoped to support her candidate by Swedish

and Turkish diversions, and to render the neutrality of Prussia more favorable; in Poland she worked as hard to persuade as Russia to intimidate.

Even at St. Petersburg, the French ambassador, Magnan, neglected nothing to gain over the Empress and her favorite to a more peaceful policy, but the struggle was inevitable. Whilst a false Leszczinski, the Chevalier de Thiangé, ostentatiously embarked at Brest, the real Stanislas disguised as a commercial traveller, crossed Europe, and entered Warsaw at night. Sixty thousand nobles declared in his favor on the field of election, and there were only four thousand dissidents. He was therefore legitimate King of Poland, yet the Russian army was invading the territory of the republic. Then Stanislas called the *pospolite* to arms, and retired into the maritime fortress of Dantzic to await succor from France. After his departure, the malcontents, under the protection of 20,000 Russian bayonets, proclaimed Augustus III. Stanislas found himself besieged in Dantzic by Marshal Münich, who, without waiting for the artillery, took the faubourg of Schotlandia by assault. The King of Prussia refused a passage through his territory to the Russian guns, and the French frigates were watching the sea; but notwithstanding the blockade, Münich received his cannon, and by the capture of Sommerschantz cut off the communications of Dantzic with Wechselmünde and the mouth of the Vistula; he then threw 1500 bombs into the town. He failed, however, in a bloody midnight attack on the fort of Hagelsberg. The French troops came up, led by Count de Plélo and Lamothe de la Peyrouse, but only numbered 2000 men. Plélo was killed, and the Count de Lamothe, who had taken refuge in Wechselmünde, had to capitulate. Dantzic opened her gates. Stanislas had already fled, disguised as a peasant. Such was the first contest between the French and the Russians. Lady Rondeau gives an account of the presentation of the Count de Lamothe and his officers to the Tzarina; the soldiers were quartered in the camp of Koporié, in Ingria; and Anne did all she could to make them desert and to draw them into her service. Monti, the French ambassador at Warsaw, was taken prisoner at Dantzic, and in spite of his diplomatic character was retained in captivity.

The war of the Polish Succession was ended in Poland; it began on the Rhine and in Italy, and it was the house of Austria that paid for it. The French excited against her the electors of Cologne, Mayence, Bavaria, and the Palatinate; took Kehl and Philippsburg, and deprived her of the Duchy of Parma and the kingdom of Naples. In virtue of the treaty of alliance of

1726, the Emperor demanded help of the Tzarina. Lascy, at the head of 20,000 men, crossed Silesia, Bohemia, and Franconia, displaying a Russian army for the first time before the eyes of Western Germany; and on the 15th of August, 1735, formed a junction with the Austrian troops between Heidelberg and Ladenberg, two miles from the French outposts. The Peace of Vienna, however, put an end to hostilities. The French had revenged themselves on Austria, which ceded Lorraine and part of Italy, not on Russia, which had taken Dantzic under their very eyes. The efforts of the French ambassador Ville-neuve, of the renegade Bonneval, and of the Hungarian Ragotski, raised the Turks. The result of the war with Poland was a war in the East, to which events almost added a Swedish war.

In the East also, Russia had Austria for an ally. Campaigns against the Turks, across the desert steppes of the South, offered the same difficulties as in 1711, as everything had to be carried with the army, even wood and water. In spite of all Münich's efforts, the Russian cavalry was very second-rate. The army, encumbered with baggage, moved slowly over the interminable plains; it seemed lost among the vastness of its convoys. A simple sergeant had ten chariots, an officer thirty, the general Gustaf Biren 300 beasts of burden. There were always 10,000 sick men in the army, which, in spite of the dispensation of the Holy Synod, exhausted itself by a rigorous observance of fasts and days of abstinence.

In 1736 Lascy took Azof, Münich forced the lines of Perekop, pillaged Bakhtchi-Séraf, the capital of the khans, and laid waste the Western Crimea in such a way that the prosperity of the country has never recovered it. In 1737 Lascy devastated the eastern part of the peninsula, whilst Münich took Otchakof; in 1739, the latter gained a splendid victory at Stavoutchani, captured Khotin, crossed the Pruth, boasted of having avenged the defeat of Peter the Great, and entered the capital of Moldavia. During this time the Austrians were constantly beaten. They feared the Russians as neighbors of their orthodox provinces of Transylvania and Illyria, more than they did the Turks. They insisted on the conclusion of peace, and at Belgrade (1739) they ceded to Turkey all Servia, with Orsova and Wallachia; the Russians only obtained a tongue of land between the Bug and the Dnieper, contented themselves with the demolition of Azof, and surrendered all their conquests. This war had cost them more than a hundred thousand men. The King of France had just proved that he knew how to reach his enemies, even though separated from him by vast spaces. Anne Ivanovna found herself obliged to ask his mediation to prevent a war with

Sweden, and to conclude peace with the Turks. At the instance of Ostermann, and by orders of Louis XV., Saint Séverin negotiated at Stockholm, and Villeneuve at Constantinople. The Empress showed her gratitude to the latter by offering him 15,000 thalers. He would only accept the cross of Saint Andrew. Kantemir, Russian ambassador at Paris, still continued to warn his court that "Russia being the only Power which could counterbalance that of France, the latter would lose no opportunity of diminishing her strength."

IVAN VI.—REGENCY OF BIREN AND ANNE—REVOLUTION OF
1741.

The weight of the taxes, the rigor with which they were collected, and the frequent conscriptions maddened the peasants, whilst the disgrace of Feofilakt, of Tatichtchef, of Roumantsof and Makarof (old servants of Peter the Great), as well as the sacrifice of Volynski, of Galitsyne, and the Dolgoroukis, seemed to threaten the whole nation. Soon the echoes of the general discontent reached the Secret Court of Police. The people attributed all their misfortunes to the reign of a woman, and repeated the proverb, "Cities governed by women do not endure; the walls built by women are never high." Others said the corn did not grow because a woman ruled. They began to regret the iron despotism of Peter I., and a popular song exhorts him to leave his tomb and chastise "Biren, the cursed German." The raskolniks had predicted that in 1733 the wrath of God would fall on men, and that Anne would be taken and judged at Moscow. She reigned, however, till 1740, at which time her health began to give way. Biren's scheme was to obtain from Anne Ivanovna the investiture of the regency during the minority of the little Emperor Ivan of Brunswick. Alexis Bestoujef, who owed his fortune to Biren, assured him of the support of Münich and of the Cabinet-minister Tcherkasski. The Germans of the court said, with Mengden, "If the Duke of Courland is not appointed regent, the rest of us Germans are lost." The Empress signed the nomination of Biren, and died the next day. Her last words to her favorite were, "*Né bois*" (fear nothing).

Biren, however, had his own reasons for feeling uncomfortable. The Russians were indignant at having a master imposed on them who was a foreigner and a heretic, without morality and without talent, and whose only claim was a criminal union which dishonored the memory of their Empress. If a foreign regent was necessary, why not have the father of the Emperor? The

long minority of a child only three months old at the death of Anne alarmed every one, and the thoughts of many turned towards the daughter of Peter the Great, and her grandson Peter of Holstein. The reign of the Germans still continued; besides Biren, the empire had to obey the Prince Antony of Brunswick Bevern, and his wife Anne Leopoldovna of Mecklenburg, governed in their turn by Anne's favorite the Saxon Lynar, and the prince's mistress, Julia Mengden. Happily, however, these foreign masters never thought of combining. The parents of the Emperor bore the authority of Biren with impatience; and the latter, discontented with their conduct, spoke of sending for Peter of Holstein, giving him his daughter in marriage, and marrying his son to Elizabeth. The fate of Menchikof and the Dolgoroukis was lost on him. His clumsy nonentity embarrassed Ostermann and Munich; and the latter, in an interview with Anne Leopoldovna, promised her to get rid of the tyrant. His aide-de-camp, Manstein, has given us a graphic account of this *coup d'état*. One night in November, Biren, who suspected nothing, and who in the evening had dined in company with Munich, was taken from his bed, the Duchess of Courland was thrust almost naked from the palace, all his friends were arrested, and he was sent to Pelim, in Siberia.

Munich had given liberty and power to the parents of the Emperor; how could they reward him? Like Menchikof, he wished to be Generalissimo, but Antony of Brunswick coveted the place. Munich then contented himself with the title of First Minister; and Ostermann was recompensed by being nominated High Admiral. Antony, Anne, and Ostermann soon united against their liberator; and Munich, filled with disgust, sent in his resignation. The Germans, when they attained the supreme power, conducted themselves exactly like the "eaglets" of Peter the Great: they mutually banished and exterminated each other. The father and mother of the Emperor, left in possession of the field, continued to dispute the authority, and to reproach each other with their mutual infidelities. Ostermann supported Antony against Anne. The incapacity of the Regent was beyond belief. Not having the energy to dress herself, Anne Leopoldovna would lie for whole days on a couch, her head covered with a handkerchief, conversing with her intimate friends. The divisions and indifference of the government threw open the way to its numerous enemies; they only wanted a chief who would attack the Brunswickers as they had successfully attacked Biren.

Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, who had been narrowly watched under the hard rule of Anne Ivanovna and

Biren, raised her head under this weak government. Twenty-eight years old, tall and very pretty, with great quickness of mind though very ignorant, lively and joyous, a bold rider and fearless on the water, with soldier-like manners, she had all the qualities necessary to a party leader. Her confidants, Alexander and Peter Schouvalof, Michael Voronzof, Razoumovski, Schwartz, and the doctor Lestocq, all urged her to action. The Regent feared her, but did not dare to act on the advice of Ostermann. It was known at the palace that after the downfall of Biren three regiments of Guards had hastened to swear fealty to her, believing the next step would be the proclamation of Peter the Great's daughter; and that at Cronstadt the soldiers had said, "Will no one put himself at our head in favor of Elizabeth Petrovna?" She accepted the office of god-mother to their children, visited the Guards in their barracks, and invited them to her house. When she passed through the streets in her sledge, the common grenadiers climbed on the back of the carriage and whispered familiarly in her ear. The French ambassador, La Chétardie, had orders to favor any revolution in Russia that would destroy the influence of the Germans, and break the alliance with Austria. He aided Elizabeth with advice and money, and hoped to obtain for her the support of a Swedish diversion. The Swedes had repented of their quiescence during the late wars with Poland and Turkey, and were disposed to take their own grievances and those of Elizabeth as a pretext for declaring war against the Regent. The Swedish ambassador, Nolken, only stipulated that at her accession the Tzarévna should promise to restore part of the conquests of Peter the Great. This she declined to do; but the Swedes, nevertheless, began hostilities, and issued a manifesto to the "glorious Russian nation," which they wished to deliver from German ministers, and from the "heavy oppression and cruel foreign tyranny," so as to enable it freely to elect "a legitimate and just government." This diversion precipitated the crisis. The court was by this time too well accustomed to plots for the conspirators to delay; and, besides, the regiments counted on by Elizabeth had orders to proceed to the frontier. She had only the choice between the throne and the convent. In the night of the 25th of October she went with three of her friends to the quarters of the Preobrajenski. "My children," she said to them, "you know whose daughter I am." "Mother, we are ready; we will kill *them* all." She forbade bloodshed, and added, "I swear to die for you; will you swear to die for me?" They all swore. Anne Leopoldovna, Prince Antony, the young Emperor in his cradle, Münich, Ostermann, Læwen-

wald, and the Mengdens, were arrested during the night. Elizabeth was proclaimed absolute Empress, and the nobles of the empire hastened to give in their adhesion to the new revolution. Ivan VI. was confined at Schlüsselburg; Anne, with her husband and children, at Kholmogory, where she died in 1746. A tribunal was held, and the Dolgoroukis were among the judges. Ostermann was condemned to be broken on the wheel, Münich to be quartered, and the others to decapitation. The Empress, however, spared their lives. Ostermann was exiled to Berezof, and Münich to Pelim, where he lived in the house he had planned for Biren. Many of the exiles of the preceding reign were recalled, and the Birens were allowed to reside in Iaroslavl.

CHAPTER VI.

ELIZABETH PETROVNA (1741-1762).

Reaction against the Germans: war with Sweden (1741-1743)—Succession of Austria: war against Frederic II. (1756-1762)—Reforms under Elizabeth: French influence.

REACTION AGAINST THE GERMANS: WAR WITH SWEDEN
(1741-1743.)

WHEN Elizabeth had been crowned at Moscow, she sent to Holstein for the son of her sister, Anne Petrovna, and of the Duke Charles Frederic. The grandson of Peter the Great embraced orthodoxy, took the name of Peter Feodorovitch, was proclaimed heir to the throne, and in 1744 the Empress married him to the Princess Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst, afterwards Catherine II. Thus the power which had been diverted to the Ivanian branch of the Romanof dynasty, to Anne of Courland and her great-nephew of Brunswick, returned to the immediate family of Peter the Great in the person of Elizabeth as Empress, and of her nephew of Holstein as heir to the throne.

The revolution of 1741 meant much more than the substitution of the Petrovian for the Ivanian branch; it signified the triumph of the national over the German party, the reaction of the Russian element against the hard tutelage of the strangers, and thus it was understood by the people. The orthodox clergy, persecuted by the heretics, took its revenge in the sermons of Ambrose Iouchkévitch, Archbishop of Novgorod, against the "emissaries of the devil," and against "Beelzebub and his angels." The poet Lomonossov hails in Elizabeth the Astræa who "had brought back the golden age," the Moses who "had snatched Russia in one night from her Egyptian slavery," the Noah "who had saved her from the foreign deluge." Citizens and soldiers rose against the Germans; there were revolts at St. Petersburg, and in the army of Finland, against the foreign officers, on whom the men wished to inflict the punishment of Ostermann and Münich. At court, Finch, the English ambassador, Botta, the Austrian ambassador, Lynar, the Saxon

ambassador, had compromised themselves under the preceding dynasty; therefore all the sympathies of the nation and the Tzarina were for Mardefeld, ambassador of Prussia, and especially for La Chétardie, whom they looked on as one of the authors of the revolution, and whose hands the officers of the Guard came to kiss, addressing him as "their father." The Austro-Russian alliance, consolidated under Catherine I. and Anne Ivanovna, seemed broken.

This good understanding between the courts of France and Russia was imperilled by the affairs of Sweden. The Cabinet of Versailles had not been able to persuade its Scandinavian ally into war except by hints of cessions of territory by the new Empress. Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, could not renounce the conquests of her father, which even Anne Leopoldovna, a foreign princess, had maintained at the cost of war. The Swedes, who pretended to have taken up arms in favor of Elizabeth, continued the war against their former *protégée*. This war had no result except to show the weakness of the Sweden of Charles XII. against regenerate Russia. The Scandinavian armies proved themselves very unworthy of their former reputation. Elizabeth's generals, Lascy and Keith, subdued all the forts in Finland. At Helsingfors 17,000 Swedes laid down their arms before a hardly more numerous Russian force. By the treaty of Abo, the Empress acquired South Finland as far as the river Kiümen, and caused Adolphus Frederic, Administrator of the Duchy of Holstein, and one of her allies, to be elected Prince Royal of Sweden, in place of the Prince Royal of Denmark (1743).

SUCCESSION OF AUSTRIA: WAR AGAINST FREDERIC II. (1756-1762).

The war of the Austrian Succession had broken out in Europe. For whom would Russia declare—for Maria Theresa, or for France and her allies? Bestoujef, disgraced by Biren, who had returned to his post under the protection of Lestocq, Vice-Chancellor, and later Chancellor, of the empire, was on the side of Austria. Voronzof, Vice-Chancellor, trimmed between both parties; La Chétardie and Mardefeld, ambassadors of Louis XV. and Frederic II., intrigued with Lestocq and the mother of Sophia of Anhalt (now become the Tzarévna, or Grand Duchess Catherine) to draw Elizabeth into the Franco-Prussian Alliance, and to overthrow Bestoujef. The Chancellor neglected nothing to destroy his enemies. He had his *black cabinet*, where he looked over the despatches of the foreign am-

bassadors; he found means to place under the eyes of the sovereign extracts from the letters of La Chétardie proving that Lestocq was a pensioner of France, and that La Chétardie had spoken insultingly of Elizabeth in his political correspondence. The French ambassador received orders to quit the capital within twenty-four hours, and Russia within eight days, and the Grand Duchess's mother was sent back to Germany. Later Lestocq was summoned before a commission, put to the torture, and banished to Ouglitch. Bestoujef triumphed; it seemed as if Russia was going to interfere on behalf of Maria Theresa: but in his turn, Botta, the Austrian ambassador, allowed himself to be drawn into an affair which was quite as disastrous; compromised by the conduct of the malcontents, he saw his accomplice, Madame Lapoukhine, knouted and mutilated, and was sent back to Austria. Times passed on. Russia, satisfied with the sort of intimidation that she exercised over all the European courts, did not care to go into action. Bestoujef and the Vice-Chancellor Voronzof played with the various courts, the one holding out hopes to Austria, the other allowing himself to be cajoled by D'Allion, La Chétardie's successor.

France, abandoned by her allies, had transported the war into the Low Countries, where Maurice de Saxe, the former Duke of Courland, gained a series of victories. In 1746 an Austro-Russian treaty of alliance was concluded; England promised subsidies to Elizabeth, but it was not till 1748 that 30,000 Russians under Repnine, crossed Germany and took up a position on the Rhine. They only served to hasten the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), and returned to Russia without having fired a shot or risked the *prestige* of the empire.

D'Allion had been recalled in 1747, and had no successor at St. Petersburg. However, the same Bestoujef who had caused La Chétardie to be expelled, and concluded the Austrian alliance, had proclaimed as far back as 1744 that Prussia was more dangerous than France, "because of her near neighborhood and her late accession of strength." Elizabeth hated Frederic: "The King of Prussia," she said to Lord Hyndford, "is certainly a bad prince, who has no fear of God before his eyes; he turns holy things into ridicule, he never goes to church, he is the Nadir-Shah of Prussia." He had no religion, he had not been consecrated, he did not spare epigrams about the Empress. The "self-sufficient neighbor" had shown off his importance at Aix-la-Chapelle, and had opposed the admission of a Russian plenipotentiary to the congress. Other things led to a sort of diplomatic rupture. Finally, on the 6th—17th of May, 1756, the Chancellor read to the Empress a statement of foreign

affairs. He reminded her that the new growth of the Prussian power was unfavorable to Russia, and pointed out how Frederic II., who had raised his army from 80,000 to 200,000 soldiers, who had deprived Austria of Silesia, who from the "great revenues" of the latter province and the "millions levied on Saxony" had constituted a great war fund for himself, who coveted Hanover and Courland, and hoped for the dismemberment of Poland, had consequently become "the most dangerous of neighbors." He concluded by proving the necessity of reducing the forces of the King of Prussia, and of supporting the States menaced by him. This patriotic disgust, this wholesome mistrust of Bestoujef, might well have become the traditional policy of Russia.

At this moment it was still believed at St. Petersburg that in this war, as in the last, Prussia would be the ally of France, against Austria and England. The reversal of French policy had not been expected. Bestoujef was in too great haste to conclude a treaty of subsidies with England. Voronzof warned the Empress to beware lest the Russian troops should be employed in favor of that very Prussia whom she wished to fight. The event justified his prediction, confounded the plans and the provisions of Bestoujef, and paved the way for his fall. When Prussia allied herself to England, and Austria to France, Russia found herself indirectly also allied to the latter Power. Diplomatic relations between the courts were renewed. It was then that the secret missions of Valcroissant, of the Scotch Douglas, and the mysterious Chevalier d'Eon took place; that L'Hôpital became the French ambassador in Russia, and that a private correspondence was exchanged between Louis XV. and the Empress Elizabeth.

Frederic was alarmed on hearing the decision of Russia; he feared nothing so much as the invasion of her "undisciplined hordes." It was to secure the friendship of "these barbarians" that he had arranged in 1744 the marriage of Peter Feodorovitch and of Sophia of Anhalt. His invasion of Saxony put the Russian army in motion. In 1757, the year of Rosbach, 83,000 Muscovites, under the Generalissimo Apraxine, crossed the frontier of Prussia, occupied the province of Eastern Prussia, slowly advanced in the direction of the Oder, and crushed the corps of Lewald at Gross-Jägersdorff. The Prussian loss was 4600 killed, 600 taken prisoners, and 29 guns. Instead of following up his advantages, Apraxine retraced his steps, and recrossed the Niemen. The ambassadors of France and Austria suspected treachery, and clamored for his dismissal from the chief command. His papers were examined, and were found gravely to

compromise the Grand Duchess Catherine and the Chancellor Bestoujef-Rioumine. The latter was exiled, and his place filled by Voronzof.

In 1758 Fermor again invaded the Prussian states, took Königsberg, and bombarded Küstrin on the Oder. Frederic II. hastened to Silesia, made a junction with Dohna, and thus found himself at the head of 32,000 men, in presence of 89,000 Russians, near the village of Zorndorff. In spite of the stoical bravery of the Muscovites, and the defeat of the Prussian left wing, their inexperience, the weakness of their commander, and, the superiority of the cavalry of Zeidlitz caused them to be beaten. They lost 20,000 men, 100 cannon, and 30 flags. But Frederic II. had not yet reached his aim, as his enemies were by no means annihilated, and were able to make an imposing retreat.

In 1759, Soltykof, Fermor's successor, returned to the Oder, defeated the Prussians at Paltzig, near Züllichau, and made his entry into Frankfort. Frederic again came to the help of his lieutenants, and encountered the Russians near Künersdorff. This time his army was simply crushed under the enormous weight of the Muscovite masses. He lost 8000 men and 172 guns. He himself escaped with great difficulty from the field of battle, with forty hussars. Only 3000 men remained to him of an army of 48,000. "A cruel misfortune," he wrote to Finckenstein: "I shall never survive it. The consequences are worse than the battle itself. I no longer see any resource, and, to say the truth, I think all is lost." It was at this moment that he thought of suicide. The disaster of Künersdorff weighed on him during the remainder of the war. Henceforth he could only hold himself on the defensive, without daring to descend into the plain.

The allies were not less exhausted than Frederic. Elizabeth alone declined to speak of peace till she had "reduced the forces" of Frederic, and secured the annexation of Eastern Prussia. In 1760 the Russians entered Berlin after a short resistance, pillaged the State coffers and the arsenals, and destroyed the manufactories of arms and powder. The following year they conquered Pomerania, and Roumantsof took Kolberg. Frederic II. would have been lost if this terrible war had continued; he was saved by the sudden death of Elizabeth. Still his power was much weakened. The Empress had left Prussia less dangerous and threatening than she had found it.

REFORMS UNDER ELIZABETH : FRENCH INFLUENCE.

The reign of Elizabeth was marked by an increase of orthodox zeal. In spite of her dissolute manners, she was much influenced by the priests, though she still clung to her old superstitions. In 1742 the Holy Synod ordered the suppression of the Armenian churches in the two capitals, and hoped likewise to suppress the dissenting churches on the Nevski Prospect. In the Tatar regions some of the mosques were closed, and the erection of new ones forbidden. The intolerance of the bishops and missionaries caused the Pagan or Mussulman tribes of the Mordvians, the Tcheremisses, the Tchouvaches, and the Mechtcheraks to revolt. The Jews were expelled on the ground that they were "the enemies of Christ our Saviour, and did much evil to our subjects." To the observation of the Senate that she was ruining commerce and the empire, Elizabeth replied, "I desire no gain from the foes of Christ." The fanaticism of the raskolniks rose by contact with the fanaticism of the officials. Fifty-three men burned themselves at once near Oustiougue, and 172 near Tomsk in Siberia.

On the other hand, the morals of the clergy were corrected, and attention paid to their education. The monasteries were enjoined to send pupils to the Ecclesiastical Academy of Moscow, which complained that at present its number consisted of five. Rebellion and drunkenness were repressed by stripes and chains. The fair of the priests was put down, and all popes who hired themselves out in public were whipped. The laws of Peter I. against persons who walked about and talked in church were revived. The tobacco pouches of those who smoked were confiscated. Inspectors nominated by the bishops besought the peasants to clean their holy images, whose dirtiness shocked strangers. Catechisms were distributed in the churches, and a new corrected edition of the Bible exposed for sale. Theological studies, when they were not absolutely neglected, were still very puerile. At the Ecclesiastical Academy of Moscow they discussed whether the angels think by analysis or by synthesis, and what is the nature of the light of glory in the future life.

The Senate was re-established with the functions given it by Peter the Great, of which it had been deprived by the High Council of Catherine I., or the Cabinet of Anne Ivanovna. Trade was encouraged. Tchins, or ranks of assessors, of secretaries of colleges, and of councillors of State, were distributed to manufacturers of cloth, linen, silk, and cotton. In 1753 the custom-houses of the interior were suppressed, as well as many toll-

duties. Agricultural banks were founded where they lent to landholders at 6 per cent. ; whilst private individuals raised usurious interest to 15 or even 20 per cent. Sons of merchants were sent to study trade and book-keeping in Holland. New mines were discovered, and the commerce with the far East increased rapidly. Siberia began to be peopled. Attempts were made to colonize Southern Russia, now freed from the prospect of Tatar incursions, with Slavs who had fled from the Turkish or Tatar provinces. On the territory acquired by Anne Ivanovna, between the Bug and the Oder, the agricultural and military colony of New Servia was founded, which furnished four regiments of light cavalry.

Legislation was less severe. Elizabeth imagined that she had abolished the penalty of death, but the knout of her executioners killed as well as the axe. Those who survived flagellation were sent, with their nose or ears cut, to the public works. Torture was only employed in the gravest cases. If the civil code did not advance, a code of procedure and a code of criminal investigation were completed. The police had hard work to maintain even a show of order in this rude society. Moscow and St. Petersburg were like woods of ill-fame. Thieves had lost none of their audacity, and one of them, Vanka Kaine, the Russian Cartouche, is the hero of a whole cycle of songs. Edicts were required to prevent the keeping of bears in both capitals, and to hinder them from being allowed to roam at night through the towns of the provinces. Public baths common to both men and women were forbidden in the large towns. The government was powerless to stop brigandage on the great highways ; pirates captured ships on the Volga, and armed bands gave battle to regular troops.

The real minister of literature and the fine arts, under the reign of Elizabeth was her young favorite, Count Ivan Schouvalof. He founded, in the centre of the empire, the University of Moscow, whose small beginnings have excited the contempt of German historians, but of which Nicholas Tourguénief has been able to say, that "never in any country has any institution been more useful and more fruitful in good results; even to-day (1844) it is rare to find a man who writes his own language correctly, a well-educated and enlightened official, an upright and firm magistrate, who has not been at the University of Moscow." Schouvalof desired that every student, whatever his origin, should carry a sword, and bear the rank of the tenth degree of the Tchin ; doctors were given the eighth degree. Ten professors taught the three branches of jurisprudence, medicine, and philosophy. He likewise wished to open two Universities at St.

Petersburg and at Batourine, and gymnasia and schools in all the governments; he established schools on the military frontier of the south, and one at Orenburg for the children of the exiles. He sent young men abroad to finish their studies in medicine. He was the creator of the Academy of Fine Arts at St. Petersburg, over which he set French masters. The painter Lorraine, the sculptor Gilet, the architect Valois and later Dévely and Lagrenée, were among them.

St. Petersburg, which as yet contained only 74,000 inhabitants, began to look like a capital. The Italian Rastelli built the Winter Palace, the monastery of Smolna, which became under Catherine II. an institution for the daughters of the aristocracy, and the Palace of the Academy of Sciences, and traced the plan of Tzarskoe-Selo, the Russian Versailles.

Under the presidency of Cyril Razoumovski, son of a former favorite of Elizabeth, the Academy of Sciences, which had been founded by Peter the Great and Catherine I., began to make itself known. In spite of the interminable contests excited by Lomonossov between its German and Russian professors, it continued to publish both books and translations.

The Academicians Bauer and Miller devoted themselves to the origin of Russia. Tatitchef, formerly governor of Astrakhan, wrote the first history of the monarchy. Lomonossov, Professor of Physic, made himself the Vaugelas and the Malherbe of his country. The son of a fisher in the neighborhood of Arkhangel, he had the colossal frame of the ancient *bogatyrs*, and certain vices of the people. He was sent abroad to complete his studies, and there became the hero of a hundred adventures. He married the daughter of a Magdeburg tailor, was kidnapped for the King of Prussia, and imprisoned. Even in Russia his drunkenness and turbulence would have drawn him into many scrapes, but for the intervention of his protectors. He published a grammar, a book of rhetoric and poetics, and labored to free the modern Russian language from the Slavonic of the Church. His "panegyrics" of Peter and Elizabeth, and, above all, his Odes, are the master-pieces of the time. Soumarokoff wrote dreams, comedies and satires and published the first Russian review, 'The Busy Bee.' Kniajnine was very successful in comedy, though his tragedies were poor. Prince Kantemir, son of the Hospodar of Moldavia, ambassador at Paris and London, published letters and satires. Trediakovski, author of the tragedy of 'Deidamia' and of another inferior epopee, called the 'Telemachid,' imitated from Fénelon, is chiefly known as a reformer of the language, and an indefatigable translator. He translated all Rollin's 'Ancient History,' Boileau's 'Art Poé-

tique,' the *libretti* of Italian operas, and works of science and politics. His biography proves the small estimation in which a poet was then held. Anne Ivanovna had employed him to make rhymes for her masquerades, and we have seen how brutally he was treated by Volynski. He did not know how to make himself respected like a Kantemir or a Lomonossof.

Elizabeth, like Anne Ivanovna, loved the theatre. The Italian company of Locatelli acted *ballets* and *opéras-bouffes*. Sérigny, director of a French theatre, made 25,000 roubles a year. The Empress furnished spectators, willing or reluctant, sending lackeys to beat up the laggards, and imposing a fine of fifty roubles on all who would not come. The Russian theatre had begun to exist. Soumarokof led his actors, who were members of the corps of cadets, into the apartments of the Empress. At Iaroslavl, Volkof, the son of a merchant, and a *protégé* of the voïevode Moussine-Pouchkine, was at once author, actor, manager, decorator, and scene-painter, to a company whom the Empress summoned to St. Petersburg. Soumarokof afterwards became the manager, and wrote twenty-six pieces for them, among which were 'Khorev,' 'Sineous and Trouvor,' 'Dmitri the Impostor,' and some translations of Shakespeare and of French pieces.

The characteristic feature of the reign of Elizabeth is the establishment of direct relations with France, which had been, since the 17th century, the highest representative of European civilization. Up to this time French civilization had been only known at second hand in Russia. The people were Dutch under Peter I., German under Anne Ivanovna. The Russians had made themselves the pupils of those who were themselves but pupils of the French. Now the barriers were thrown down. French *savants* were members of the Academy of Sciences, French artists of the Academy of Fine Arts. The French representations of Sérigny were thronged, and Soumarokof caused translations from French works to be put on the stage. The writings of Vauban on Fortifications, and of Saint Rémy on Artillery, were translated, and the Russians learned to know Corneille, Racine, and Molière. The favorite Ivan Schouvalof had his furniture brought from France, his dresses from Paris, loved everything French, and caused Elizabeth, once betrothed to Louis XV., to share his tastes. La Chétardie and L'Hôpital made the manners of Versailles fashionable. The Russians perceived they had more affinity with the French than with the Germans. Trediakovski and Cyril Razoumovski went to perfect themselves in Paris, where the Russian students were sufficiently numerous to have a chapel of

their own, under the protection of the ambassador. A Voronzof entered the service of Louis XV., and in the uniform of the light cavalry stood on guard in the galleries of Versailles. The Ambassador Kantemir was a friend of Montesquieu. A generation French in ideas and culture grew up at the court of Elizabeth. Catherine II., Princess Dachkof, and the Voronzofs wrote French as easily as their own language. In 1746, De l'Isle communicated to the Academy of Sciences the wish expressed by Voltaire to become a corresponding member. The following year, by means of D'Allion and Cyril Razoumovski, Voltaire entered into relations with Schouvalof, who furnished him with documents as well as with advice and criticism for his 'History of Russia under Peter the Great.'

In her internal policy, then, Elizabeth continued the traditions of the great Emperor. She developed the material prosperity of the country, reformed the legislation, and created new centres of population; she gave an energetic impulse to science and the national literature; she prepared the way for the alliance of France and Russia, emancipated from the German yoke; while in foreign affairs she put a stop to the threatening advance of Prussia, vanquished and reduced to despair the first general of the age, and concluded the first Franco-Russian alliance against the military monarchy of the Hohenzollerns. Better appreciated by the light of later discoveries, Elizabeth will hold an honorable place in history, even between Peter the Great and Catherine II.

CHAPTER VII.

PETER III. AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1762.

Government of Peter III. and the alliance with Frederic II.—Revolution of 1762: Catherine II.

GOVERNMENT OF PETER III. : ALLIANCE WITH FREDERIC II.

THE successor of Elizabeth was her nephew, the grandson of Peter the Great, son of Anne Petrovna and of Charles Frederic, Duke of Holstein-Goltorp, then thirty-four years of age. His accession was looked forward to with feelings of mistrust, because he affected to think himself a stranger in Russia, and to act more as the Duke of Holstein than as heir to the imperial throne. Without education and without training, his youth had been passed in puerile amusements; he only seemed to care for minute military details, occupied himself in drilling his battalion of Holsteiners—known by the name of “long suffering”—and showed himself the fanatical admirer of Frederic II. and of the Prussian tactics. His aunt suspected him of communicating to the King the secret deliberations of the government, and thought herself obliged to exclude him from conferences which were concerned with affairs of war and administration.

The first measures of Peter III. caused, however, a delightful surprise. In February, 1762, he published a manifesto which freed the nobility from the obligation imposed on them by Peter the Great, of consecrating themselves to the service of the State. He reminded them that this law of his grandfather had produced most salutary effects, by forcing the nobles to educate themselves and interest themselves in the public welfare, by giving birth to an enlightened generation, and by furnishing the State with distinguished generals and administrators. But now that the love of the sovereign and zeal for his service was spread abroad, he no longer thought it necessary to maintain the law. The Russian nobles, overcome with gratitude, thought of raising a statue of gold to him. Peter III. answered that the most

beautiful monuments were those possessed by a sovereign in the memory of his people. Another reform was the abolition of the Secret Court of Police,—“an abominable tribunal,” writes the English ambassador, “as bad, and in some respects worse than the Spanish Inquisition.” Peter III. respected the raskolniks; they had been so cruelly persecuted during the preceding reign that their number had fallen from forty thousand to five thousand in the government of Novgorod alone; and thousands of these unhappy creatures had fled to the deserts, or emigrated into the neighboring countries. He commanded that they should be brought back to Russia, offering them at the same time lands in Siberia; “for,” says the oukaze, “the Mahometans and even idolaters are tolerated in the empire. Now, the raskolniks are Christians.” He took up his grandfather’s project of the resumption of conventual property, allowing the monks a pension in its stead. He even thought of the peasants, on whom the modern State founded by Peter the Great weighed so heavily, and proclaimed a pardon to those who, misled by false intelligence, thought they were able to rise against their masters. The greater part of these acts were inspired by his Secretary of State, Volkof. The culprits of the last reign—the Mengdens, Madame Lapoukhine, old Marshal Münich and his son, Lestocq, the Duke of Courland, and all the Birens—were recalled.

Unhappily, the Emperor’s personal conduct almost neutralized any wisdom in his laws. Not only did he plunder the clergy, but he did not hide his contempt for the national religion, which he had been forced to embrace instead of Lutheranism. The people were scandalized by his attitude in the funeral chamber where the corpse of his aunt was exposed. “He was seen,” says Princess Dachkof, “whispering and laughing with the ladies-in-waiting, turning the priests into ridicule, picking quarrels with the officers, or even with the sentinels, about the way their cravats were folded, the length of their curls, or the cut of their uniforms.” The reforms that he introduced into the dress and drill, so as to assimilate them to those of Prussia, irritated the army; the Guards were jealous of the favor shown the battalions of Holstein, which he wished to raise to 18,000 men, and proposed as models for the national troops. The suppression of the body-guard of Grenadiers, formed by Elizabeth in 1741, announced to the regiments of Preobrajenski, Semenovski, and Ismaïlovski the lot that awaited them. The Emperor had already observed that “the Guards were dangerous, and held the palace in a state of siege.”

The court was discontented with the foolish innovations he introduced into etiquette, obliging the ladies to curtsey in the

German fashion. He seemed to have taken an aversion to all the tastes of his aunt; and one of his first cares had been to dismiss the French company of actors. The manners of the upper classes had become sufficiently refined to look upon Peter's gross habits with disgust. "The life led by the Emperor," writes the French ambassador, De Breteuil, "is shameful. He smokes and drinks beer for hours together, and only ceases from these amusements at five or six in the morning, when he is dead drunk. . . . He has redoubled his attentions towards Made-moiselle Voronzof. One must allow that it is a strange taste; she has no wit; and as to her face, it is impossible to imagine anything uglier: she resembles in every way a servant at a low inn."

The foreign policy of Peter III. only widened the breach between himself and his subjects. Frederic II. was almost reduced to extremity by the battle of Künersdorff; the slow movements of Boutourline in the campaign of 1761 had indeed procured him a little respite, but if the war with Russia was prolonged, he was ruined. We may imagine with what joy and hope he hailed the accession of Peter III. He addressed his congratulations to the new Emperor through the English ambassador in Russia, and the friendship between the great king and his admirer was soon renewed. Tchernichef received orders to detach himself from the Austrians in Silesia, and the King of Prussia sent Goltz to make proposals of peace to the Tzar. He authorized his envoy even to cede Eastern Prussia if it was exacted by Peter, merely reserving to himself an indemnity. On his arrival Goltz found a prince who swore only by Frederic II., wore his portrait in a ring, and remembered all that he had suffered for him in the reign of Elizabeth, when he had been dismissed from the "Conference." There was no longer any question of annexing Eastern Prussia, as the late Tzarina had so ardently wished; Peter III. restored to his "old friend" all the Russian conquests, and formed an offensive and defensive alliance with him. The two princes promised each other help to the amount of 12,000 infantry and 8000 horses, and the Prussians, who had till that moment been fighting the Russians, now joined them against Austria. Frederic guaranteed to the Emperor his States of Holstein, and confirmed the uncle of Peter in the duchy of Courland, undertaking to come to an understanding with him on the subject of Poland. Such a sudden change in State policy had never before been seen. Breteuil and Mercy-d'Argenteau, the French and Austrian ambassadors, found themselves all at once in disgrace. The envoy of Frederic II. was not only a favorite, he was really the first minister of the Emperor of Russia, pointing out suspicious characters, banishing

his enemies, accusing Voronzof and the Shouvalofs of French sympathies. The treaty being concluded, Peter III., at a grand dinner, proposed the health of the King of Prussia, amidst the thunders of the guns of the fortress. He carried his extravagances, by which he testified his admiration for the great man, to such a point as to disquiet Goltz himself. "Let us drink to the health of the king our master," he cried in one of his orgies; "he has done me the honor to confide to me one of his regiments. I hope he will not dismiss me; you may be assured that if he should order it, I would make war on hell with all my empire."

REVOLUTION OF 1762: CATHERINE II.

The Russians would have hailed with pleasure the end of a tedious war, though they regretted the abandonment of the conquests of Elizabeth, but a new war succeeded the old one; the empire was to exhaust herself anew, combating her allies of yesterday, and to fight against Denmark for the pretensions of the house of Holstein. The hearts of the people softened towards the Empress Catherine on account of the harsh treatment she had received, her intelligence and obtrusive demonstrations of piety throwing into relief the incapacity and extravagances of her husband. Peter III. wished to divorce her and to marry Elizabeth Voronzof; he was said to meditate disinheriting his son Paul in favor of Ivan VI.; once he gave an order, which was not executed, to arrest his wife, and to confine her in a convent.

Sophia of Anhalt, now the Empress Catherine, was not a woman to pardon these threats, nor to wait till they were carried into effect. As Breteuil remarks, "All this, joined to daily humiliations, fermented in a head like hers, and only wanted an occasion to break out." She bided her time and acted.

Numerous contemporary documents exist about the revolution of June 1762. The accounts best known are those of Rulhière, of Princess Dachkof in her *Memoirs*, of Keith and Breteuil in their despatches, and of Catherine II. herself in her letter to Poniatowski. The order given to the Guards to leave for Holstein precipitated the revolution of 1762, as a similar order precipitated that of 1741. Peter III. had no idea of his danger; he did not see conspirators silently increase and multiply in the Senate, in the court, and in the army. Their number was great, and their aims often different. Some wished to proclaim Paul I., under the guardianship of his mother; others desired to crown Catherine herself. The group which had then

all the confidence of the Empress was composed of young officers: Gregory Orlof, her lover, Alexis Orlof, and three others of the same name, Bariatinski, and Passek. The Orlofs were acquainted with all the details of the affair, and concealed it with care from the other conspirators, among them the Princess Dachkof, whom they considered wanting in discretion. Put on her guard by the arrest of Passek, Catherine resolved to act. Peter III. was then at Oranienbaum with his Holsteiners, and Catherine at Peterhof, between Oranienbaum and St. Petersburg. She abruptly quitted her residence, accompanied by Gregory and Alexis Orlof and two servants. On her arrival in the capital the three regiments of Foot Guards rose and took the oaths to her at the hands of their priests. Peter's uncle, George of Holstein, was arrested by his own regiment of Horse Guards. From Our Lady of Kazan Catherine went to the Winter Palace, whence Admiral Talysine was sent to secure the allegiance of Cronstadt, and whence proclamations were issued to the people and the army. Then, at the head of nearly 20,000 men, besides artillery, she marched on Oranienbaum.

Peter III., suddenly aroused from his tranquil repose, embarked for Cronstadt to put himself at the head of the garrison. "I am the Emperor," he cried to Talysine. "There is no longer any Emperor," replied the admiral, and, menaced by the artillery of the fortress, Peter had to return to his residence. There in spite of the counsels of the warlike old Münich and the presence of his 1500 Holsteiners, he quietly abdicated,— "like a child being sent to sleep," as Frederic II. remarked. He visited his wife with his mistress and his most intimate friends: "after which," relates the Empress, "I sent the deposed Emperor, under the command of Alexis Orlof, accompanied by four officers and a detachment of gentle and reasonable men, to a place named Ropcha, fifteen miles from Peterhof, a secluded spot, but very pleasant." Here he died in four days, of a "hæmorrhoidal colic," his wife assures us, which was complicated by "flying to the brain." This was the version officially adopted. The English ambassador relates that he received the following note from the Russian Cabinet:—"The imperial minister of Russia thinks it his duty to inform the foreign ministers that the late Emperor having been taken ill with a violent colic, to which he was subject, died yesterday."

The unhappy son of Anne Leopoldovna and of Antony, the great grandson of the Tzar Ivan V., the Emperor imprisoned since his childhood by Elizabeth and confined at Schlüsselburg, had been brought by Peter III. to St. Petersburg. He was now twenty-one years old, and had lost his reason.

Catherine II. imprisoned him anew at Schlüsselburg. He was no dangerous character, but merely a name. A memorandum of the Empress on the subject still exists. "It is my opinion that he should not be allowed to escape, so as to place him beyond the power of doing harm. It would be best to tonsure him, and to transfer him to some monastery, neither too near nor too far off; it will suffice if it does not become a shrine."

Revolutions are almost invariably followed by revolts. The frequency of these military *coups de main* encouraged audacious spirits; but two years after Catherine's usurpation, Mirovitch, lieutenant of the Guards, conceived the project of delivering Ivan VI. His warders seeing no other means of preventing his escape, put him to death at the moment that Mirovitch entered his chamber, and the conspirator found nothing but his corpse. He was himself arrested and condemned to death. The day of the execution, the people, who during the twenty years' reign of Elizabeth had seen no one beheaded, uttered such a cry and were seized with such emotion, that when the executioner held up the head of Mirovitch the bridge over the Neva almost gave way under the pressure of the crowd, and the balustrades broke. Catherine had now no rival for the throne of Russia, except her own son.

"I know," writes Voltaire some years later, speaking of Catherine—"I know that she is reproached with some trifles about her husband, but these are family affairs with which I do not meddle. And, after all, it is often as well to have a fault to repair; it obliges people to make greater efforts to wrest esteem and admiration from the public." We shall see what efforts were used by Catherine II. to force the Russians to forget the means by which she had mounted the throne.

CHAPTER VIII.

CATHERINE II. : EARLY YEARS (1762-1780).

End of the Seven Years' War: intervention in Poland—First Turkish war : first partition of Poland (1772) : Swedish Revolution of 1772—Plague at Moscow—Pougatchef.

END OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR ; INTERVENTION IN POLAND.

IN the first moments that followed her triumph, Catherine II. had published a manifesto in which Frederic was treated "as perturber of the public peace," and "perfidious enemy of Russia." She soon, however, altered her sentiments. This princess, who had punished Peter III, for his alliance with Prussia and his designs upon the Church property, was herself destined to realize, both in her foreign and domestic policy, the plans of her husband. Tchernichef had received the order to detach himself from the Prussians, as he had formerly received the order to detach himself from the Austrians. Frederic managed to retard the departure of the general for three days, and Tchernichef consented to occupy with grounded arms a position which covered the Prussian army. Frederic profited by this to defeat Daun at Burkersdorff and Leutmannsdorff. The final withdrawal of Russia from the Seven Years' War hastened the conclusion of peace. During all the early part of her reign, the policy of Catherine II. consisted in what is known as the "system of the North"; that is, a close alliance with Prussia, England, and Denmark, against the two great Powers of the South, the house of Bourbon and the house of Austria. The diplomatic struggle with France especially was very lively in the secondary courts; that is to say, at Warsaw, at Stockholm, and at Constantinople.

The duchy of Courland, legally a dependency of the Polish crown, but in reality annexed to the Russian empire, found itself at that time without a sovereign. Anne Leopoldovna had exiled the Duke Biren; Peter III. had destined the crown to George of Holstein; Augustus III. had coveted it for his son

Charles of Saxony; Catherine put an end to the competition by establishing Biren. It was a union in disguise of Courland and the empire.

A more important event soon absorbed all her attention: this was the approaching death of the King of Poland, and the consequent opening of the whole question of succession. Two parties then disputed the power at Warsaw; the court party, with the minister Brühl and his son-in-law Mnisek, and the party supported by Russia, headed by the Czartoriski. The former wished to secure the succession for the Prince of Saxony, which was also the policy of France and Austria; the latter intended to elect a *piast*, that is, a native noble of their own party, and their choice had fallen on Stanislas Poniatowski, a nephew of Czartoriski. Thus France, which in 1733 had made war for a piast against the Saxon candidate, now supported the Saxon candidate against Poniatowski. Circumstances had changed, and the kingdom of Poland, becoming every day more feeble, could only be sustained at all by the forces of a German state, Saxony. Now Frederic II. feared an increase of power for Saxony quite as much as for Poland; Saxony was the old rival of Prussia in the empire, as Poland had been in the country of the Vistula. Russia, on her side, which, by fighting Stanislas Leszczinski, had fought the father-in-law of Louis XV., now fought for the Saxon, the client of France and Austria. Further, she had no intention that a Polish noble should become too powerful, and meant to get rid of the Czartoriskis. The candidature of Stanislas Poniatowski, a man without any personal power, therefore satisfied both the desires of Frederic II., the interests of the Russian empire, and the sentiments of Catherine, happy to be able to crown one of her early lovers. When Augustus III. really died, the country was violently agitated by the diets of convocation and election. Power was fiercely disputed by the two parties. The Czartoriskis called in the Russian arms to put down their enemies, and under the protection of foreign bayonets Poniatowski inaugurated his fatal reign, in which Poland was thrice dismembered, and erased from the list of the nations.

Three principal causes led to the ruin of the ancient royal republic; 1. The national movement of Russia which tended to complete itself on the Western side, and to "recover," to use the expression of her historians, the provinces which had formed part of the territory of St. Vladimir; that is White Russia, Black Russia, and Little Russia. The national question was complicated by the same religious question which had led, under Alexis Mikhaïlovitch, to a first dismemberment of the

Polish State. The complaints of the agitations of the Uniates had multiplied in Lithuania, and Russia had often tried to interfere diplomatically. In 1718 and 1720 Peter the Great had written to Augustus II. to inform him of the ill-treatment suffered by his co-religionists. Augustus had published an edict which insured the free exercise of the orthodox religion, but which remained unexecuted, as the king was never sufficiently strong to restrain the zeal of the clergy and the Jesuits, to repress the abuses of power on the part of his officers, and to protect the peasants belonging to the Greek Church against their lords. In 1723 Peter had written to the Pope to entreat his interference, threatening reprisals against the Roman Church in his dominions. The Pope declined the proposals of Peter, and the annoyances continued.

2. The second cause of the ruin of Poland was the insatiable greed of Prussia. Poland possessed Western Prussia, that is, the Lower Vistula between Thorn and Dantzic, separating Eastern Prussia from the rest of the Brandenburg monarchy. It thus spoilt the construction of the latter State by dividing it into two parts. Poland also occupied the side of the country where German colonization had greatly developed, especially in the towns. Lastly, the government of Warsaw was so foolish as to annoy the Protestant dissenters in the same way as she did those of the Greek Church.

3. Poland could not escape the spirit of reform which was the spirit of the eighteenth century. Poniatowski and the more enlightened Poles were well aware of the contrast that existed between the national anarchy and the order of the neighboring States. Whilst Prussia, Russia, and Austria tried to constitute themselves into modern States, to build up the central Powers on the ruins of the forces of the Middle Ages, to realize the reforms proclaimed by French philosophers and physiocratists, Poland had up to that time, followed the opposite plan, despoiling the kingly power at each accession, weakening the national strength, persisting in the traditions of feudalism. In the midst of European monarchies which attained, on her very frontiers, the maximum of their power, Poland remained a state of the eleventh century. She had allowed them to get such a start, that even the effort to reform herself hastened her dissolution.

From a social point of view she was a nation of agricultural serfs, overlaid by a numerous class of small nobility, themselves subject to a few great families, against whom the king was absolutely powerless. There was no middle class at all, unless we give that name to some thousands of Catholic citizens and to a million of Jews, who had no interest in maintaining a state of

things which condemned them to eternal opprobrium. Economically, she had a primitive system of agriculture worked by a serf population, little commerce, no retail trade, no public finances. Politically, the country was only legally composed of nobles. The rivalry of the great families, the anarchy of the diets, the weakness of the royal power, the *pacta conventa* the *liberum veto*, the *confederations* or *diets under the shield*, the inveterate habit of invoking the intervention of strangers, or of selling them their votes, had extinguished in Poland the very idea of law and a State. From a military point of view the Polish soldiers were merely the lawless soldiers of the Middle Ages; she had only the cavalry of her nobility, no infantry, little artillery, and scarcely any fortresses on her frontiers, which were everywhere exposed. Maurice de Saxe affirms, in his 'Reveries,' that it only needed 48,000 men to conquer Poland. What could she do, divided against herself, long ago corrupted by the gold of her enemies, enclosed by three powerful monarchies, who hardly thought they were violating her frontiers by occupying her territory, and whose ambassadors had more power in her diets than the king?

Catherine and Frederic had come to an understanding on two essential points: to vindicate the rights of the dissenters, and to prevent all reform of the anarchic institution, which was giving Poland into their hands. While affecting to espouse the cause of tolerance, they made Europe forget that it was to be gained at the price of the independence and integrity of the country. The noisy fanaticism of the Poles helped them to conceal their object.

In 1765 Koninski, the orthodox bishop of White Russia, presented a petition to the King of Poland recalling all the vexations to which the Greek Church in the kingdom was subject. Two hundred churches had been taken away from them and given to the Uniates; they were forbidden to rebuild those which had fallen into ruin, or to construct new ones; their priests were ill-treated, sometimes put to death. "The Missionary Fathers," says the petition, "are specially distinguished for their zeal: seconded, when they are engaged on a mission, by the secular authority, they assemble the Greco-Russian people of all the neighboring villages, as if they were a flock of sheep, keep them for six weeks together, force them to confess to them, and, to frighten those that resist, raise impaling poles, display rods, thorny branches, erect scaffolds, separate children from their parents, women from their husbands, and seek to astound them by imaginary miracles. In cases of stout resistance men were beaten with rods, or with thorny branches, their hands were burned, and they were kept in prison for months together."

Russia supported the complaints of the dissenters before the Polish Diet, and Stanislas promised to sustain them. It was necessary to secure to the people the free exercise of their religion, and to the orthodox nobles the political rights of which they had been deprived by former legislatures. The Diet of 1766 made a frantic opposition to this proposal; the deputy Gourovski, who attempted to speak in favor of the dissenters, narrowly escaped being put to death.

Repnine, Catherine's ambassador, got the dissenters to promise that they would resort to the legal means of confederations. The orthodox assembled at Sloutsk, the Protestants under the patronage of the Russian ambassador at Thorn; there was also a confederation of Catholics at Radom, enemies of the Czartoriski, and of those who feared a reform of the constitution, and the abolition of the *liberum veto*. Russia, which with Prussia had guaranteed the maintenance of this absurd constitution, likewise took them under her protection. Eighty thousand Muscovites were ready, at a sign from Repnine, to enter Poland. Under these auspices opened the Diet of 1767: the Poles did not appear to feel the insult to their independence, and only exerted themselves to support the system of intolerance. Soltyk, bishop of Cracow, Zalusski, bishop of Kief, and two other nuncios showed themselves most warm in opposition to the project. Repnine had them removed and taken to Russia, and the Poles had done so much evil themselves that Europe applauded this violation of the law of nations, as it seemed to secure liberty of conscience. The Diet yielded, and consented that the dissident nobles should have political rights equal to those of the Catholics, but Romanism remained the religion of the State, and that which the king must always profess. In 1768 a treaty was made between Poland and Russia, in virtue of which the constitution could never be modified without the consent of the latter Power. This was to legalize foreign intervention, and to condemn Poland to die of her abuses. The Russian troops evacuated Warsaw, and the Confederates sent deputies to thank the Empress.

In spite of this, the Confederation of Radom, the most considerable of the three, which had taken up arms to hinder the reform of the constitution, and in no wise to support reforms in favor of the dissenters, was much discontented with the result. When it was dissolved, there sprang from its remains the Confederation of Bar, in Podolia, more numerous still, and which had adopted as its programme not only the maintenance of the *liberum veto*, but also that of the exclusive privileges of the Catholics. In Galicia and Lublin two other confederations

were formed with the same objects in view. The insurgents took for their motto, "*Pro religione et libertate*;" but the word "liberty" was heard with indifference by the mass of the people, who only saw in the "liberty" of the Poles that of the nobles. The confederates of Bar sent deputies to the courts of Dresden, Vienna, and Versailles, to interest them in their cause. In the West opinion might well be perplexed. On which side, men asked, was the nation ranged? Whither did the forces of the future tend? Were right and justice at Warsaw with the king and the senate, and all the men who had voted for the enfranchisement of the dissenters, and who meditated in secret the reform of the constitution and the revival of Poland? Were they at Bar, where turbulent nobles, guided by fanatical priests, revolted in the name of the *liberum veto* and religious intolerance? Voltaire and the greater part of the French philosophers declared in favor of King Stanislas; but M. de Choiseul, minister of Louis XV., supported the Confederates. It did not strike him that by weakening the authority of the Polish king he was weakening Poland herself. The Polish government, in presence of the insurrection, found herself forced to commit a fresh fault. The royal army did not amount to 9000 effective men, and according to the treaty of alliance with Russia, they appealed to her for troops. The Muscovite columns wrested Bar, Berdichef, and Cracow from the Confederates. The orthodox monks replied by their sermons to those of the Catholic priests. Gontaï and Jeliéznak called to arms the Cossacks of the Ukraine, the Zaporogues, and the *haïdamaks*, or brigands. A savage war, at once national, religious, and social, desolated the provinces of the Dnieper; the land-owners and the Jews saw the return of the bloody days of Khmelnitski. The massacre of Ouman, a town of Count Potoçki's, horrified the Ukraine.

The Confederates, repulsed by the Russian columns, had obtained some support from the court of Vienna. They had established the council of the Confederation at Teschen, their head-quarters at Eperies in Hungary, and still held three places in Poland. Choiseul sent them money, and sent also the Chevalier de Taulés, Dumouriez, and the Baron de Viomesnil, to organize them. In the Memoirs of Dumouriez, we find that the forces of the Confederation, scattered through the whole extent of Poland, did not exceed 16,000 or 17,000 horsemen, without infantry, and divided into five or six bands, each with its independent chief. Zaremba in Great Poland, the Cossack Sava, Miaczinski, Walevski, and many others, usually acted without combination. Pulavski was the open enemy of Potoçki; Dumouriez was beaten at Landskron, with his undisciplined

troops; but Viomesnil, Dussaillans, and Choisy, three French officers, surprised the Castle of Cracow (1772), shortly afterwards recaptured by Souvorof. An attempt made by some of the Confederates, on the 3rd of November, 1771, to secure the person of the king—whose wounds and remote residence rendered him an easy prey—excited the ostentatious and insincere indignation of the European courts, and increased Voltaire's dislike of the Confederates.

FIRST TURKISH WAR (1767-74): FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND (1772): SWEDISH REVOLUTION OF 1772.

Choiseul imagined that the best way of aiding the Confederates was to induce the Turks to declare war against Russia. Vergennes, the French ambassador at Constantinople, set to work energetically to bring it to pass; but unhappily France greatly exaggerated the power of Turkey, and was ignorant how far her strength had diminished since her last war with Austria. The mistake made by Choiseul when he linked the fate of his ally on the Vistula with the success of the Ottoman arms only rendered the partition of Poland inevitable. On the news of the violation of the frontier at Balta, not by the Russian troops but by the *haidamaks*, when pursued by the former, the Sublime Porte declared war on Russia. The Baron de Tott had been sent by Vergennes to Krim-guérai, Khan of the Crimea, to persuade him to second the Turks. In the winter of 1768, the Tatars devastated the New Servia of Elizabeth. Catherine, whose forces were occupied in Poland, had only a feeble army to oppose to the Turco-Tatar invasion. "The Romans," she writes to her generals, "did not concern themselves with the number of their enemies; they only asked, 'Where are they?'" Galitsyne, with 30,000 men, was therefore ordered to check the Grand Vizier at the head of 100,000, who was on the point of entering Podolia to join the Polish Confederates; Roumantsof was to occupy the Ukraine and watch the Crimean Tatars and the Kalmucks. Galitsyne took the initiative, defeated the Grand Vizier on the Dnieper, near Khotin, which capitulated (1769), and took up a position in Wallachia and Moldavia, to the great joy of the orthodox populations of the Danube. The following year, his successor, Roumantsof, defeated the Khan of the Tatars, although the latter had 100,000 men, and was entrenched on the banks of the Larga. He then gained over the Grand Vizier in person the victory of Kagoul, where 17,000 Russians defeated 150,000 Mussulmans (1770). In 1771 Prince

Dolgórouki forced the lines of Perekop, ravaged the Crimea, took Kaffa, Kertch, and Ienikale, and put an end forever to the Turkish rule in the peninsula. During this time the army of Wallachia captured the fortresses on the Danube, successfully completed the conquest of Bessarabia by taking Bender, and penetrated into Bulgaria.

Catherine II. had prepared a yet more terrible surprise for the Turkish empire, disturbed as it was by the revolt of the Pacha of Egypt. A Russian fleet left the Baltic under the orders of Alexis Orlof, and, after having put in at the English ports and made the tour of Europe, suddenly appeared on the coast of Greece. The Christian populations of the Western Morea and of Magnesia revolted; Voltaire already announced the regeneration of Athens and the resurrection of Sparta; but Orlof abandoned the Greeks after he had compromised them, and hastened to seek the Turkish fleet. With the help of his lieutenants Spiridof and Greig, he defeated it at the harbor of Chios, and totally annihilated it in the port of Tchesmé, aided by fire-ships led by the English Dugdale. At this news the terror of Constantinople exceeded all bounds; they pictured the Russians arriving in the Bosphorus. Alexis Orlof lost his time in the conquest of the islands, while Baron de Tott rallied the courage of the Sultan and the Turkish people, drilled the Ottoman soldiers, cast cannon, and put the Dardanelles in a state of defence. When the Russians at last presented themselves at the entrance of the Straits, they were too late (1770).

Russia, however, had none the less conquered Azof, the Crimea, the shore of the Black Sea between the Dnieper and the Dniester, Bessarabia, Wallachia, Moldavia, a part of Bulgaria, and of the islands of the Archipelago. She would willingly have kept her conquests, but Austria took fright at her close neighborhood and the rupture of the equilibrium of the East. It was at this point that the Turkish and Polish questions became involved in each other: Poland was to serve as the ransom of Turkey.

Of the three Northern States, Prussia was the most interested in the dismemberment of Poland; she had a geographical necessity to lay hands on Western Prussia, and, if possible, on the cities of the Vistula. It was Frederic II. who had denounced to Catherine the projects of the Czartoriski for the reform of the constitution, and brought to light the wrongs of the dissenters; in a word created the Polish question. It was he who, in the interviews of Neiss (Silesia) and of Neustadt (Moravia), had disquieted Joseph II. and Kaunitz on the subject of the Russian ambition in the East, and had suggested the idea of a partition

of Poland; and it was he who had sent his brother Prince Henry to St. Petersburg, to gain over Catherine II. He made her clearly comprehend that her pretensions in the East would cause Austria and France to side against her; that her ally the King of Prussia, weakened by the Seven Years' War, would be unable to stand a war against united Europe; that no doubt she had a right to an equivalent for the expenses of the double war, but that it could matter little to her whence she procured this indemnity, from the Vistula or from the Danube; that she could therefore aggrandize herself at the expense of Poland, and that to re-establish equilibrium in the North she must suffer Prussia and Austria to aggrandize themselves also.

Catherine II., who had already on her hands the wars with Poland and Turkey, could not dream of fighting both Austria and Prussia. Although she would have preferred to maintain the integrity of Poland, on condition of holding a preponderating influence over its affairs, she was forced to submit to the proposal of Frederic II. The King of Prussia knew how to play off Russia and Austria against each other. Even now he was acting as master in Great Poland, taking away the wheat for his own subjects, and the inhabitants for his own army. Once he occupied Dantzic. Austria on her side, in vindication of her ancient rights, invaded the county of Zips. The partition was almost carried out, when it was legalized by the treaty of Feb. 17, 1771, between Prussia and Russia, accepted by Austria in April, and signified to the King of Poland on the 18th of September in that same year. Russia obtained White Russia (Polotsk, Vitepsk, Orcha, Mohilef, Mstislavl, Gomel), with 1,600,000 inhabitants; Austria had Western Galicia and Red Russia, with 2,500,000 people; while Prussia got possession of the long-coveted Western Prussia, with a population of 900,000 souls.

Russia had still to treat with the Porte. After the rupture of the Congress of Fokchany in 1772, the war had broken out again. The Russians had been forced to raise the siege of Silistria, but they had surrounded the Grand Vizier in his camp of Shumla, and a single victory might open them the way to Constantinople. Sultan Abdul Hamid consented to sign the Peace of Koutchouk-Kairnadji (1774). He undertook: 1, to recognize the independence of the Tatars of the Bug, of the Crimea, and of Kuban; 2, to cede Azof on the Don, Kinburn at the mouth of the Dniester, and all the strong places in the Crimea; 3, to open the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to the merchant ships of Russia; 4, to treat the Russian merchants in the same way as the French, who were then the most favored nation; 5, to grant an amnesty to all the Christian populations

engaged in the last insurrection ; 6, to allow the Russian ambassador to interfere in favor of his subjects in the Danubian principalities ; 7, to pay a war indemnity of 4,500,000 roubles, and to recognize the imperial title of the Russian sovereign. Not only did Russia acquire important territories and numerous strategical points, but she established a sort of protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Sultan, and prepared the way for the annexation of the Crimea, of the Kuban, and of all the northern shore of the Black Sea.

France, indirectly defeated in Poland and Turkey, had lately obtained a great diplomatic success in Sweden. Frederic II. and Catherine II. had a tacit understanding to guarantee in the latter country the maintenance of the oligarchic constitution, which was practically the maintenance of anarchy. This was in order to reserve to themselves a pretext for interference, and even to prepare for a dismemberment, which would have given Finland to Russia, and Swedish Pomerania to Prussia ; the rôle of third partitioner, played by Austria in the Polish question, was here assigned to Denmark. Gustavus III., who had grown up amidst the clamors and intrigues of the Diet, had determined to re-establish the royal power, as being the only hope for the independence of the country. In 1771, while he was still prince royal, he went to France, visited the philosophers, frequented the fashionable *salons*, amongst others that of Madame G  offrin, and received encouragement and promises of help from the French government. The spectacle of the anticipated partition of Poland had strengthened him in his patriotic resolutions, and a favorable opportunity seemed offered by the embarrassing situation of both Russia and Prussia. Recalled to Sweden by the death of his father, he prepared his *coup d'  tat* with the utmost secrecy, having previously gained over the army and the nation. On the 19th of August, 1772, he assembled the Guard, dismissed the senators, made the people of Stockholm rise in revolt, and imposed on the Diet a constitution of fifty-seven articles, which guaranteed the public liberties, at the same time that it restored to the Crown its essential prerogatives. He then abolished torture and the State inquisition, shut up the "cave of roses," a hole full of reptiles used for "the question," and set on foot useful reforms which placed Sweden, already impregnated with French ideas, in the current of the 18th century. The success of this bloodless revolution which doubled the real power of Sweden, and put her beyond the pale of foreign intrigue, caused great mortification to Frederic II. and Catherine ; but the affairs of Poland deprived them of the power or desire to interfere.

PLAGUE AT MOSCOW (1771)—POUGATCHEF (1773).

Catherine II., victorious in Poland and in Turkey, found herself face to face with terrible difficulties in her own empire. In 1771 the plague broke out at Moscow, and during the months of July and August the deaths amounted to a thousand a day. The people, wild with fright, thronged to the feet of the holy image of the Mother of God at Bogolioubovo, and many died of suffocation in the crowd. Archbishop Ambrose, an enlightened and educated man, wished to remove the image. This was the signal for a terrible insurrection. "The archbishop is an infidel," cried the people; "he would deprive us of our protectress; he is in a conspiracy with the doctors to make us die. It is not the part of an orthodox nation to suffer the injustice of authority; if he had not caused the streets to be fumigated, the plague would have long ago ceased. To the Kremlin! to the Kremlin! Let us demand of Ambrose why he forbids us to pray to the Mother of God!" Ambrose was put to death, and his palace pillaged. It was necessary to use muskets and cannon to disperse the crowd, which was ready to commit new deeds of violence. Catherine sent Gregory Orlof to appease the revolt, and to reassure the people. At last the plague ceased, and peace was restored.

The insurrection of Moscow proved in what gross darkness the lower classes of the capital (domestic serfs, lackeys, small tradesmen, and working men) then lived. The revolt of Pougatchef shows what elements of disorder had fermented in the distant provinces of the capital. The peasants, on whom were laid the burden of all the State expenses, all the needs of the proprietors, and all the exactions of the officials, forever dreamed of impossible changes. In their profound ignorance they were always ready to follow any impostors, and there were now plenty; false Peters III., Ivans VI., even a Paul I., who were eagerly welcomed by the debased classes, always prejudiced against "the rule of women." The raskolniks, made wild and fanatical by many persecutions, remained in their forests or in the scattered villages of the Volga, irreconcilable enemies of the second Roman empire, stained with the blood of the martyrs. The Cossacks of the Jaïk and the Don, and the Zaporogues of the Dnieper, chafed under the new yoke of authority. The tribes of the Volga (Pagan, Mussulman, or Christian in spite of themselves) only awaited a pretext to recover their lawless liberty, or to reclaim the lands which the Russian colonists had usurped.

How little these ungovernable elements accommodated themselves to the laws of a modern State was seen when, in 1770, the Kalmuck Torgaouts (men, women, and children), to the

number of about 300,000, with their cattle, their tents, and their chariots, abandoned their encampments. Ravaging everything in their road, they crossed the Volga, and retired to the territory of the empire of China. When we add to these malcontents the vagabonds of all kinds, the ruined nobles, the disrobed monks, the military deserters, fugitive serfs, highwaymen, and Volga pirates, we shall see that Russia, especially in her Oriental part, contained all the materials necessary for an immense *Jacquerie*, like those which the false Dmitri or Stenko Razine had let loose. The Jaïk, whose Cossacks had risen in 1766, and had been cruelly repressed, was destined to furnish the expected chief to this servile war. Emilian Pougatchef, a Cossack deserter and a *raskolnik*, who had been already confined in the prison of Kazan, and had escaped from Siberia, gave himself out as Peter III., and asserted that he was saved under the very hands of the executioner. Displaying the banner of Holstein, he proclaimed that he would march to St. Petersburg to punish his wife and to crown his son. He besieged the small fortress of Jaïk with only 300 men. This was an insignificant affair, but all the troops sent against him passed over to his side and delivered up their chiefs. He always hung the officers, and cut the hair of the soldiers in the Cossack style. In the villages the nobles were also hung. All who resisted him were punished as rebels, convicted of the crime of high treason. He thus gained possession of many little fortresses on the Steppe. Whilst his intimate friends who knew his origin treated him when alone as a simple Cossack, the people began to receive him with bells, and the priests to present him bread and salt. Some of the Polish Confederates, captives in those regions, organized his artillery. For almost a year he made Kazan and Orenburg tremble, and defeated all the generals sent against him. Everywhere proprietors fled, and the barbarous tribes hastened to his head-quarters. The peasants rose against the nobles, the Tatars and Tchouvaches against the Russians: a war of race, a social war, a servile war, was let loose in the basin of the Volga. Moscow, with its 100,000 serfs, was agitated: the lower orders, seeing the frightened land-owners pour in from Eastern Russia, began openly to speak of liberty and the extermination of the masters. Catherine II. charged Alexander Bibikof to check the progress of the scourge. Bibikof, on his arrival at Kazan was alarmed at the universal demoralization, but he rallied his courage, reassured and armed the nobles, restrained the people, and affected the greatest confidence, while he wrote to his wife, "The evil is great—it is frightful! Ah! all will go ill." He thoroughly comprehended that all this disorder was not the work of a single man. "Pougatchef," he said,

"is only a bugbear worked by the Cossacks; it is not Pougatchef that is important, but the general discontent." Although very uncertain of his own troops, he attacked the impostor, defeated him both at Tatichtcheva and at Kargoula, dispersed his army and took his guns. Bibikof died in the midst of his victories, but his lieutenants, Michelson, de Collonges, and Galitsyne, gave chase to Pougatchef. Tracked to the Lower Volga, he suddenly ascended the river, threw himself into Kazan which he pillaged and burned, received a check before its Kremlin, and was beaten on the Kazanka. Then he returned down the river, boldly entered Saransk, Samara, and Tzaritsyne, and, though closely followed by his enemies, had time to hang the imperialists, and to establish new municipalities. During his retreat to the south the people awaited him on the road to Moscow, and, in order not to disappoint them, false Peters III. and false Pougatchefs sprang up on all sides, and at the head of savage bands put proprietors to death and burned castles. Moscow was nearer revolt than ever. It was time that Pougatchef was arrested. Shut in between the Volga and the Jaïk, by Michelson and the indefatigable Souvorof, he was pinioned and surrendered by his own accomplices, at the very moment he intended flying into Persia. He was brought to Moscow, so that the people might witness his punishment. Many declined to believe in the death of the false Peter III., and if the revolt was put down the spirit of revolt existed some time longer.

It was a warning for Catherine II., and she remembered it when in 1775 she extinguished the Zaporogue republic. This brave tribe, expelled by Peter the Great, and recalled by Anne Ivanovna, no longer recognized their former territory in the Ukraine. Southern Russia, freed from Tatar incursions, was rapidly colonized; cities rose everywhere, the boundaries of property were fixed, and the vast herbaceous steppes, through which their ancestors had roamed as freely as the Arabs in the desert, were transformed into cultivated fields with a beautiful black soil. The Zaporogues were much discontented with this transformation; they intended to reclaim their lands, and re-establish the desert; they protected the *haïdamaks*, who ill-treated the colonists. Potemkine, the creator of New Russia, became weary of these inconvenient neighbors. By order of the Empress he occupied the *sétcha* and destroyed it. The malcontents fled to the territory of the Sultan; the rest were organized like the Black Sea Cossacks, and in 1792 the Isle of Phanagoria and the eastern shore of the Sea of Azof were assigned them. Such was the end of the great Cossack power. It no longer existed save in the songs of the *kobzars*.

CHAPTER IX.

CATHERINE II. : GOVERNMENT AND REFORMS.

The helpers of Catherine II. : the great legislative commission (1766-1768)—Administration and justice: colonization—Public instruction—Letters and arts—The French Philosophers.

THE HELPERS OF CATHERINE II. : THE GREAT LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION (1766-1768).

CATHERINE II. surrounded herself with distinguished fellow-workers, some of whom were her favorites. In the early part of her reign, the influence of the Orlofs was predominant ; these were Gregory Orlof, the favorite *par excellence*, grand master of the artillery, by whom she had a recognized son, Alexis, created Count Bobrinski ; Alexis Orlof, the admiral, who received the name of Tcheshmenski after the expedition to the Archipelago, and was involved in the tragic history of the Princess Tarankof ; Theodore Orlof, who became procurator-general of the Senate ; Vladimir Orlof, who was director of the Academy of Sciences at the age of twenty-one. Later, the favor of the Orlofs was outweighed by that of Potemkine, creator of New Russia, organizer of the Crimea, conqueror of the Ottomans in the second war with Turkey, and who, as Prince of the Taurid, displayed his Asiatic luxury in his palace of the same name at St. Petersburg. Of all the favorites who, in the latter part of the reign, succeeded each other so rapidly, only one had any real influence over affairs. This was Plato Zoubof, whose brother Valerian conducted the war with Persia. In the direction of foreign affairs were distinguished Nikita Panine, and later Bezborodko, Ostermann, Markof, and Voronzof. Repnine and Sievers in Poland, Budberg at Stockolm, Semen Veronzof in London, and Dmitri Galitsyne at Paris, have made themselves a name in diplomacy. The army was commanded by Alexander Galitsyne, Dolgorouki, Roumantsof, and Souvorof ; the fleet by Greig, Spiridof, and Tchitchagof ; Ivan Betski had charge of the fine arts and of benevolent institutions.

From 1766 to 1768 Catherine II. assembled first at Moscow and afterwards at St. Petersburg the commission for the compilation of the new code. This commission was composed of deputies from all the services of the State, from all the orders and all the races of the empire. Besides the delegates from the Senate, the synod, and the colleges and the courts of Chancery, the nobles elected a representative for each district, the citizens one for every city, the *odnoroxtsi* or free colonists one for every province, the soldiers, militia, and other fighting men, also one for each province; the Crown peasants, the fixed tribes, whether Christians or not, equally elected one for each province; the deputation of the Cossack armies was fixed by their atamans.

Six hundred and fifty-two deputies assembled at Moscow; officials, nobles, citizens, peasants, Tatars, Kalmucks, Lapps, Samoyedes, and many others. Each man was to be furnished with full powers and with papers compiled by at least five of the electors. Each received a medal with the effigy of Catherine, and the motto, "For the happiness of each and of all, Dec. 14, 1766." They were exempted forever from all corporal punishments, and were declared inviolable during the session. In the 'Instructions for the arrangement of the New Code,' Catherine II. had, according to her own expression, "pillaged" the philosophers of the West, especially Montesquieu and Beccaria. "It contained," says the prudent Panine, "axioms enough to knock a wall down." Catherine II. assures Voltaire that her 'Instruction' was interdicted at Paris. Among the ideas of which she boasted, we meet with the following, which were certainly calculated to enrage Louis XV.:—"The nation is not made for the sovereign, but the sovereign for the nation. Equality consists in the obedience of the citizens to the law alone, liberty is the right to do all that is not forbidden by law. It is better to spare ten guilty men than to put one innocent man to death. Torture is an admirable means for convicting an innocent but weakly man, and for saving a stout fellow even when he is guilty." Other maxims loudly condemned intolerance, religious persecutions, and cruel punishments.

The assembly nominated many committees, and held more than two hundred sittings. The most vexed questions were openly discussed. Nobles of the Baltic claimed their provincial rights, merchants brought forward municipal organization and all economical questions, gentlemen proposed to restrain the rights of masters, and to pronounce the pregnant word "emancipement of the peasants." It was not, however, an assembly so numerous, so divided by the interests of classes, and of such various races that could arrange a new code. It was a

work almost impossible in the Russia of that period, which contained within itself so many divers forces. The Empress, forced by the Turkish war to break up the assembly, expressed herself satisfied with her experiment. "The Commission for the Code has given me hints for all the empire. I know now what is necessary, and with what I should occupy myself. It has elaborated all parts of the legislation, and has distributed the affairs under heads. I should have done more without the war with Turkey, but a unity hitherto unknown in the principles and methods of discussion has been introduced." These States-general of Russia influenced the laws of Catherine II., as the French States-general of 1356, of 1413, or of the 16th century influenced the laws of Charles V., Charles VII., or the later Valois.

In the course of the discussions the deputy noble Korobine had proposed to suppress the rights of property over the serfs, and only to leave the masters the right of superintendence. Protapof, another deputy, then observed that "in that case nothing would remain but to set the peasant free, but that, if this was the intention of the Empress, it was necessary to proceed gradually." The Economical Society founded, under the auspices of Catherine II., by the care of Gregory Orlof and other "patriots," had put the question to the assembly. A paper, dated from Aix-la-Chapelle, pronouncing for emancipation, obtained the prize, but other influences were at work to efface the recollection of this essay from the mind of the Empress. The Russian aristocracy were then little disposed to abdicate their rights, as is shown by the conversations of Princess Dachkof with Diderot, and the correspondence of Dmitri Galitsyne. Catherine confined herself to repressing the most crying abuses. The trial of Daria Saltydof, convicted of having caused the death of forty of her servants by torture, shows to what a point slavery, which degrades the serf, could demoralize the masters. She was condemned in 1768 to be publicly pilloried, and to perpetual imprisonment; her memory still lives in the legends of the people. The same reasons which had caused the establishment of serfage in the time of Boris Godounof seemed to operate in favor of its continuance. Catherine II., in spite of a few generous impulses, finally aggravated the existing state of things. More than 150,000 Crown peasants were transformed into serfs of nobles, by being distributed among her favorites. In 1767 an edict forbade peasants to complain of their masters, who were authorized to send them at will to Siberia, or to force them to become recruits. Catherine II. established serfage in Little Russia, where it had hitherto had no legal existence.

ADMINISTRATION AND JUSTICE : COLONIZATION.

The Empress's "Council" deprived the Senate of part of its political importance; but the latter, divided into six departments, had under its jurisdiction all the branches of the public administration. Catherine II. attacked the *věsiatski*, exactions and peculations—the most inveterate evil of this administration. "I consider it," says a *oukaze* of 1762, "as my most essential and necessary duty to declare to the people, with the profoundest sorrow, that corruption has progressed so rapidly that it is hardly possible to cite an administration or a tribunal that is not infected by it. If anyone asks for a place, he must pay for it; if a man has to defend himself against calumny, it is with money; if you wish falsely to accuse your neighbor, you can by gifts insure the success of your wicked designs. Many judges have transformed the sacred place where they should administer justice in the name of the Almighty into a market. My heart trembled when I learned that a *registrar* of the Government Court of Chancery at Novgorod found an opportunity, while receiving the oath of allegiance from my subjects, to accept from each a piece of money."

One means of securing the administration of the laws was, perhaps, to diminish the extent of the governments, which placed the seat of justice too far from the people governed. By an edict of 1775 Catherine modified all the territorial divisions of the empire. Instead of fifteen provinces she created fifty governments, each with a population of from 300,000 to 400,000 souls, and subdivided into districts of 20,000 to 30,000 inhabitants. Every province had its governor and its vice-governor; the governor-generals, or *namiestniki*, were invested with authority over two or three governments. Thus Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland had each a governor, with a governor-general between them. Administration was definitely separated from justice; each governor was aided by a council of regency for administration and the police, by a chamber of finance for taxes, property, mines, the census, and a college of provision for hospitals and the assistance of the public.

The judicial system increased the profound separation of classes. There were, in the first instance, *district tribunals* for gentlemen, *city magistrates* for the townspeople, *inferior justices* for the *odnovortsi* or free colonists, and for the Crown peasants. There was nothing for the serfs of the nobles. No text of law positively authorized the repression of the most cruel seignorial abuses; the sense of two articles of the military code had to be

wrested before even the lives of the agricultural slaves could be protected. As courts of appeal, a supreme tribunal, a government magistracy, and a superior court of justice were to be found in the head-quarters of each division of government. All this hierarchy led to a court of final appeal in the Senate. In the towns of the government there were juries for certain criminal causes which acted as justices of the peace in civil actions.

The nobility had received a sort of provincial organization. In each government there existed an assembly of the nobles, which elected a marshal and other dignitaries; and as Catherine II. could not revoke the law of Peter III., she forced gentlemen to serve by depriving those nobles of the right of suffrage in the elections who had not obtained the rank of officers, and also refused them certain prerogatives of their own order.

Special privileges had been accorded to the merchants and citizens (*miéchtchanes*) of the towns; among them were the election of their magistrates, an individual jurisdiction, and a kind of municipal self-government. They were divided, like the merchants, into three guilds: to the first belonged men with a capital of less than 10,000 roubles; to the second, those who had at least 1000; to the third, those with a property worth more than 500 roubles. Below this, all the citizens were confounded in the appellation of *miéchtchanes*. In the matter of commerce and trade Catherine had renounced the system of protection and surveillance adopted by Peter the Great, except in the case of cereals, the consumption of which she tried to regulate by establishing granaries in abundance. She finally suppressed the three colleges of mines, manufactures, and commerce.

To people the uninhabited though fertile lands of the Volga and the Ukraine, Catherine called in foreign colonists; she offered them a capital to aid in their settlement, for which no interest was to be asked for the space of ten years, and exempted them from all taxes for thirty years. These colonists were chiefly Germans, the greater part from the Palatinate. Like Frederic II., she offered an asylum to the Moravians, and to all persecuted religious sects. In the province of Saratof alone, she induced 12,000 families to take up their abode, whose descendants, now very numerous, still inhabit the country, and preserve unbroken the German language and customs. In the single year of 1771 as many as 26,000 people answered her appeal. The suppression of the hetmanate of Little Russia, and the extinction of the *setcha* of the Zaporogues, favored colonization. The Empress founded nearly 200 new towns, many of which, as Ekaterineburg and Ekaterinoslaf ("glory of Catherine"), bore her name. They have not all prospered, but in 1793 Pallas reckoned a population of 33,000 at Saratof.

One reform projected by Peter I., and clumsily pushed forward by Peter III., was accomplished by Catherine II. : this was the secularization of the Church property. The number of peasants belonging to the clergy, regular as well as secular, amounted to nearly a million. The monastery of St. Cyril, on the White Lake, possessed 35,000; that of St. Sergius, at Troitsa, 120,000. The abbots of these monasteries may be compared to the sovereign prelates, to the priest-kings on the banks of the Rhine. Catherine II., who was afterwards to protest so loudly against the resumption of Church property during the French Revolution, effected this important change with the greatest quietness. She formed a commission of churchmen and functionaries, who managed to carry out the operation. The property of the Church was placed under the administration of an "economical commission," charged with the collection of the revenues, in the proportion of a rouble and a half for every male peasant. The monasteries, thus converted from proprietors to Crown-pensioners, were indemnified according to their importance, and were divided into three classes. Their surplus revenues were applied to the foundation of ecclesiastical schools, homes for invalids, and hospitals.

Catherine II. had written an account of the work of the commission in compiling the code, to Voltaire. "I think you will be pleased by this assembly, where the orthodox man is to be found seated between the heretic and the Mussulman, all three listening to the voice of an idolater, and all four consulting how to render their conclusion palatable to all." This was the restoration of religious tolerance in Russia, after the reign of the pious Elizabeth. In the provinces taken from Poland, a natural reaction from the Polish system obtained many converts to orthodoxy; in the latter years of the reign they amounted to 1,500,000 souls. Catherine II. was so far from persecuting the Catholics, that she allowed the Jesuits, notwithstanding their legal suppression by Pope Clement XIV., to purchase the right of existence in White Russia. She authorized the Volga Tatars to rebuild their mosques, and thus checked the Mussulman emigration provoked by the severity of Elizabeth. The raskolniks were protected, reassured, and freed from the double tax imposed on them by Peter the Great, and the "bureau" of the raskolniks was suppressed.

The population of the empire increased during this reign to 40,000,000, but it was still far too small to cultivate the enormous plains. One great obstacle to the multiplication of the inhabitants has always been the want of hygiene, the lack of doctors, the absence of all assistance from science, and the mor-

talities of children, which counterbalanced the fruitfulness of the marriages. Catherine II. did everything that could be done at that period. She encouraged the study of medicine, sent for foreign physicians, founded a "department of the College of Pharmacy" at Moscow, helped to build manufactories of surgical instruments, introduced inoculation into Moscow, and vanquished the popular outcry by being herself the first subject. She desired Dimsdale, the Englishman, to inoculate her as well as her son by Gregory Orlof. This was at the time that small-pox carried off Louis XV. and the children of the King of Spain. "That is very foreign," writes Catherine to Voltaire; and again "more people have been inoculated here in one month than have been inoculated in Vienna in a year." Even the natives of Siberia recognized the benefits of the new invention, but the Mussulmans, the raskolniks, and part of the Russian people energetically defended themselves against it.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION—LETTERS AND ARTS—FRENCH PHILOSOPHY.

The Empress displayed the same eagerness to instruct the upper and middle classes, if she did not seek to touch the people, properly speaking, whose masses could not be penetrated by a culture that was still superficial. "To triumph over secular superstitions," she dictated to Betski, "to give a new education, and in one sense a new life to the people, is a work demanding incredible toil, and of which posterity alone will reap the fruits." From the lack of a national education, "Russia wanted the class of men known in other countries as the third estate." Betski thought it necessary that the children should be taught by Russians, as strangers would fail to understand how much in their pupils belonged to the religion, habits, and manners of the country. The moment had not yet come when Russia could do without foreign teachers. The scheme of national education for children of all classes, presented by Betski, could only partially be realized; secondary schools were founded in the great cities alone. Catherine II. also interested herself in the instruction of women. At the monastery or institute of Smolna, she assembled 480 young girls, under the direction of a Frenchwoman, Madame Lafond. "We want them to be neither prudes nor coquettes," she writes to Voltaire. French and other foreign languages and accomplishments were taught there; but the line between the pupils of noble birth and tradesmen's daughters was sharply drawn. A splendid foundation of Catherine's was the "Vospitatelnyi Dom," or house of education at

Moscow,—a large establishment, which was to extort admiration from Napoleon I., and where nearly 40,000 children in need of assistance, or girl-pupils, were received in Catherine's reign. The serf who married one of these orphans became free.

The influence of French genius over Russian civilization greatly increased during the reign of Catherine II. The national poets translated and imitated the French classics of the 17th century. The great Russian nobles, like the Voronzofs and the Galitsynes, esteemed it an honor, as did the French nobility on their side, to correspond with the writers and thinkers of the West. Catherine II. quotes, in the preface to her laws, some of Montesquieu's most audacious maxims. This French influence was beneficial, although it was only exercised on the upper classes of society, and often stopped at the exterior without modifying either the character or the manners. It was this that introduced or strengthened in the Russian nobility those ideas of religious tolerance, of moral dignity, of respect for the human body, even in the person of a slave,—those habits of courtesy and politeness, those aspirations after social justice and political liberty, which must, in the long run, perform their work, soften the hardness of the old boyards, prepare for the emancipation of the agricultural classes, and bring about the regeneration of Russia. We shall, however, see the Russian nobility, who had apparently followed the French philosophers into their most audacious deductions, suddenly frightened at the most moderate reforms of 1789, and declaring loudly against revolutionary France. We shall find characters in which a slight varnish of Parisian civilization scarcely hides the ancient barbarism, but it was not in vain that Catherine's contemporaries had been fascinated by Montesquieu, by Voltaire, and by the American revolution. The social state of Russia, divided into an aristocracy of proprietors and a people of serfs, prevented the country from advancing with the same rapidity as France, ~~but~~ French ideas did not delay her progress.

Catherine II. was not less eager than her nobles in seeking the sympathy of French writers ; her correspondence with philosophers added not a little to her *prestige* in the Europe of the 18th century, and to her fame with posterity. She attracted Grimm, once a friend of Rousseau, to her service, and he sent her regular letters from Paris on the affairs of France. She affected a gracious familiarity towards the Prince de Ligne, and the French ambassador, Count de Ségur, both men distinguished for wit and literary talents ; admitted them into her travelling-carriage during a long journey to the South, and was able to respond to their ingenious flatteries and to their lively sallies. She

wished to employ Mercier de la Rivière, and to secure the services of Beccaria, author of the 'Treatise on Crimes and Penalties;' she declared herself the "good friend" of Madame Géofrin, whose Parisian *salon* was one of the intellectual powers of that epoch. She offered to D'Alembert, who refused it, the superintendence of the education of the Grand Duke Paul, heir to the throne; later, she placed the Swiss Laharpe, celebrated for his republican opinions, with her grandsons Alexander and Constantine. She thanked Marmontel for sending her his 'Belisarius,' "a book which deserves to be translated into all languages," caused a translation of it to be made by her friends during a voyage down the Volga, and even undertook the ninth chapter herself. She bought the library of Diderot, yet allowed him to enjoy it; subscribed to the 'Encyclopædia,' which was forbidden to appear in Paris; admired the 'Pensees Philosophiques,' condemned by the Parliament to be burned, and the 'Lettre sur les Aveugles,' which had consigned the philosopher to the Bastille. She sent for the author to St. Petersburg, and entertained him for a month with the most brilliant hospitality. The great sculptor Falconet, the friend of Diderot and the Encyclopædists, was already there, working at the statue of Peter the Great. It was with Voltaire, above all, that Catherine kept up a close correspondence, beginning in 1763, and continuing to the death of the great man in 1778. She wished herself to keep him informed, not only of her victories, but of her reforms, her efforts at legislation and labors for the colonization of Russia, knowing that the hermit of Ferney had fame in his gift. She gave money to his *protégés*, the families of Sirven and Calas, victims of the judicial abuses of the 18th century; and, after the expedition of Alexis Orlof to the Archipelago, caused him to hope for the resurrection of Greece. She multiplied the purchases of pictures and works of art, and endowed the capital of Peter the Great with artistic splendors hitherto unknown.

In spite of her devotion to the arts and letters of the West, Catherine piqued herself on being, above everything, a Russian empress; and jestingly bade her doctor to bleed her of her last drop of German blood. She has a place of her own in Russian literature of the 18th century, having compiled for the use of her grandsons Alexander and Constantine the 'Grandmother's A.B.C.,' stories from Russian history, and a whole 'Alexandro-Constantine Library,' which had the honor to be printed in Germany. The prefaces to her laws, her correspondence in Russian, French, and German with her ministers, her governors, and friends in France and Germany, prove her literary activity. She also worked for the new-born Russian theatre: in her lyric

drama called 'Oleg,' the first expedition of the Russians against Constantinople is celebrated ; in her comedy of 'Goré Bogatyr' (the Knight of Misfortune), she turns into ridicule the adventurous Gustavus III. ; in those of the 'Charlatan' and the 'Mystified Man,' she chastises Cagliostro, who sought for dupes even in Russia ; while the 'Birthday of Madame Vortchalkina,' 'O Time,' and many others, are satires on contemporary manners. Against the French Abbe Chappe d'Auteroche, and his voyage to Siberia, she published an amusing pamphlet, called 'The Antidote.' Finally, she has left in French some curious memoirs about her arrival in Russia and her life as a Grand Duchess.

The Russian Academy, modelled in some degree after the French, was founded in 1783, on the suggestion of Princess Dachkof, then President of the Academy of Sciences. The task of "fixing the rules of the orthography, grammar, and prosody of the Russian language, and of encouraging the study of Russian history," was confided to her. She then undertook the publication of a dictionary which appeared from 1789 to 1799, which included in its six volumes 43,257 words, and was re-edited from 1840 to 1850. Indeed the Russian Academy was so much in fashion that the most illustrious men of letters and the highest ladies of rank—Princess Dachkof, the poets Derjavine, Fon-Vizine, Kniajnine, and Count Ivan Schouvalof—insisted on working at the dictionary. Catherine II. herself compiled 'Complementary Notes' for the first volume. In 1835, the minister Ouvarof amalgamated the Russian Academy with the Academy of Sciences, under the title of "Second Class."

Catherine II. made herself the patroness of Russian *litterati*. If she imposed the recital of a certain number of lines from the Telemachid of Trediakovski as a penance on her friends of Tsarkoe-Selo, or the Hermitage, she encouraged Fon-Vizine, the comic author, the Russian Moliere, who in his comedy of the 'Brigadier' derided those whose only reading were the French romances, and ridiculed in his 'Fop' (the *niedoros!*) the indolence and frivolity of the young Russian nobles, the foolish infatuation of their parents, and the strange choice of their preceptors. The taste for the pleasures of wit was spread by the theatre of Soumarokof, in many ways an imitation of the French theatre, whose plays were often acted by the corps of cadets, at the court and in public places. Kniajnine wrote 'The Miller,' a comedy which has kept its place on the boards, 'The Boaster,' 'The Originals,' 'The Fatal Carriage,' and attempted an historical drama in 'Vadim of Novgorod.' Kheraskof composed 'The Russiad,' an epic poem. Bogdanovitch reproduced, in the light poetry of the "Douchenka," the antique subject of Psyche.

Chemnitzler translated the fables of Gellert, and invented others in Russian, whose natural ease recalled La Fontaine and predicted Krylof. Derjavine, in his odes 'To God' on 'The Capture of Ismail,' 'The Death of Prince Mechtcherski,' 'The Cascade,' 'My Idol,' 'The Great Noble,' continued the lyrical traditions of Lomonossov. His piece of 'Felitsa,' a lively satire of high society, full of malicious allusions to different people of the court, which might have cost him dear under the preceding reigns, gained him a golden tobacco-box and a rich gift from the Empress, who took care to send copies of the 'Felitsa' to all alluded to, underlining the passages applied to them. Although a poet, Gerjavine was Minister of Justice.

The ardent and laborious Novikof, in order that the new culture might penetrate to the silent masses of the smaller tradespeople, and also to the people, took up the 'Moscow Gazette,' secured for it 4000 subscribers (an enormous number for the time), perfected the Russian typography, created new libraries, and published a series of reviews and magazines for home readings for the young and for nearly illiterate workmen. Among these were the 'Pilgrim's Staff,' the 'Painter,' the 'Purse,' the 'Ancient Library of Russia,' the 'Couriers of Russian Antiquities,' the 'Morning Aurora,' the 'Evening Aurora,' the 'Edition of Moscow,' and the 'Rest of the Worker.' He founded some philanthropical societies, and that of the Friends of Instruction, and took in hand the cause of national education.

The aged Müller edited the first 'National History of Russia,' by Tatichtchef; and the 'Kernel of Russian History,' by Mankief. Pallas of Berlin performed his celebrated travels in the Crimea, in Siberia, and on the frontiers of China, and was given by the Empress an estate in the Taurid. Golikof, pardoned by Catherine II. on the occasion of the inauguration of Falconet's bronze, vowed at the feet of Peter's statue to raise an historical monument to the glory of the Russian hero, and published in twelve volumes the 'Actions of Peter the Great.' Prince Chtcherbatof wrote the 'History of Russia from the most Remote Times.' Boltine discussed the recent history of Russia by the French Leclerc. Moussine-Pouchkine discovered the unique manuscript of the 'Song of Igor.' Khrapovitski (confidential secretary of Catherine II.), Porochine (one of the masters of the Grand Duke Paul), Nikita Panine (the diplomatist), the great nobles, Semen and Alexander Voronzof, their sister Catherine Dachkof, and the old soldier Bolotof, collected or prepared valuable memoirs on the reigns of Elizabeth and Catherine. The historian Karamzine, and the dramatic poet Ozerof, the glories of the following reigns, were yet only boys.

CHAPTER X.

CATHERINE II. : LAST YEARS (1779-1796).

Franco-Russian mediation at Teschen (1779)—Armed neutrality (1780)—
 Reunion of the Crimea (1783)—Second war with Turkey (1787-1792) and
 war with Sweden (1788-1790)—Second partition of Poland: Diet of Grodno
 —Third partition: Kosciuszko—Catherine II. and the French Revolution
 —War with Persia.

FRANCO-RUSSIAN MEDIATION AT TESCHEN (1779)—ARMED NEU-
 TRALITY (1780)—REUNION OF THE CRIMEA (1783).

THE second part of the reign of Catherine II. is characterized by the abandonment of the "System of the North"; that is, of the English and Prussian alliance, and by a marked reconciliation, first with Austria and then with France. The dominant influence in foreign affairs of Nikita Panine was to give place to that of Bezborodko, and especially of Potemkine, who became all-powerful. It was at this epoch that the French ambassadors (the Marquis de Juigné, Bourée de Corberon, the Marquis de Vérac, and above all the Comte de Ségur) were again taken into favor in Russia.

In 1777, the Elector of Bavaria being dead, his succession occasioned a conflict between the house of Austria and Frederic II. In order to stop this war, which had already begun in Bohemia, the Courts of France and Russia agreed to offer their mediation, and in 1779 assembled a Congress at Teschen, where M. Breteuil represented Louis XVI., and the Prince Repnine Catharine II. Peace was signed on the 10th of May. Bavaria passed to the Elector Palatine, and Austria only acquired some districts upon the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza.

In 1780, during the American War, the Empress, moved to indignation by the wrongs committed by the English Admiralty against foreign merchantmen, joined with Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Austria, and Portugal to proclaim an armed neutrality. The celebrated act embodied the principles of a new maritime law, agreeing with the French code of 1778. It was settled:

1. That neutral ships could freely navigate the coasts of the nations at war. 2. That the goods belonging to the subjects of the belligerent powers should be safe in neutral vessels, except in the case of contraband merchandise. 3. That "contraband goods" only included arms and munition. 4. That a port should only be considered in a state of blockade when the blockade was effectual—that is, when the vessels attacking it should be so near as to render it dangerous to pass out. 5. That these principles should serve as a rule in trials and judgments on the legality of captures.

These principles were opposed at all points to those which the English Admiralty wished to see prevail. The latter held the theory that the blockade exists from the moment that it is declared by an act of the Admiralty, and considered as contraband even grain, and all that could be, however indirectly, of use to the belligerents. France, who had at first laid down these principles, and to whom the armed neutrality brought a moral support in her struggle with Great Britain, adhered to this declaration. Her allies, Spain and the Two Sicilies, imitated her. Holland even began a war with England to maintain the rights of the neutral Powers.

The Crimea had been declared independent by the treaty of Kaïrnadji; and since 1774 anarchy had been the normal state of the peninsula. The Sultan, deprived by the treaty of his temporal sovereignty, continued, as successor of the Khalifs, to claim the religious supremacy. The Mourzas, abandoned to themselves, were divided into two, the Russian party and the Turkish party, which in turn made and unmade a Khan of the Crimea. Nearly 35,000 Christians, Greeks, Armenians or Catholics, disturbed by these civil discords, quitted the ravine of Tchoufout-Kalé and the wonder-working sanctuary of the Assumption, dug out of the hard rock, and emigrated in a body to the territory of Russia. In 1775, the Khan Sahib-Ghirei, who was devoted to Russia, was overthrown and replaced by Devlet-Ghirei. He in his turn was dethroned by Catherine, and Chahin Ghirei reigned in his stead, but, by his attempts at European reforms, caused a general revolt. Russia interfered; she proclaimed the union of the empire and the peninsula, which had been since the 13th century the home of banditti, and whose gullies had so often sent forth Tatar squadrons to bring fire and flame to Moscow. Thus Catherine finished the work of the conqueror of Kazan, of Astrakhan, and of Siberia, by the extinction of the last kingdom that recalled the Mongol yoke.

The two military States which formerly disputed the steppes of the South, the Tatar khanate and the equally warlike republic

of the Zaporogues, succumbed almost at the same time. In face of the advent of civilization, these old enemies were alike condemned to total ruin. Representatives of the ancient anarchy, children of the desert and the steppe, knights of pillage and of prey, they constituted a dangerous anachronism and an intolerable anomaly on the frontier of a prosperous Russia. The Porte protested against the annexation of the Crimea, and threatened a rupture; but France, which had formerly excited the war, tried this time to smooth matters. Catherine II. recognized the good offices of the ambassador Saint-Priest, and addressed her thanks to Louis XVI. The Sultan acknowledged the cession of the Crimea and of the Kuban by the Treaty of Constantinople (1783).

In 1784 the Grand Duke Paul and his wife, under the names of the Count and Countess du Nord, had made a tour in the West, and received a brilliant reception in Paris. In 1787 the Comte de Ségur, thanks to the good terms on which he stood with Potemkine, and the latter's desire to hasten the development of Odessa, by trading with the French ports on the Mediterranean, concluded a treaty of commerce, an important negotiation in which all his predecessors had hitherto failed.

SECOND WAR WITH TURKEY (1787-1792) AND WAR WITH SWEDEN (1788-1790).

All this time Russia maintained a close alliance with Joseph II., whom she had gained over to her ambitious projects in the East. The Cabinet of St. Petersburg proposed to that of Vienna a plan for the dismemberment of Turkey. "There ought to exist between the Russian, Austrian, and Turkish monarchies, an intermediate State, independent of each, which, under the name of Dacia, should comprehend Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia, and have a sovereign of the Greek Church. Russia was to acquire Otchakof and the seaboard between the Bug and the Dnieper, besides one or two isles in the Archipelago. Austria was to annex the Turkish provinces on her frontiers. If the war were crowned with such success that the Turks were expelled from Constantinople, the Greek empire was to be re-established in complete independence, and the throne of Byzantium to be filled by the Grand Duke Constantine Pavlovitch, who was to renounce all claims to the throne of Russia, so that the two kingdoms might never be united under the same sceptre." Joseph II. accepted these propositions, but further stipulated that besides Servia, Bosnia, and the Herzegovina, the Slav prov-

inces of the Turkish empire, he should have the Venetian possessions in Dalmatia. Venice was to receive in exchange the Morea, Candia, and Cyprus. England, France, and Spain might share in the spoils of Turkey. Such was the celebrated scheme of partition, known under the name of the "Greek project," which would have fulfilled all the wishes of Voltaire, who had died five years previously.

The attitude of Russia became each day more threatening to the Porte. The second son of Paul I. bore the significant name of Constantine, and had been given a Greek nurse. The Taurid, annexed by Catherine II., who had alleged the security of the empire as the reason of her act, became, in the hands of Potemkine, a menace to the Turks. Already Cherson had a formidable arsenal; Sebastopol was being built; there was a Russian fleet on the Black Sea, and in two days it might cast anchor under the walls of the Seraglio. Catherine's agents continued to agitate in the Roumanian, Slav, and Greek provinces, and even in Egypt; she was preparing to incorporate the Caucasus, and had taken the Tzar of Georgia under her protection. The triumphal journey made by the Empress in 1787 to the governments of the South and the newly-conquered provinces; her interviews with the King of Poland and Joseph II.; the military equipment arrayed by Potemkine, prince of the Taurid; the arches with the famous inscription, "The way to Byzantium," still further alarmed and irritated the Porte. France, which too well knew the weakness of her old ally, held her back; but England, and even Prussia, acted in the contrary way, in order to spite Russia. Sweden, which the French ambassador also tried to moderate, had promised to aid the Sublime Porte.

In the summer of 1787, Boulgakof, the Russian envoy, received the ultimatum of Turkey. She demanded the extradition of Mavrocordato, hospodar of Wallachia; the recall of the Russian consuls of Iassy, Bucharest, and Alexandria; the abandonment of the protectorate over Heraclius, the vassal of the Sultan; the right of the Turks to inspect all Russian vessels navigating the Straits; and the admission of Turkish consuls or commissaries into the ports of the Russian territory. On the refusal of Boulgakof, he was confined in the Seven Towers, and the Porte declared war.

Russia found herself taken by surprise. Potemkine had not finished his preparations, and the fleet at Sebastopol had suffered severely from a recent tempest. His despairing letters to Catherine show how deeply he was discouraged; and he even spoke of evacuating the Crimea. The Empress shows in her replies a manly and dauntless soul; she managed to prove to

her favorite that the evacuation of the Peninsula would be the certain ruin of the great port of Sebastopol and the infant fleet which had been created at such cost. Without waiting for the enemy it was necessary to assume the offensive, and march on Otchakof or Bender. "I implore you to take courage and reflect," she writes; "with courage all can be repaired, even a disaster."

Catherine had more than one enemy to cope with. Whilst Turkey menaced her on the South, Prussia was scheming to force Poland to cede her Dantzic and Thorn, and to oblige the two other co-partitioners to give up Galicia. Gustavus III. likewise abruptly laid claim to South Finland, declared his intention of mediating between Russia and Turkey, and, without awaiting a reply to his ultimatum, laid siege to Nyslot and Fredericksham. If he had acted promptly, instead of wasting the ardor of his troops against the fortresses, he might have conquered Livonia, then defended by only two regiments, or surprised St. Petersburg, deprived of its troops. Although the roar of the Swedish cannon might be heard in the Winter Palace, Catherine practised the courage that she enjoined on Potemkine. She declined to desert her capital, and assembled in a few days 12,000 men for its defence. The Swedish fleet was arrested on its way by the indecisive battle of Hogland. An aristocratic revolt broke out even in the camp of Gustavus III., who was accused by his officers of violating his own constitution by declaring war without consulting the Senate. The King of Sweden was obliged to return to Stockholm, where he punished the conspirators, and by a new *coup d'état* gave to the constitution a still more monarchical character. A diversion of the Danes in Sweden forbade his assuming the offensive, but in 1789 he got rid of them through the threatened intervention of England and Prussia, and took up arms against Russia; his fleet, however, suffered considerable loss. Though he gained the naval battle of Svenska-Sund, where he captured 30 vessels, 600 cannon, and 6000 men (July 9, 1790), he found himself unable to pursue his advantage, which was compromised by a second battle on the same seas. The affairs of France gave another direction to the ideas of this strange prince. He hastened to sign the Peace of Verela, on the basis of *statu quo ante bellum*, and passed from open hostilities to propositions of an alliance with Russia against the Revolution.

In the South, Catherine had ready in 1788 an army of 40,000 men to protect the Caucasus, 30,000 to defend the Crimea, and 70,000 under Roumantsof to operate on the Dniester; while 80,000 Austrians, under Joseph II., threatened the

line of the Danube and the Save. The Emperor was unfortunate in this war. He was forced to fall back beyond the Save, and was defeated at Temesvar; and feeling the growing discontent of Hungary, where the people had been irritated by his religious innovations and the nobles by encroachments on their privileges, he resigned the command to Laudon. During this time Souvorof defended Kinburn against superior forces, and was wounded in a *sortie*. Potemkine, after a siege which seemed very long to the Prince de Ligne (*vide* his correspondence), and a premature attack of Souvorof, took the strong city of Otchakof by assault, with a loss of 20,000 on the side of the Turks. Catherine II., accustomed up to that date to see French volunteers in the enemy's camp applauded the prowess of the Baron de Damas and Count de Bombelles, who fought under her own standard. Khotin, on the Dniester, the key of Moldavia, had been taken by Soltykof.

In 1789 Souvorof, who had combined with the Prince of Coburg, the Austrian general, defeated the Turks at Fokchany (July 31st), and on the Rymnik near Martinestie (September 22nd). In the latter battle 100,000 Turks gave way before 25,000 Christians. Souvorof earned by this victory the surname of Rymnikski. On the west Laudon took Belgrade and conquered Servia; while on the east Potemkine successfully besieged Bender and subdued Bessarabia.

Freed from the war with Sweden, Catherine II. carried on hostilities with the Turks with greater vigor in 1790. Ismail, on the northern side of the Danube, was formidable from its position, and was defended besides by 40,000 men. Koutouzof had abandoned all hope of taking it, and Potemkine entreated the impetuous Souvorof to be prudent. Souvorof, however, carried it by assault, with a loss of 10,000 men on the Russian, and 30,000 on the Turkish side. "Never," he writes to Potemkine, "was a fortress stronger than Ismail, and never was a defence more desperate! But Ismail is taken."

Joseph II. died; and his successor, Leopold II., signed a peace at Sistova, which only gave him the old town of Orsova and the territory of the Unna (August 1791). Catherine still continued the war for some months. The fall of Akkerman and Kilia made her mistress of the mouths of the Danube. Repnine, with 40,000 men, defeated the Grand Vizier with 100,000 at Matchin, whilst Ouchakof dispersed the Turkish fleet and surrounded Varna, so as to cut off the Grand Vizier's communications with Constantinople, and the Sultan, in alarm, implored peace. On the other hand, Catherine's attention was claimed by the affairs of France and Poland. By the separate

Peace of Iassy, she retained only Otchakof and the sea-board between the Bug and the Dniester, and stipulated for guarantees in favor of the Danubian Principalities (January 1792). This war had been more severe than the preceding one, and the success more disputed. The Turks, thinking themselves on the eve of being driven into Asia, managed to make a better fight than the struggle of 1767.

SECOND PARTITION OF POLAND: DIET OF GRODNO—THIRD PARTITION: KOSCIUSZKO.

The years between 1773 and 1791 had been, for Poland, years of valiant efforts and needful reforms. Tyzenhaus had founded a school of medicine in Warsaw, the old universities of Wilna and Cracow had been re-organized, and a number of secondary schools created, for which the French philosopher Condillac had compiled a manual of logic. Stanislas Poniatowski, the correspondent of Voltaire, the friend, the "dear son" of Madame G^offrin, had induced French and Italian artists to visit the country. National historians and poets adorned with their talents the last years of independence. It was a real Polish renaissance, under the salutary influence of the universal French genius. "Progress was rapid," says L^él^ével: "in a few years, no more was seen of those sombre superstitious practices, of that hideous bigotry, which had laid its bloody finger on the piety of the faithful; charlatanism could no longer seduce them; they spoke with a smile of the ancient faith in sorcery; the phenomena of nature were explained in a reasonable way; hatred gave place to fraternity amongst the worshippers at different shrines. The characters of the people, degraded for centuries by a fatal education, became elevated by the rational instruction given them at the new schools. A generation of men grew up strangers to the fanaticism and corruption of the preceding age, possessed with a passion for liberty and the country, whose crowning glory they were to be. To give an idea of the work accomplished, we have only to compare the Zamoiski, the Kosciuszkos, the Niemcewitches, and the Dombrovskis with the men of the first partition. Poland wished to live, and made a last effort for her regeneration.

It was necessary first to reform the hateful and anarchic constitution, which had been perfidiously guaranteed by strangers, and made Poland the laughing-stock and prey of her enemies. In 1788 the Diet of Warsaw established a committee for this purpose, raised the number of the army to 60,000 men, and im-

posed new taxes. Circumstances seemed favorable to the boldest measures : if France, occupied with her revolution, could not come to the aid of Poland, England showed herself openly hostile to Russia ; Turkey and Sweden were making war on her, while Prussia sought the friendship of the Poles, persuaded Poniatovski to despise the Russian guarantee, and negotiated a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive. The Diet of 1791 was formed into a confederation, and, deciding this time by a majority, undertook the reform of the constitution. It declared the throne hereditary, and nominated the house of Saxony heirs to Poniatovski ; it abolished the *liberum veto*, which was legal anarchy and organized venality ; it divided the legislative power between the king, the senate, and the Chamber of Nuncios ; it centred the executive power in the king, assisted by six ministers, responsible to the Chambers, and invested him with the command of the armies and the appointment of the officials. The towns obtained the right of electing their judges, and of sending deputies to the Diet. None dared touch the rights of nobles over their peasants, for the nobles were then the fighting part of the nation, the "legal country" ; and it was owing, in fact, to their patriotism that the revolution was accomplished. All the Diet could do was to sanction beforehand individual compacts made between the owners and their serfs, to the advantage of the latter. Such was the memorable Constitution of the 3rd of May, 1791. A similar transformation which took place in Sweden at the royal *coup d'état* of 1772 had saved the monarchy of the Vasas from dismemberment—would the parliamentary *coup d'état* of 1791 save Poland ? Would the Northern Courts, which thought it a crime on the part of the French liberals to weaken, by the constitution of the same year, the powers of the Bourbon kings, permit the Polish patriots to restore to their sovereign the essential prerogatives of royalty, the force necessary to subdue anarchy within, and cause the nation to be respected without ?

Catherine II. feared to protest as long as she had the Turkish war on her hands ; but when the Peace of Iassy was signed, she received at St. Petersburg a deputation of Polish malcontents, who regretted the *liberum veto*, and were alarmed at the promises made to the peasants. Amongst these unworthy citizens, we may remark Felix Potocki, the hetman Brianski, Rjevuski, and the two brothers Kossakovski. Catherine II. authorized them to form the Confederation of Targovitsa. In her manifesto of the 18th of May, 1792, she reminded men that Russia had guaranteed the Polish constitution, and signalized the reformers of the 3rd of May as accomplices of the Jacobins. En-

lightened Russians were indignant at the perfidious language held by their government. Sémen Voronzof, ambassador in London, writes, "The manifesto had no right to enter into ridiculous eulogies of the ancient form of government, *under which the Republic has flourished and prospered for so many centuries*. That has an air of stupidity, if it is said in good faith, or of insulting contempt, if they believe, like the rest of the world, that it is the most absurd and detestable of all governments." The epithet Jacobin is besides singularly inapplicable to the Poles, who wished to strengthen the royal power.

On the request of the Confederates of Targovitsa, 80,000 Russians and 20,000 Cossacks entered the Ukraine. Poniatovski turned to Prussia, and recalled to her the promises of help. Frederick William II. replied that he had not been consulted about the change of the constitution, and that he considered himself absolved from all engagements. He was already arranging with Russia a second treaty of partition, from which Austria was to be excluded. Austria would have to content herself with any provinces she might wrest from revolutionary France. Russia likewise promised to help her to acquire Bavaria, in exchange for the Low Countries. The Poles, deserted by all, tried in vain to resist the Russian invasion. Their army of Lithuania retreated without fighting, while the Polish army properly so-called gave battle at Ziélencé, under Prince Joseph Poniatovski; and at Dubienka on the Bug, under Thaddeus Kosciuszko. Then King Stanislas pronounced himself ready to accede to the Confederation of Targovitsa, thus disavowing his glorious work of the 3rd of May. The reformers Ignatius Potočki, Kollontaï, and Malakhovski had to withdraw, and their places in the council of the king were taken by Confederates of Targovitsa, who abolished the constitution. The *liberum veto* was re-established.

The Polish patriots, remaining in ignorance of the treaty of partition, were unconscious of half their misfortunes. The King of Prussia in his turn crossed the western frontier, announcing in his manifesto that the troubles of Poland compromised the safety of his own States, that Dantzic had sent corn to the French revolutionaries, and that Great Poland was infested by Jacobin clubs, whose intrigues were rendered doubly dangerous by the continuation of the war with France. The King of Prussia affected to see Jacobins whenever it was his interest to find them. The part of each of the Powers was marked out in advance. Russia was to have the eastern provinces with a population of 3,000,000, as far as a line drawn from the eastern frontier of Courland, which, passing Pinsk, ended in Gallicia, and included

Borissof, Minsk, Sloutsk, Volhynia, Podolia, and Little Russia. Prussia had the long-coveted cities of Thorn and Dantzic, as well as Great Poland, Posen, Gnezen, Kalisch, and Czenstochovo. If Russia still only annexed Russian or Lithuanian territory, Prussia for the second time cut Poland to the quick, and another million and a half of Slavs passed under the yoke of the Germans.

It was not enough to despoil Poland, now reduced to a territory less extensive than that occupied by Russia; it was necessary that she should consent to the spoliation—that she should legalize the partition. A diet was convoked at Grodno, under the pressure of the Russian bayonets. This same pressure, enforced by pecuniary corruption, had been exercised in the elections, and the King was in some sense dragged to Grodno to preside over the ruin of his country. Sievers, Catherine's ambassador, displayed all the resources of an unscrupulous diplomacy, which had seduction, intimidation, and violence at its service. In spite of the support of bought deputies and Targovitsan traitors, he gained nothing for a long while. At last the Diet, in the deceitful hope of dividing its enemies, consented that the treaty of cession to Russia should be ratified, but showed herself more stubborn with regard to Prussia. Sievers was forced to surround the Hall of Session by two battalions of grenadiers, point four pieces of cannon, and install General Rautenfels in a chair beside the King. Twenty days passed without his being able to extract a word of assent from the defenceless assembly. The Poles hated the Prussians above everything. Catherine might have delivered Great Poland from a hated yoke, and united all the kingdom under her authority, which would have been almost gratefully accepted. Like Sémen Voronzof, Sievers felt the enormous fault that was committed by aggrandizing Prussia at the expense of a Slav country. Unhappily, his instructions were positive. In order to triumph over this *vis inertiae* he had four deputies carried off by his dragoons, and closely blockaded the assembly in the hall of deliberations. The day of September 23, 1793, and the following night, were occupied by a "silent sitting," while the King sat on his throne, and the deputies on their benches, gloomy and dumb. At three in the morning, Rautenfels left to fetch his grenadiers; then the Marshal of the Diet, Bielinski, put the question. Ankiévitch proposed to the nuncios a compromise which would give satisfaction to Prussia, while leaving to a "more happy posterity" the task of raising up the country. Bielinski asked three times, without taking breath, if the Diet authorized the delegate to sign the treaty. No one replied;

then a voice was heard declaring the silence to be equivalent to consent. It was four o'clock in the morning—the nuncios left the hall in profound grief, with streaming eyes.

On the 16th of October, the Diet concluded with Russia a treaty of alliance, or rather a compact of slavery, by which Catharine II. guaranteed “the liberty of the republic”; that is, all the abuses of the old constitution. The Polish troops who were encamped on the provinces ceded to the Empress, received orders to swear allegiance to her; the army that remained to the republic consisted only of 15,000 men.

By her fanaticism and electoral corruption, Poland had merited her misfortunes in 1772; she did not merit those of 1793. History will not forget the generous efforts of the Czartoryskis, of the greater part of the nobility, and of the patriotic “third estate,” for the reform of the country.

The citizens of the large towns, inspired by French ideas, were indignant at this new attempt against their country. The army, still 25,000 men strong, had received with fury the order to disband. Part of the noblemen shared these sentiments, while the others, through fear of new taxes or social reforms, resigned themselves to foreign rule. The country proper remained apathetic and indifferent. Poland expiated cruelly the harsh servitude that her *prospolite*, in the full current of eighteenth-century civilization, had allowed to weigh on the rural classes. George Forster writes in 1791, “The Polish nobles alone in Europe have pushed ignorance and barbarism so far that they have almost extinguished in their serfs the last lingering sparks of thought.” This is one of the extenuating circumstances invoked by Russian or German historians to excuse the dismemberment; the lot of the peasants was not to grow worse under Russian domination, and was to improve under German rule.

The Polish patriots had, however, placed all their hopes on Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the hero of Dubienka. Born in 1752, admitted in 1764 to the military school founded by the Czartoryskis, he had distinguished himself by unceasing labor. In Poland he had received hard lessons in equality; he had seen his father assassinated by exasperated peasants, and he himself had been put to shame by the powerful noble Sosnovski, whose daughter he, a simple portionless gentleman, had dared to ask in marriage.

He had fought in the American War, and returned invested with the republican decoration of Cincinnati. After the second partition he had quitted Warsaw and retired into Saxony, where he found the men of the 3rd of May—Malakhovski, Ignatius Potocki, the ex-Chancellor Kollontai, Niemcewicz, all of Poland

that was honorably devoted to liberty. Sent into France, he received promises of help from the Committee of Public Safety, and now he was working in Dresden to organize in Poland a vast conspiracy. He was soon able to reckon thousands of nobles, priests, citizens, and disbanded soldiers; but in spite of the number of the conspirators, General Igelstrom, who commanded in Warsaw for Catherine II., failed to seize the principal threads of the plot.

The order to disband the army hastened the explosion. Madalinski refused to allow the brigade that he commanded to be disarmed, crossed the Bug, threw himself on the Prussian provinces, and then fell back on Cracow. At his approach, this city, the second in Poland, the capital of the ancient kings, rose and expelled the Russian garrison. Kosciuszko hastened to the scene of action, and put forth the "act of insurrection," in which the hateful conduct of the co-partitioners was branded, and the population called to arms. Five thousand scythes were made for the peasants, the voluntary offerings of patriots were collected, and those of obstinate and lukewarm people were extracted by force. Igelstrom, who was very uneasy in Warsaw, detached, nevertheless, Tormassof and Denissof against Cracow. Deserted by Denissof, Tormassof came up near Raclavitsa with Kosciuszko and Madalinski, the number of whose troops—4000 men, one-half of whom were peasants—was almost equal to his own. The cavalry of the nobles gave way at the first shock, and fled, announcing everywhere the defeat and capture of Kosciuszko, but the steadiness of the peasants preserved the Polish army, and twelve guns were taken from the Russians. To punish the cowardice of the cavalry officers, the dictator took off the dress of a gentleman, and assumed that of a peasant.

The news of this success soon reached Warsaw, and the representation of the 'Cracovians,' which seemed an allusion to the events in Galicia, still further increased the excitement. Igelstrom had posted his regiments so injudiciously that their communication could easily be cut off by the Polish regiments in the town. The arsenal had not yet been delivered to the Russians, and remained in the hands of the patriots.

On the 17th of April, at 3 o'clock in the morning, the tocsin sounded in all the churches, and the insurrection broke out. The people, excited by the shoemaker Kilinski and the binder Kapostas, fell everywhere on the isolated detachments of Russians. Igelstrom found himself blockaded in his palace, unable to communicate with the scattered regiments, and assailed at once by the citizens and the Polish troops. On the 18th he left

the town with great difficulty, abandoning twelve cannon, 4000 killed and wounded, and 2000 prisoners. Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, followed the example of Warsaw, and expelled the general Arsenief.

A provisional government installed itself at Warsaw, and sent a courier to Kosciuszko. It was composed of men of the 3rd of May, amongst whom Ignatius Potocki represented the moderate and Kilinski the extreme party. King Stanislas remained in his palace, respected but watched, and taking no active part in public affairs, of which he was kept informed only by the courtesy of the government. To sum up, the revolution of the 17th of April, 1794, had a national and monarchic character like the Constitution of the 3rd of May, 1791. It sought the support of France, without following all the advice of the Convention. A tribunal extraordinary gave some satisfaction to the public conscience by seeking out the wretches who had betrayed their country, and whose connection with foreigners had been proved by the papers seized at the Russian embassy. Ankiévitch, the hetmans Zabiello and Ozarovski, and Kossakowski, bishop of Livonia, were hung; the brother of the latter, Kossakowski, hetman of Lithuania, had been punished at Wilna.

In spite of the agitation caused by Kollontaï and the democrats, Kosciuszko dared not settle the question about the peasants, and his manifesto of the 7th of May, 1794, was not put in force. He feared to risk the alienation of the military class, without gaining the rural masses, brutalized by centuries of oppression; still he tried to win the clergy and the orthodox populations, by proclaiming liberty of conscience, and the equality of different religions in the eye of the law.

The Prussians, however, managed to take Cracow, which was only feebly defended by its commander. The government of Warsaw declared war against Frederic William II. The people, attributing the loss of Cracow to treason, rushed to the prisons, and promptly executed the seven men who were detained there. They merited the fate that befell them; they had been amongst the promoters of the Confederation of Targovitsa, or agents of Russia. Kosciuszko condemned this bloody justice, and insisted on the punishment of the rioters, but at the same time hastened the trial of the guilty prisoners.

General Zaiontchek had been defeated in the battle of Golhof by the Russians, and the Prussians were marching on the Vistula. The King of Prussia had quitted his army on the Rhine in order to direct the siege and bombardment of Warsaw. Catherine affected to be indignant at this abandonment of the holy war against the Revolution, for the common cause of kings

and religion. The pretensions of Prussia to Cracow disturbed the good understanding between the three Powers of the North, disquieted Austria, and threatened to break the coalition formed against France. Frederic William, greatly disgusted with his Russian ally, General Krouchtchof, countermanded the order for assault, and raised the siege, being recalled to his own dominions by an insurrection in Great Poland.

The Poles had hardly time to congratulate themselves on this success. The Russians had recaptured Wilna; the Austrians had entered Lublin. Still more threatening was the fact that the Russian general, Fersen, had crossed to the right bank of the Vistula in spite of Poninski, and was advancing to meet Souvorof, who was coming up with the army of the Ukraine, and had already beaten Siérakovski at Krouptchitse and at Brest-Litovski. If the two Russian armies, each of which was superior to the whole Polish force, managed to effect a junction, the insurrection was crushed.

Kosciuszko, who had hastened to console Siérakovski, speedily returned to take up a position on the Vistula, equidistant from Warsaw and Lublin, to oppose Fersen. Around him were gathered his bravest lieutenants—Potocki, Kaminski, Kollontai, Niemcevitich, poet and general. The evening before the battle, Kaminski pointed out to Niemcevitich the crows that were flying on their right. "Remember your Livy," he said; "it is a bad omen." "A bad omen for the Romans, not for us," replied the brave poet. On the 10th of October, Krouchtchof attacked the van of the Poles, while Fersen ordered Denissou to lead the assault on the right, and Tormassou on the left. The Polish army, shaken by a violent cannonade, could not resist the charge of the bayonets. They gave way, and twenty-one guns and 2700 prisoners remained in the hands of the Russians. All the generals were captured; Kosciuszko had been carried off half-dead by the hetman Denissou. The Russian generals treated their prisoners well, and the officers tried to console the wounded Niemcevitich by complimenting him on the 'Return from the other World,' a poem in manuscript which they had found in his pocket (1794.)

Warsaw was horror-stricken by this calamity. Vavrjevski took the place of Kosciuszko, but proved no adequate substitute for the popular hero who had been the soul of the revolt. Souvorof had already appeared before Praga, and the whole Russian army occupied its positions to the sound of drums and music. The impetuous general at once divided his army into seven columns. The Russian soldiers, on the eve of the assault, put on white shirts, as if for a wedding, and the holy images

were placed at the head of the columns. At 3 o'clock on the morning of the 4th of November the signal was given, and in an instant the fosses were filled and the ramparts scaled. "The Poles," says a Russian witness, "defended themselves like heroes, with desperate recklessness." Praga suffered all the horrors of a capture by assault. In vain Souvorof renewed his orders to spare the inhabitants, to give quarter to the vanquished, not to slay without a motive. The soldiers were too much exasperated against the Poles, whom they believed to be republicans, atheists, accomplices of the French Jacobins, murderers of their comrades, disarmed in the revolt of the 17th of April. The dead numbered twelve thousand; the prisoners only one. "The streets are covered with corpses; blood flows in torrents," says the first despatch of Souvorof. The massacre of Praga terrified Warsaw, which was ill protected by the width of the Vistula from the Russian bullets. Souvorof refused to treat with Potocki and the men of the 17th April, and King Stanislas had to act as mediator. Souvorof guaranteed to the inhabitants their property, a pardon, and passports to all compromised persons. He made his entrance into Warsaw, and was created Field-marshal by the Empress. The King was sent to Grodno. The third treaty of partition, forced on the Empress by the importunity of Prussia, and in which Austria also took part, was put in execution. Russia took the rest of Lithuania as far as the Niemen (Wilna, Grodno, Kovno, Novogrodek, Slonim,) and the rest of Volhynia to the Bug (Vladimir, Loutsk, and Kremenez). She thus reached the extreme limit of the countries formerly governed by the princely descendants of Rurik, except in the case of Galicia, for the empress, whose policy had abandoned Poland to the Germans, had allowed Austria to take Red Russia after the first partition. Besides the Russian territory, Russia also annexed the old Lithuania of the Jagellons, and finally acquired Courland and Samogitia.

Prussia had all Eastern Poland, with Warsaw; Austria had Cracow, Sandomir, Lublin, and Chelm. Her possessions extended towards the north, as if to rejoin Warsaw. (1795.)

The Polish army of Vavrjevski had refused to be included in the capitulation of Warsaw, but agitated by the quarrels of its leaders, and weakened by want of discipline and desertion, it was obliged to accept an honorable convention at Radochitse. The officers kept their swords, and obtained passports for foreign travel. The prisoners made at Maceiovitsy had been divided amongst the governments which had seized the places of their birth. Madalinski was sent to Prussia; Kollontai and Zaiontcheck to Austria; Kosciuszko, Kapostas, Kalinski, Potoki, and

Vavrjevski to St. Petersburg. Poland was not yet dead: out of the remains of the army dispersed at Radochitse, Dombrovski was to form the famous Polish legions, for twenty years inseparable from the banners of the French Republic and the Empire. We shall find Dombrovski in Egypt, Joseph Poniatovski at Borodino. The Poles, defeated at Maceiovitsy, will meet their conquerors on all the battle-fields in Europe—in Italy, in Switzerland, in Austria, in Prussia, in Poland, in Lithuania. Napoleon will satiate their vengeance against the robber Powers, and, two hundred years after Vladislav, will land the Polish troops into the holy city of Moscow.

CATHERINE II. AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—WAR WITH PERSIA.

Just before the breaking out of the Revolution, the two governments of Louis XVI. and Catherine II. had entered into negotiations for the purpose of forming a quadruple alliance, including Russia, Austria, and both houses of Bourbon, which was destined to keep in check the naval pretensions of England and the encroachments of Prussia. After the taking of the Bastille, Catherine understood that she could no longer look to France, which was then occupied with her internal transformation, for support. She followed, however, events in Paris with much anxiety, showed the most lively antipathy to the new principles, was one of those who advised the flight to Varennes, and fell ill at the news of the 21st of January. The correspondent of Voltaire and Diderot allowed herself to be carried away by terror into reaction. She caused Russians suspected of liberal ideas to be watched, and their letters to be inspected; she mutilated Kniajnine's tragedy of 'Vadim at Novgorod,' and spoke of having it burned by the executioner; Radichtchef, the author of the 'Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow,' a curious book with many reflections on serfage, was dismissed and sent to Siberia; Novikof was arrested and confined in Schlüsselburg, his libraries and his printing press closed, and all his enterprises ruined. She dismissed Genest, the French ambassador, and refused to recognize, first the Constitution of 1791, and then the Republic; put forth an edict announcing the rupture of diplomatic relations with France; forbade the Russian ports to the tricolor flag; expelled all French subjects who refused to swear fidelity to the monarchic principle; received the *émigrés* with open arms, and hastened to acknowledge Louis XVIII.

In 1792 she wrote the celebrated note on the restoration of

the royal power and aristocratic privileges in France, assuring every one that 10,000 men would be sufficient to operate a counter-revolution. She encouraged Gustavus III. (shortly to be assassinated by his nobility, at a masked ball, March 16, 1792) to put himself at the head of the crusade against democracy; urged England to aid the Count of Artois in a scheme for a descent on France; and stimulated the zeal of Austria and Prussia. In spite of all this, though she had many times consented to negotiate treaties of subsidies and promised troops, she took care never to engage in a war with the West. "My position is taken," she said, "my part assigned; it is my duty to watch over the Turks, the Poles, and Sweden" (which was reconciled with France after the death of Gustavus III.) The punishment of the Jacobins of Warsaw and Turkey was indeed more easy, and certainly more lucrative work. Perhaps we must also take into account an admission that she made, in 1791, to her Vice-Chancellor, Ostermann: "Am I wrong? For reasons that I cannot give to the Courts of Berlin and Vienna, I wish to involve them in these affairs, so that I may have elbow-room. Many of my enterprises are still unfinished, and they must be occupied so as to leave me unfettered." She excused herself for not taking part in the anti-revolutionary contest, alleging the war with Turkey; and when obliged to hasten the Peace of Iassy on account of the revolution of the 3rd of May, she made the Polish war another excuse. When the war was ended, she pretended to excite the zeal of Souvorof and his soldiers against the "atheists" of the West, but in reality only dreamed of forwarding her schemes in the East. Mohammed, the new king of Persia, had invaded Georgia and burnt Tiflis, the capital of Heraclius, Catherine's *protégé*. The Empress sent for an exiled brother of Mohammed to her court, and ordered Valerian Zoubov to conquer Persia.

In reality Catherine had been, against her will, more useful to France than to the coalition. By her intervention in Poland and her projects against the East, she had raised the jealousy and suspicions of Prussia and Austria. She took care to play off one against the other; made the second partition with Frederick William in spite of Austria; and with Francis II. the third partition, which disgusted Prussia. She contributed indirectly to agitate and dissolve the coalition, whilst the Polish insurrection, encouraged by France, prevented her from joining it. She died on the 6th-17th November, 1796, aged 67 years. No sovereign since Ivan the Terrible had extended the frontiers of the empire by such vast conquests. She had given Russia for boundaries the Niemen, the Dniester, and the Black Sea.

CHAPTER XI.

PAUL I.

(17th November, 1796—24th March, 1801.)

Peace policy : accession to the second coalition—Campaigns of the Ionian Islands, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, and Naples—Alliance with Bonaparte : the League of Neutrals, and the great scheme against India.

PEACE POLICY : ACCESSION TO THE SECOND COALITION.

PAUL I. was forty-two years of age when he ascended the throne. He was intelligent and had some natural gifts, but his character had been soured by the close dependence in which he had been held by his mother, who had even deprived him of the education of his children, and forbade him to appear before the army, by the humiliations forced on him by the favorites, and by the isolation to which he was abandoned by the courtiers, in their haste to pay court to the risen sun. The mystery surrounding his father's death troubled and disquieted him. There was a touch of Hamlet in Paul I. Like Peter III., his taste for military minutiae amounted to a mania. He had a high idea of his authority, and was born a despot. He is supposed to have uttered the famous saying, "Know that the only person of consideration in Russia is the person whom I address at the moment that I am addressing him." He hated the Revolution with a blind hate, unknown to Catherine II. Many of his eccentricities of conduct may be explained by his desire always to act in the contrary way to his mother, whom he secretly accused of having usurped his crown. Without being cruel, he caused much unhappiness, being as prompt to chastise as to pardon, and was as prodigal of exiles to Siberia as of unexpected favors.

He began by abolishing the edict of Peter III. about the succession, and re-established the monarchic principle of inheritance by primogeniture, from male to male in the direct line. He profited by his mother's obsequies to cause the remains of

his father to be exhumed, and to render the same honors to both coffins in the Church of the Fortress. Alexis Orlof had to march in procession by the coffin of his father, and to carry his crown. He did not punish the favorites of his mother, but removed them from about his own person, giving his confidence to Rostopchine and the austere Araktchéef. Bezdorodko he confirmed in his place as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

To re-establish the principle of authority, which he thought had been shaken in Russia, he revived the rude old manners, compelled the carriages of his subjects to halt when he passed, and made women as well as men salute him by throwing themselves on their knees in the mud or snow. He issued decrees full of minute provisions, forbidding the wearing of round hats, frock-coats, waistcoats, high collars, large neckties, and everything which savored of Jacobinism. He banished from the official language the words "society," "citizen," and other terms which his mother had delighted to honor. He made the censorship of the theatre and the press more rigorous than ever, forbade the importation of European books and music, forced the Russians who were travelling abroad to return, and forbade any Frenchman not provided with a passport signed by the princes of the house of Bourbon to enter his territory.

In the last years of Catherine grave abuses must have crept into the army, and no one but an emperor with a genius for war could accomplish the reforms which were necessary if Russia were to keep pace with Western improvements in tactics and in arms. Paul unfortunately took up the reforms in his usual narrow spirit. He had a craze for Prussian methods, and abolished the Russian national uniform, convenient, soldier-like, and well suited to the climate as it was. The Russians did not recognize themselves in their Prussian costume, with pigtails, powder, shoe-buckles, shoes, gaiters, heavy caps, and uncomfortable hats. Old Souvorof shook his head and said, "There are powders and powders! Shoe-buckles are not gun-carriages, nor pigtails exactly bayonets; we are not Prussians, but Russians." This epigram was punished by the exile of the martial humorist to his village of Koutchevskoe. There he could ride-a-cock-horse with the small boys of the district, ring the church bells, read the epistle, and play the organ to his heart's content. Paul showed more method and common-sense when he tried to reform the finances, which had been impaired in the last year of Catherine by endless wars, the dishonesty of officials, the luxury of the court, and the prodigal gifts bestowed on favorites.

As to foreign affairs, Paul's early policy was peaceful. He discontinued the levying of recruits in his mother's manner—

that is, in the proportion of three men to every five hundred souls. He withdrew his forces from Persia, and left Georgia to its own levies. To the Poles he even showed some pity, recalled prisoners from Siberia, transferred King Stanislas from Grodno to St. Petersburg, visited Kosciuszko at Schlüsselburg, and set him, with the other captives, at liberty. He bade Kolytchef, Envoy Extraordinary at Berlin, tell the King of Prussia that he was neither for conquest nor aggrandizement. He dictated a circular to Ostermann, which was to be communicated to foreign Powers, in which he declared that Russia, and Russia alone, had been engaged in ceaseless wars since 1756; that these forty years of war had exhausted the nation; that the humanity of the Emperor did not allow him to refuse his beloved subjects the peace for which they sighed; that nevertheless, though for these reasons the Russian army would take no part in the contest with France, "the Emperor would remain as closely as ever united with his allies, and oppose by all possible means the progress of the mad French republic, which threatened Europe with total ruin, by the destruction of her laws, privileges, property, religion, and manners." He refused all armed assistance to Austria, then alarmed by Bonaparte's victories in Italy; he recalled the vessels sent by Catherine to join the English fleet, to blockade the coasts of France and Holland. He even received the overtures made by Caillard, the French envoy in Prussia, to the Russian envoy Kolytchef, and caused the latter to observe "that the Emperor did not consider himself at war with France, that he had done nothing to harm her, that he was disposed to live in peace with her, and that he would persuade his allies to finish the war, offering to this end the mediation of Russia."

Difficulties soon arose between France and Russia. The treaty of Campo Formio had given the Ionian Islands to the French, who thus acquired a position threatening to the East, and a greater influence over the Divan. The directorate authorized Dombrovski to organize Polish legions in Italy. Panine at Berlin intercepted a letter from the Directorate to the French envoy, in which there was a question of the restoration of Poland, under a prince of Brandenburg. Paul, on his side, took into his pay the corps of the Prince of Condé, and stationed 10,000 *émigrés* in Volhynia and Podolia. He offered an asylum to Louis XVIII., who was expelled from Brunswick, established him in the ducal palace of Mittau, and gave him a pension of 200,000 roubles. The news that a French expedition was being mysteriously organized at Toulon caused him to tremble for the security of the coasts of the Black Sea, which were immediately

put into a state of defence. The capture of Zagourski, Russian Consul at Corfu; the reduction of Malta by Bonaparte, and the arrival at St. Petersburg of the banished knights, who offered Paul the protectorate of their order, with the title of Grand Master; the invasion of the Swiss territory by the Directorate; the expulsion of the Pope and the proclamation of the Roman Republic—all precipitated the rupture.

Paul further concluded an alliance with Turkey, which was irritated at the invasion of Egypt, with England, Austria, and the kingdom of Naples. It was thus that, owing to Bonaparte's double aggression against Malta and Egypt, Russia and Turkey were forced, contrary to all traditions, to make common cause. Paul undertook that his fleet should join the Turkish and English squadrons, to furnish a body of troops to make a descent in Holland, and another to conquer the Ionian Islands, besides a great auxiliary army for the campaigns in Switzerland and Italy.

CAMPAIGN OF THE IONIAN ISLANDS, ITALY, SWITZERLAND, HOLLAND, AND NAPLES.

In the autumn of 1798 a Turco-Russian fleet captured the French garrisons of the Ionian Islands. The King of Naples caused the territory of the Roman Republic to be invaded, but Championnet conducted the Neapolitan troops back to their native land, entered Naples himself, proclaimed the Parthenopean Republic, and made St. Januarius work his annual miracle.

The Russian army in Holland was put under the orders of Hermann, that of Switzerland under those of Rymski-Korsakof while, at the request of Austria and the suggestion of England, the victor of Fokchany and Rymnik was appointed to the Austro-Russian army of Upper Italy. Paul I., flattered by this mark of deference, recalled Souvorof from his village exile. "Souvorof has no need of laurels," wrote the Tzar, "but the country has need of Souvorof."

The Directorate, taken by surprise, having not only France to protect, but likewise the Batavian, Helvetian, Cisalpine, Liguarian, Roman, and Neapolitan republics—that is to say, the vast line of country that extends from the Zuyder Zee to the Gulf of Tarento—had very inferior numbers to oppose to those of the coalition: in Holland 20,000 men, under Brune, against 40,000 Anglo-Russians, under York and Hermann; on the Rhine, 50,000, under Bernadotte and Jourdan, against the 70,000 of the Archduke Charles; in Switzerland, 30,000, under Masséna, against Hotze and Bellegarde, who had 70,000 Austrians in the

Vorarlberg and the Tyrol ; in Upper Italy, 50,000, under Scherer, against the 60,000 Austrians of Kray ; at Naples, 30,000, under Macdonald, against 30,000 English, Russians, and Sicilians.

At last the Russians arrived in Switzerland, 40,000 in number, under Rymiski-Korsakof ; in Italy, to the number of 40,000, divided into two corps, that of Rosenberg and that of Rebinder, with Souvorof in chief command. Consequently the French had only 170,000 to oppose to 350,000 allies.

In his passage to Vienna, Souvorof refused to communicate his schemes to Thugut, the acting minister, and to receive the advice of the *Hof-Kriegsrath*, the Aulic council of war. When the Austrians questioned him as to his plan of campaign, he showed a blank paper signed by the Emperor Paul. His object he declared, was Paris, where he would restore the throne and the altar. To his soldiers he repeated the formulæ of his military catechism : " A sudden glance, rapidity, impetuosity ! The van of the army is not to wait for the rear ! Musket balls are fools ; bayonets do the business ! The French beat the Austrians in columns, and we will beat them in columns." He scoffed at the slowness and pedantry of the *Hof-Kriegsrath*. " Parades, manœuvres ! too much confidence in their talents ! To know how to conquer, well ; but to be always beaten is not smart ! The Emperor of Germany desires that, when I have to give battle next day, I should first address myself to the Court of Vienna. The accidents of war change rapidly ; one cannot be tied down to a fixed plan. Fortune flies like the lightning : one must seize opportunity by the forelock ; it will never come back."

The Austrians had already defeated Jourdan at Stokach (March 29), and Scherer at Magnano (April 9). Masséna, although victorious at the first battle of Zurich, had been obliged to retreat behind the Limmat and the Linth, on the heights of the Albis. On the 28th of April, Austria, believing that where the French were concerned she might violate with impunity the law of nations, had assassinated their plenipotentiaries at Rastadt. Souvorof, on his arrival at Verona, had taken the command of the allied forces.

The Austro-Russians numbered about 90,000 ; the French no more than 30,000, under Moreau, which included the Italian legions and three or four thousand men of the Polish legions. These Poles represented the Slav element in the French army, as the Russians did in that of the coalition. This quarrel of kinsmen, which began at Maceiovitsy and Warsaw, was to be continued on the bank of the Adda. Souvorof surprised the passage of this river at Cassano, penetrated the centre of Mor-

eau, and surrounded the right wing; Serrurier and about 3000 men were made prisoners (April 28).

Moreau retired into Piedmont; imperilled next by the loss of Ceva and of Turin, he was forced to take refuge in the Alps. Souvorof made his entry into Milan amidst the acclamations of the nobles, the priests, the excited populace, of all the enemies of the Revolution, and abolished the Cisalpine Republic. Instead of attacking the 15,000 men who remained with Moreau Souvorof, harrassed by the advice of the *Hof-Kriegsrath*, amused himself by laying siege to Mantua, Alessandria, and the citadel of Turin.

Macdonald hastened from the end of the Peninsula with the army of Naples. After having opened communications with Moreau, he conceived the project of throwing himself between Alessandria and Mantua, and separating the two principal bodies of the allied army. He defeated the Austrians on the Tidona, but came up with Souvorof on the Trebbia. The battle lasted three days (17th-19th June): the ferocity of the French, Russians, and Poles rendered it extremely bloody. On the 17th the French only amounted to 28,000 against 40,000; the next day 24,000 against 36,000: numbers were sure to tell. Each army lost ten or twelve thousand men, and Macdonald hastened to re-join Moreau in the gorges of the Alps. Mantua had capitulated. In the south the Anglo-Russians, allied with the banditti of Cardinal Ruffo and of the brigand Fra Diavolo, expelled the French garrisons from Neapolitan territory. A frightful reaction flooded the streets of Naples with blood, and 2000 houses were burned by the bandits and lazzaroni (July 1799).

The Directorate made a last effort to reconquer Italy. The army of the Alps, increased by new reinforcements to 40,000 men, was placed under the command of General Joubert, who had said to his young wife, "You will see me either dead or victorious." Joubert wished to relieve Alessandria, and to prevent this Souvorof marched quickly up with 70,000 men, and gave him battle at Novi. Joubert was killed at the beginning of the action. The two armies each lost 8000 men (August 15), and the remains of the Polo-French troops fell back into the mountains of Genoa. Italy was lost to France; the Cisalpine, Roman, and Neapolitan republics were extinguished.

The Russians and Austrians separated after the victory. The German generals could not endure the vanity of Souvorof; Thugut was even less friendly towards him; the new *Prince Italiiski* imagined that he had fought for the restoration of sovereigns, and not for the private ambition of the house of Austria. He wished therefore to establish a national govern-

ment in Piedmont, and to reorganize the Piedmontese army under his special standard. Now, Thugut cared nothing about the restoration of Victor-Amadeus, or of the Pope. The misunderstanding increased; it was decided that Souvorof should abandon Italy, and join Rymiski-Korsakof in Switzerland, so as to defend the snowy mountains of Helvetia with a purely Russian army. Souvorof, who already saw himself in Franche-Comté and on the route to Paris, accepted the work.

In Switzerland, after the first battle of Zurich, Masséna had retired to the heights of the Albis, behind the line formed by the Linth, the lake of Zurich, and the Limmat. He had been opposed in his movements by the Archduke Charles, with 25,000 men; by Korsakof, with 28,000 Russians; and by Hotze, with 27,000 Austrians. The Archduke had to evacuate Switzerland and lay siege to Philippsburgh, and was to be replaced by Souvorof with 20,000 men. It would be a critical moment for the allies when the Archduke should have evacuated Switzerland and Souvorof should not yet have arrived, and this was the moment eagerly awaited by Masséna. He had now 60,000 men against 55,000, who were to be raised by the army of the *Prince of Italy* to 75,000. On the 25th of September he surprised the passage of the Limmat near to Diétikon, and cut the Russian army in two. The Russian grenadiers who defended Diétikon fought till their powder was exhausted, refused to surrender, and died in their ranks. The other corps were defeated successively. Korsakof, forced back upon Zurich, caused the gates to be closed. In the night Masséna sent him envoys, who were captured or repulsed by musketry. On the 26th of September Korsakof formed an immense square of 15,000 men and attacked the French. "This dense and impenetrable mass," says Major Masson, "made the enemy retire at every point." But this policy, which had been successful against the Poles and the Turks, was certain to fail against the French. Decimated by the sharpshooters and light cavalry, shaken by a general charge of cavalry, and infantry with bayonets, the Russians had to fall back on Zurich, leaving the field of battle covered with dead, and with wounded, who pressed *icons* and relics to their breasts. They had lost 6000 men, their guns, the army treasure, the official papers, and sacred plate. Korsakof fled to Eglisau. Then Masséna made Oudinot attack Zurich and the Swiss legion, and took all the Russian stores and baggage. It was here that the celebrated Lavater perished, killed by a drunken Swiss soldier. On the 25th Soult, on his side, had crossed the Linth, and defeated Hotze, who was killed. The allies retreated in disorder on Schaffhausen, with a loss of 10,000 prisoners, of twenty Austrian cannons, and nearly all the Russian artillery.

Such was the victory of Zurich. "Bonaparte," says M. Duruy, "has no more glorious battle, for the victories which insure the salvation of a country are worth more than those which only add to her power or the glory of her chiefs."

Suvorof had, however, arrived by dint of forced marches at Taverno, near Bellinzona. The Austrian administration had neglected to gather together a sufficient number of sumpter mules for the passage of the Alps, and Suvorof lost four precious days in impressing them from the surrounding country. He only reached the St. Gothard on the 21st, and crossed it under unheard-of difficulties, and after a sharp skirmish with some French detachments stationed on the mountains. He plunged at once into the narrow valley of the Reuss, enclosed between mountains so precipitous that the road many times crosses the torrent, notably at the Pont du Diable.

"In this kingdom of terrors," writes Suvorof in his despatch to Paul, "abysses open beside us at every step, like tombs awaiting our arrival. Night spent among the clouds, thunder that never ceases, rain, fog, the noise of cataracts, the breaking of avalanches, enormous masses of rocks and ice which fall from the heights, torrents which sometimes carry men and horses down the precipices, the St. Gothard, that colossus who sees the mists pass under him,—we have surmounted all, and in these inaccessible spots the enemy has been forced to give way before us. Words fail to describe the horrors we have seen, and in the midst of which Providence has preserved us." The impression produced on the native of the great Russian plains by the grandeur of the Swiss Alps is graphically sketched in the curious 'Narrative of an Old Soldier,' the memoirs of an eye-witness and companion of Suvorof.

The tenacious Lecourbe, charged by Masséna to retard the Russian advance, had only 11,000 men, but with them he expected to "crush Suvorof in the mountains." At Hospital he disputed the passage of the Reuss, cannonaded the Russians till his ammunition was exhausted, threw his artillery into the stream, went down to defend the Pont du Diable, which he blew up, and finally fell back on Seedorf, where he broke down the bridge. Suvorof crossed the precipitous chain of Schachen-thal, and only reached Altdorf and Multenthal on the 26th, having lost 2000 men on the way. It was here that he heard of the disaster of Zurich and the flight of Korsakof, and that he grasped the full horror of his situation, lost in the heart of the mountains, betrayed by the carelessness of his allies, enclosed in Multenthal as it were in a mouse-trap, surrounded on

all sides by a victorious army, with numbers superior to his own. On his rear Gudin had again occupied the Upper Reuss; on the road to Stanz Lecourbe had taken up a position at Seedorf; on that of Schwitz Masséna had concentrated the corps of Mortier; on that of Glarus Molitor was posted, whom Soult was about to reinforce. This was the most splendid moment of Souvorof's life. His heroic retreat is more glorious than his victories in Italy gained with superior forces; no general in such a desperate situation has shown more indomitable energy than this little man nearly seventy years old. He resolved to cross Mont Bragel in sixty five centimetres of snow, and to cut away by the Kleinalp and the route to Glarus. His rear-guard, left in the Multenthal, resisted for three days the assaults of Masséna, thus protecting the retreat of the army, while the vanguard took Glarus, and forced Molitor back on Naefels. There Molitor checked the Russians, who were obliged to retire on the Rindskopff, on whose glaciers many hundreds of men perished. Thence they succeeded in gaining Illanz, Coire, and Feldkirch. Souvorof, with the gallant remnant of his army, took up his winter-quarters between the Iller and the Lech.

On the 27th of August the Anglo-Russians had disembarked on the Texel, and captured the Dutch fleet, but the Batavian populations remained faithful to the cause of liberty, and on the 19th of September Brune, reinforced, defeated the allies at Bergen. He then fought them in four other battles, besieged them in Zyp, and made Alkmaer and the Duke of York capitulate (October 18). The Anglo-Russian army obtained leave to march out. The remains of the Russian forces re-embarked; but being coldly received in England, they were, so to speak, "interned" in the islands of Jersey and Guernsey.

Masséna and Brune had saved the frontiers of the republic, prepared the ruin of the coalition, and deprived the *coup d'état* of Brumaire of all excuse.

ALLIANCE WITH BONAPARTE: THE LEAGUE OF NEUTRALS, AND THE GREAT SCHEME AGAINST INDIA.

Paul I., Souvorof, and all Russia accused Austria of treason. The Emperor Francis, by the advice of England, humbly consented to explain the misunderstanding which had lost Korsakof, and almost lost Souvorof. The Tzar, a little softened, suspended the retreat of the Russian army, but insisted in return on the recall of Thugut, and the restoration of the Italian

princes to their reconquered States. Austria could not relish this disinterested policy, or renounce her plans. Thugut, threatened with the loss of his post, labored to complete the rupture. It was insinuated to the Russian Emperor that the maintenance of his troops in Bohemia constituted a heavy charge for the hereditary States. The irritable Tzar learnt in addition that a conflict had taken place at the siege of Ancona. This maritime station was besieged by the Austrians, Russians, and Turks; the Austrian general secretly concluded a capitulation with the French, stipulated that his soldiers alone should be admitted into the fortress, and caused the Turkish and Russian flags, which had been fixed on the ramparts beside his own, to be removed. This insult to his banner completed the exasperation of Paul.

The same diplomatic results followed after Bergen and Zurich; a quarrel with England, which was likewise accused of treason, soon succeeded to the dispute with Austria. Bonaparte, who promptly destroyed at Marengo all the fruits of Souvorof's victories, who appeared to the Russians almost as an avenger against the perfidy of the Austrians—Bonaparte, whose despotic principles reassured the Tzar, and whose glory blinded him, cleverly turned to account the irritation of Paul. He began by declaring that he returned, without exchange, all the Russian prisoners, newly equipped at the expense of France. Paul was the more touched by this action, as Austria and England had refused to exchange the Russian soldiers for the French prisoners whom they held. Negotiations were opened by means of Berlin, and the French and Russian agents at Hamburg. Bonaparte took care to attack the Tzar on his weak sides, his gloomy dignity and his affectation of chivalrous disinterestedness. He offered to indemnify the King of Sardinia, to re-establish the Pope in Rome, and to recognize Paul as Grand Master of Malta, and owner of the island. Malta was at that time blockaded by the English, who in September 1800 made themselves masters of it. Their refusal to relinquish this important post to Paul I. greatly irritated him. Disturbed by the maritime tyranny of Great Britain, which had declared the ports of France and her allies in a state of siege, and recommenced her system of vexations against the neutral ships, Paul renewed the famous Act of Armed Neutrality, and sought the support of Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark. Bonaparte hastened to express his assent to the Russian principles. During this time General Sprengtporten, who, under pretext of taking command of the Russian prisoners in Paris, had been sent on a secret mission, was followed there by Kolytchef, charged with more precise in-

structions. Kolytchef was particularly to persuade Bonaparte to take the title of King himself, and to make it hereditary in his family, as the only means "of changing the revolutionary principles which have armed all Europe against France." On this point the First Consul was only too well disposed. Negotiations began on the following bases: France was to respect the integrity of Naples and Wurtemberg, to re-establish the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, while reserving Savoy for herself, and to retain the left bank of the Rhine, subject to an understanding with Russia, for the indemnification of the depossessed princes. It was under the Franco-Russian mediation that secularization was to take place in Germany.

Paul, with his usual impetuosity, was possessed by a daily increasing passion for Bonaparte; he surrounded himself with his portraits, drank his health publicly, and abruptly ordered Louis XVIII. to quit Mittau.

It was then that the two sovereigns arranged together the great scheme that had for its object the complete overthrow of the English rule in India. France still occupied Egypt; she was authorized to keep garrisons in the southern ports of the kingdom of Naples; her agents traversed Arabia and the Indian States. Paul on his side, to secure himself a basis of operations, ordered his troops to the Caucasus, and, at the request of the son of Heraclius, pronounced Georgia to be united to the empire. The expedition against English India was to be undertaken by two different ways—the command of a Russian army, destined for the Upper Indus by way of Khiva and Bokhara, was given to Knorring. Orlof-Denissof, Ataman of the Don Cossacks, received letters from Paul, desiring him to begin his movement on Orenburg. "The English are preparing for an attack by land and sea against me and my allies, the Swedes and the Danes; I am ready to receive them. But it is necessary to be beforehand with them, and to attack on their most vulnerable point, and on the side where they least expect it. It is three months' march from Orenburg to Hindostan, and it takes another month to get from the encampments of the Don to Orenburg, making in all four months. To you and your army (*voïsko*) I confide this expedition. Assemble therefore your men, and begin your march to Orenburg; thence, by whichever of the three routes you prefer, or by all, you will go straight with your artillery to Bokhara, Khiva, the river Indus, and the English settlements in India. The troops of the country are light troops, like yours; you will therefore have over them all the advantage of your artillery. Prepare everything for this campaign. Send your scouts to reconnoitre and repair the roads. All the treasures of the Indies shall

be your recompense. . . . Such an enterprise will cover you with immortal glory, will secure you my goodwill in proportion to your services, will load you with riches, give an opening to our commerce, and strike the enemy a mortal blow" (12th-24th January).

"India, to which I send you, is governed by a supreme head (the Great Mogul) and a quantity of small sovereigns. The English possess commercial establishments there, which they have acquired by means of money, or conquered by force of arms. The object of this campaign is to ruin these establishments, to free the oppressed sovereigns, to put them with regard to Russia in the same state of dependence that they now are with regard to the English, finally to secure for ourselves the commerce of those regions. . . ." (12th-24th January). "Be sure to remember that you are only at war with the English, and the friend of all who do not give them help. On your march you will assure men of the friendship of Russia. From the Indus you will go to the Ganges. On the way you will occupy Bokhara, to prevent her going over to China. At Khiva you will deliver some thousands of my subjects who are kept prisoners there. If you need infantry, I will send it to follow in your footsteps. There is no other way, but it will be best if you can be sufficient for yourselves" (13th-25th January). "The expedition is urgent; the earlier the better" (7th-19th February).

Such were the instructions, a little premature and inconsequent, that Paul sent daily with incomplete maps to Orlof-Denissof. These letters abound in contradictions. He promised his Cossacks all the wealth of the Indies, and forbids them to attack princes who remain neutral; in the same line he enjoins them to free the princes, and to place them under the sovereignty of Russia. To go from the Don to the Volga, from the Oural to the Indus, from the Indus to the Ganges, is far from being an easy undertaking, and he entrusts the Ataman besides with missions to Khiva and Bokhara. These letters of Paul, published by the *Rousskaïa Starina*,* made some noise in the Russian press at the beginning of the present quarrels with England.

This plan really began to be executed, as we see by the 'Memoirs of the Ataman Denissof,' nephew of the late Ataman, published in the same collection. He assembled eleven *polks* of Cossacks, and succeeded in crossing the Volga on the floating ice, in the midst of unheard-of difficulties. This vanguard of the great Cossack army had reached the left bank of the river,

* *Rousskaïa Starina* of 1873, vol. viii. p. 209. See also vol. xii. p. 237, and vol. xv. p. 216; the *Novoïé Vremia* of the 14th-16th Nov. 1876; and the *Univers Pittoresque*, by Dubois de Jancigny, p. 105.

when in March 1801 its chief suddenly received the news of the death of the Emperor, and the order to return.

The other expedition was to be composed of 35,000 French and 35,000 Russians, at whose head Paul, with noble and chivalrous feeling, insisted on placing the victor of Zurich, Masséna. The 35,000 French were to start from the banks of the Rhine, descend the Danube in ships furnished them by the Austrian Government, embark at the mouth in Russian ships, which would transport them to Taganrog, then go up the Don as far as Piati-Isbanskaïa, cross the Volga at Tzaritsyne, drop down as far as Astrakhan, and thence, navigating the Caspian in Russian vessels, arrive at Asterabad on the Persian shore, where the 35,000 Russians would await them. The combined army was then to march by way of Herat, Ferah, and Kandahar to the Upper Indus, and begin the war against the English. This project, on the margin of which are scrawled the criticisms of Bonaparte and the reply by the Emperor of Russia, enters into the most minute details. Twenty days were reckoned to descend the Danube, fifty-five days to reach Asterabad, and forty-five to arrive at the Indus—120 days in all from the Rhine to Scinde. Aërostaticians, artificers, and a body of *savants* such as went to Egypt, were to accompany the expedition. The French Government was to send precious objects, the produce of the national industry.

“Distributed with tact among the princes of these countries, and offered with the grace and courtesy natural to the French,” says the Russian note, “these gifts will enable these races to form the highest idea of the magnificence of French industry and power, and will in consequence open an important branch of commerce.” To inspire the people with the most exalted conception of France and Russia, brilliant fêtes were to be given, accompanied by such military evolutions “as celebrate in Paris great events and memorable epochs.” Paul I. seemed to be reconciled to the anniversaries of the Revolution.

It does not appear that Paul ever doubted the success of this hazardous expedition. Bonaparte naturally made this objection: “Supposing the combined army to be reunited at Asterabad, how do you propose that it should get to India through countries almost barbarous, and without any resources, having to march a distance of 300 leagues, from Asterabad to the frontiers of Hindostan?” The Tzar replied that these countries were neither barbarous nor arid, that caravans traversed them every year and made the journey in thirty-five or forty days, and that in 1739 and 1740 Nadir Shah had marched through the reverse way, from Delhi to the Caspian.

Paul ended by saying, "The French and Russian armies are eager for glory; they are brave, patient, and unwearied; their courage, their perseverance, and the wisdom of their leaders will know how to surmount all obstacles. . . . What a *really Asiatic* army did in 1739 and 1740, we cannot doubt that an army of French and Russians can do to-day!"

On the Continent Paul did his best to make Prussia declare against England. The League of Neutrality made the British Government so uneasy, that, notwithstanding the peace, Admirals Parker and Nelson seized the Danish Fleet (Naval Battle of Copenhagen, 2nd of April, 1801). An event still more extraordinary broke up the coalition, the death of the Emperor Paul in the night of the 23rd-24th of March, 1801 (11th or 12th March, O.S.). On the 24th of March Alexander was proclaimed.

England could not help being satisfied by the simultaneous news of the destruction of the Danish fleet and the terrible death of the Tzar, who was the soul of the coalition. In France the consternation was great. Bonaparte, who saw the downfall of his vast projects, could not contain himself. He caused the following lines, full of rage and hate against England, to be printed in the *Moniteur*, making himself the mouthpiece of an absurd suspicion: "It is for history to clear up the secret of this tragic death, and to say what national policy was interested in provoking such a catastrophe."

CHAPTER XII. .

ALEXANDER I. : FOREIGN AFFAIRS (1801-1825).

First war with Napoleon : Austerlitz, Eylau, Friedland, and Treaty of Tilsit—Interview at Erfurt: wars with England, Sweden, Austria, Turkey, and Persia—Grand Duchy of Warsaw: causes of the second war with Napoleon—The “Patriotic War” : battle of Borodino; burning of Moscow; destruction of the Grand Army—Campaigns of Germany and France: treaties of Vienna and Paris—Kingdom of Poland; congresses at Aix-la-Chapelle, Carlsbad, Laybach, and Verona.

FIRST WAR WITH NAPOLEON : AUSTERLITZ, EYLAU, FRIEDLAND, AND TREATY OF TILSIT.

WITH the new reign began a new foreign policy.* Immediately after his accession, Alexander addressed a letter of reconciliation to George III. He ordered the embargo on English vessels to be raised, and the sailors who had been captured to be set at liberty; he also entreated Admiral Parker to cease hostilities against Denmark. Those acts announced the dissolution of the League of Neutrality. On the 17th of July, 1801, a compromise was agreed on by which England consented to define more strictly what articles should be understood to be contraband in war, admitted that a blockade must be effective before it could be considered binding, and gave up boarding foreign men-of-war.

The concessions of Russia were of a much graver kind. They consisted in the abandonment of the principles of the armed neutrality, and the disavowal of the naval policy of Catherine II. and Paul I. Alexander allowed that the flag was not to cover the merchandise; vessels of war were not to have the right to hinder the inspection, nor even the seizure of the merchant ships that they escorted. England restored the islands taken

* A short time after Alexander's accession, Pahlen, Zoubof, and Panine, the “men” of the 24th of March, 1801, had been successively disgraced. Alexander surrounded himself with young men,—Czartoryski, Novossiltsof, Strogonof, and Kotchoubey, who were supposed to be English partisans.

from the Swedes and Danes. Denmark and Sweden, considering the common cause betrayed, confined themselves to making peace with Great Britain without touching the disputed points.

Alexander affected, nevertheless, a desire to remain on good terms with France, and instructed Count Markof to continue at Paris the negotiations begun by Kolychef. Affairs had gone on so rapidly under Paul, that the two States had arranged an offensive alliance without ever having concluded a formal treaty of peace. The First Consul was greatly irritated at the abrupt change in the Russian policy. On the other hand, the instructions given by Alexander to Markof breathed defiance towards Bonaparte, who, "by flattering the deceased Emperor, had chiefly in view the use of him as a weapon against England, and who doubtless only thought of gaining time."

Bonaparte, however, sent Duroc to represent him at Alexander's coronation. He received Count Markof courteously, assuring him of his esteem for Alexander, but he made him understand that the situation was no longer the same, and that Russia had not the right to exact so much from France. "My obligations towards the Emperor Paul, whose great and magnanimous ideas corresponded perfectly with the views of France, were such that I should not have hesitated to become the lieutenant of Paul I." He complained that Russia insisted on such important trifles as that of the "little kinglet" of Sardinia, and that she wished to treat France "like the republic of Lucca."

In his demands in favor of the kingdom of Sardinia, Alexander did not feel that he had the support of England, who, in negotiating herself for peace, had advised Cornwallis "not to embarrass himself with questions foreign to purely British interests." On the 8th of October, then, a treaty was signed between France and Russia, and on the 11th of October there was a secret convention, of which the principal articles were as follow :

1. The common mediation of the two Powers for the Germanic indemnities stipulated by the Peace of Luneville.
2. An agreement about Italian affairs.
3. The mediation of Russia for the establishment of a peace between France and Turkey.
4. The neutrality of Naples, and the evacuation of her territory by the French, after the latter had evacuated Egypt.
5. The indemnity of the King of Sardinia "according to present circumstances."
6. A suitable indemnity to the sovereigns of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden.
7. Independence and neutrality of the Ionian Isles.

The two parties also bound themselves to do all that lay in their power to strengthen the general peace, to re-establish the

equilibrium of the different parties of the world, and to insure liberty of navigation.

The treaty of the 8th of October followed that of Luneville between France and Austria, and prepared that of Amiens, with England. It secured the dictatorship of France and Russia in the regulation of continental affairs. Common mediation for the indemnities, and joint action in Italian affairs,—these were the principles that the late Tzar would have wished to see prevail; but circumstances were changed. Out of regard for Paul I., Bonaparte might have renounced Piedmont, Naples, and Italy, but Paul I. fought for the liberty of the seas, threatened England in the Baltic and India, and assured the revenge of the French against Great Britain. The first act of Alexander had been, on the contrary, to desert his allies, and seek a reconciliation with England.

In the regulation of German affairs, the will of France naturally preponderated. If Bonaparte increased the dominions of the houses of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and Darmstadt, which were related to the imperial family of Russia, it was doubtless to please Alexander, but above all because he wished to recompense their fidelity to the French alliance. It was the influence of France, and not that of Russia, that was increased on the left bank of the Rhine. This was plainly to be seen in 1805, when all these princes hastened to conclude separate treaties with France, which already announced the Confederation of the Rhine. For the moment it was the self-esteem of Alexander that was specially wounded; he saw that everything was worked from Paris, that Bonaparte was all-powerful, and that his envoy, Markof, was only sought by the German princes after they had paid court to Talleyrand.*

In Italy the question of the King of Sardinia's indemnity dragged on slowly. On the 11th of September, 1802, Bonaparte had announced the union of Piedmont to France, but he always declined to fix the promised equivalent. He had at first suggested Parma and Piacenza, then had given them to an Infant of Spain. He had no longer offered anything beyond Siena, Orbitello, and a pension of 500,000 livres, saying, "As much money as you like, **but** nothing more;" and again, "This affair ought not to interest the Emperor Alexander more than the affairs of Persia interest me, the First Consul."

In Switzerland, in that Helvetia which Souvorof had hoped to march through as victor, it was Bonaparte who laid down the law, accepting the title of mediator, and occupying cantons trou-

* Rambaud, '*Les Français sur le Rhin*' and '*L'Allemagne sous Napoléon I.*'

bled by intestine discords. It is true that in the Ionian Islands, ceaselessly agitated by small civil wars, it was a Russian plenipotentiary that arrived to appease the popular excitement, while the Emperor of Russia guaranteed the constitution.

The Peace of Amiens was on the eve of being broken, and, to hinder the rupture between France and England, Russia would have wished to offer her mediation. She feared above everything the French occupation of Naples and Hanover. The occupation of Naples meant the humiliation of another Italian client of Russia; that of Hanover brought the French very near to the Elbe and Hamburg. The fears of Alexander were realized. In a war against England, Bonaparte could not neglect such important points. Gouvion Saint Cyr occupied Tarento, Otranto, and Brindisi; Mortier invaded Hanover and got a loan from Hamburg; Holland and Tuscany were also garrisoned with French troops (June-July, 1803).

The choice of Markof as the Russian representative at Paris had not been happy. Like almost all the Russian aristocracy, he hated equally new France, the Revolution, and Bonaparte. He was the declared friend of the *émigrés*, at the very moment when the royalist plots put the life of the First Consul in danger. His Austrian sympathies were notorious. He proved to be proud, excessively obstinate, and even impertinent. When the consular court and all the diplomatic body went into mourning on the death of General Leclerc, Bonaparte's brother-in-law, he alone declined to wear it. He was compromised by the seizure of some pamphlets published against the Government, his name being found at the head of the list of subscribers. He had the audacity to say, "The Emperor of Russia has his will, but the nation also has hers." The Russian Government refused to recall him, in spite of Talleyrand's declaration that since the renewal of the war with England "the presence of so ill-disposed a man was more than unpleasant to the First Consul." Bonaparte also complained of some French *émigrés* whose intrigues were protected by Russia; of Christin, formerly secretary to Calonne, at Paris, of Vernègues at Rome, of D'Entraigues at Dresden. At last, after an angry scene, Markof appeared no more at the Tuileries, and was finally recalled. The French were, however, no better contented with D'Oubril, who remained at Paris as *chargé d'affaires*.

The seizure and execution of the Duc d'Enghien increased the misunderstanding between the two cabinets. The news of this murder reached St. Petersburg on the eve of a diplomatic reception; when the reception itself took place, the Emperor and all his court were in mourning. Alexander passed General

Hédouville, the French Ambassador, without speaking to him. D'Oubril presented to the French Government a note protesting against the violation of international law and of neutral territory. Alexander, in his character as guarantor of the German Empire—a title which he maintained that he had acquired by the Treaty of Teschen—caused a similar note to be laid before the Diet at Ratisbon, which Sweden and England hastened to ratify, but which terribly embarrassed the Diet and all the Germanic body. Bonaparte retorted by recalling Hédouville. He replied officially to D'Oubril's note by complaining of the unfriendly acts of the Russian Government towards him, of the ill-will of all her agents, of the embarrassing situation which they sought to create for France by everywhere patronizing the *émigrés*, contested the right of Russia to interfere in the affairs of Germany, and declared that in the affair of Ettenheim the Government had only acted in self-defence. "The cry raised by Russia to-day compels us to ask if, when England meditated the assassination of Paul I., men had been aware that the authors of the conspiracy were lurking within a league from the frontiers, they would not have hastened to capture them?" After such an interchange of letters, the *chargés d'affaires* themselves were recalled, and all diplomatic relations broken.

Napoleon had just been crowned Emperor; he had taken at Milan the crown of Italy, united Genoa to the French territory, and modified the constitution of Holland. From the camp at Boulogne he threatened England, but a coalition was already formed against him. Novossiltsof, one of the favorite ministers of Alexander, had left for London with special instructions drawn up by the Emperor; we find in them all kinds of Utopian schemes, sometimes generous, often incoherent, which he still cherished at this epoch. He proposes to wrest from the French, who gave themselves out as the champions of liberty, the dangerous weapon of propaganda; to give to the troubled world a good example by restoring the King of Sardinia; to render back to Switzerland and Holland the liberty to choose their own rulers; to declare to the French nation, which would gladly welcome the allies, that the war was directed, not against her, but against her Government, from which she suffered as severely as the rest of Europe. In this note Alexander renewed the question of the reconstitution of Europe: taking count of natural frontiers, of crests of mountains, of groups of nationalities, he added a scheme for the partition of the Ottoman empire, in the case of its existence becoming incompatible with the present state of Europe. The British Cabinet received these communications somewhat coldly, but concluded a treaty of subsidies in

the proportion of £1,200,000 for every 100,000 men put under arms by Russia.

Sweden and Naples entered the coalition; Austria had already attacked Bavaria, the ally of Napoleon. Alexander also wished to assure himself of Frederic William III., who always vacillated between France and Russia, and who had undertaken engagements towards both. Alexander thought to gain him by announcing that his army was about to cross Silesia and Pomerania, but the King of Prussia instantly mobilized his troops, to cause his neutrality to be respected. The violation of the territories of Anspach and Baireuth by the French soon changed the course of his ideas. Alexander had his famous interview near Frederic the Great's tomb, with the King and Queen of Prussia. By the Treaty of Potsdam, Prussia undertook to furnish 80,000 men to the coalition if Napoleon did not accept its ultimatum. The ultimatum stipulated for the independence of Germany and Italy, and the indemnity to the King of Sardinia. Haugwitz was ordered to carry it to Napoleon.

During these negotiations the Russian army was put in motion. Behind the three great Austrian armies (those of the Archduke Charles in Italy, the Archduke John in the Tyrol, and Mack with the Archduke Ferdinand against Bavaria) were ranged the Russian troops. Besides the 20,000 men (under Tolstoï) who were to join the Swedes and disembark at Stralsund, and the 20,000 (under Admiral Seniavine) who were to join the English and disembark at Naples, there were the troops who guarded the frontiers of Turkey and Prussia, and the great army of Germany. The latter had as its vanguard Koutouzof, who, with 45,000 men, hastened to the Inn to unite with Mack. In Moravia strong forces were gathering under the orders of Buxhœwden and the eyes of the Emperor. Alexander had with him his three ministers—Czartoryski, Novosiltsof, and Strogonof. All the Imperial Guard was there—the Horse Guards, the Knights, the Preobrajenski, the Semenovski, the Ismaïlovski, the Pavlovski, and the flower of the army.

Koutouzof had already reached Braunau on the Inn, when he heard of the Capitulation of Ulm, and the annihilation of Mack's army. He found his own position very critical, being at a great distance from the main body. He had under him excellent troops, and three admirable lieutenants: Prince Bagration, one of the heroes of the campaign of 1799, the favorite pupil of old Souvorof; Doktourof, the intrepid leader of the Grenadiers; Miloradovitch, surnamed the Murat of the Russian army, and of whom it was said, "Whoever wishes to follow Miloradovitch must have a spare life." To escape being cut

off on the right bank of the Danube by Murat's cavalry, by Oudinot and by Lannes, and on the left bank by the corps of Mortier, Koutouzoſ retreated, giving battle to Oudinot at Lambach in Amstetten. He then crossed the Danube at Krems, fought the battle of Dirnstein with Mortier, and marched to the north to join the great Russian army. The surprise of the bridge of Vienna by Lannes and Murat endangered him on his left flank during his retreat into Moravia. To save his army, his rear-guard must be sacrificed. The dogged Bagration was charged to check the pursuit of the French. He intrenched himself at Hollabrunn and Schöngraben. Murat came up first, and desired to gain time in order to allow Lannes to join him; Bagration wished to give Koutouzoſ time to escape. He received Murat's envoy favorably, and sent to propose an armistice in the name of the Tzar. Ten hours passed while they awaited the answer of Napoleon. The latter, furious at Murat's credulity, sent orders that he was to attack immediately. Bagration's 10,000 men fought desperately during twelve hours. At night Bagration retreated, having lost 2000 men and all his guns. Koutouzoſ, who had been saved by his devotion, embraced him and exclaimed, "You live, and that is enough for me."

The junction of Koutouzoſ, Buxhœweden, and the Austrians took place at Olmütz, and Napoleon was concentrating his forces at Brünn. He had collected about 70,000 men, the Emperors of Russia and Austria about 80,000. The greatest exultation reigned in the Russian head-quarters. The young Emperor and his young officers, proud of the splendid battles fought by Koutouzoſ and Bagration, spoke with profound contempt of the Austrians, who had allowed themselves to be so easily trapped at Ulm; they had only hatred and disdain for "Buonaparté the Corsican," who owed his victories to the imbecility of his adversaries. A small success of the vanguard at Wischau, the apparent timidity of Napoleon, and the arrival of General Savary as envoy, completely turned their heads. Alexander sent the young Prince Dolgorouki to the French head-quarters, with a note addressed to the "head of the French nation." It was necessary, said the Prince to Napoleon, that France should abandon Italy, if she wanted immediate peace. If she were vanquished, she would have to lose not only the Rhine, but Piedmont, Savoy, and Belgium, which would be formed into barriers against her. "What! Brussels also?" exclaimed Napoleon, and coldly dismissed him. "These people are mad," he said. "What would they do with France if I were defeated!"

"It is difficult," relates a Russian eye-witness, Jirkiévitch,

the lieutenant of artillery, "to picture the enthusiasm that animated us all, and the strange and ridiculous infatuation that accompanied this noble sentiment. It seemed to us that we were going straight to Paris. No one spoke of anything but Dolgorouki, a young man of twenty-five, who presented himself to Napoleon with a letter from the Emperor, and all admired the cleverness of the superscription, in which the imperial title of Napoleon had been so skilfully avoided. It was even added that when Dolgorouki gave the letter to Napoleon, as the latter remained covered, Dolgorouki replaced his hat. A few days passed, and our ideas became greatly changed." The scheme conceived by Weirotter the Austrian, and approved by Alexander, was that Bagration on the right should keep Lannes in check; the two Imperial Guards would be sufficient to watch the plateau of Pratzen; Doktourof, Langeron, Prjébievski, even Koutouzof and Miloradovitch, were to descend into the valley of Goldbach to turn Napoleon, cut him off from the Danube, and force him back on the mountains of Bohemia.

The evening before the battle it was still believed that Napoleon would retreat. Dolgorouki recommended his soldiers "to watch well which way the French retired." On the morning of the 2nd of December, 1805, the valley of Goldbach was covered by a fog, from the waves of which emerged, as from the bosom of a milky sea, the mountain summits gilded by the early rays of the sun; on the west lay the heights of Schlapanitz, where Napoleon had taken up his position; on the east, the hills of Pratzen, where the allied emperors were encamped. Napoleon distinctly saw the Russian columns descend the plateau of Pratzen, and lose themselves in the fog; and from the side of Lakes Sokolnitz, Satchan, and Menitz—that is to say, to the right—he heard the noise of their artillery carriages. He was therefore certain that, as he had foreseen, the allies hoped to turn this wing. When the plateau of Pratzen, the centre of the Russian army, seemed to him sufficiently bare, he gave the signal. In twenty minutes the corps of Soult scaled the slopes in heavy masses, and attacked Koutouzof and Miloradovitch, whose divisions alone remained on the plateau. There a desperate battle was fought. The Emperor of Russia found himself under fire, his men were dispersed, and he himself was obliged to retire at a gallop, attended only by his doctor, a single company, and two Cossacks. A little to the right of the plateau, the Tzarévitch Constantine with the Guards tried to oppose the cavalry of Murat and the French Guards. It was an epic struggle, where fought on one side the famous Russian regiments of the Foot Guards, the Horse Guards, the *élite* of the Russian

nobility, the Uhlans, the *chasseurs* of the Guard, the Cossacks and the Cuirassiers of Lichtenstein; on the other, the Mamelukes of Rapp, the mounted Grenadiers of Bessières, the light cavalry of Kellermann, the Cuirassiers of Hautpoul and of Nansouty. At the extreme right of the Russians, Bagration could easily beat a retreat before Lannes; but on their left, the columns of Doktourof, Langeron, and Prjébichevski, entangled in the network of lakes, engaged since morning by the corps of Davoust, and suddenly attacked in their rear by the victorious troops returning from the plateau of Pratzen, found themselves in a frightful situation: 2000 men perished on the ice, which Napoleon had broken by shots from the guns. Doktourof protected the retreat. "It was impossible," says Dumas, "at the end of a lost battle, to put a better face on things."

Such was "the battle of the three emperors." The Russians fell back on Austerlitz. Without reckoning the Austrian loss, their own amounted to 21,000 men, 133 cannon, and 30 flags. They were furious against their allies. As happened after the battle of Zurich, they accused them of incapacity, and even of treason. It was the Austrians who had sketched the plan of the battle: now, fighting in their own country, on a soil which they had studied at leisure in the manœuvres on parade, they had wholly failed in strategy, and had provided neither forage nor ammunition. Dolgorouki, in a report to the Emperor, remarks: "They conducted the army of your majesty rather to deliver it to the enemy than to fight; and what puts the finishing touch to this infamy is, that our dispositions were known to the enemy, a fact of which we have certain proof." Rostopchine echoes him: "The plan had been treacherously communicated to Bonaparte; forty-eight hours before we were ready, the latter began the attack at break of day. From the beginning, half of the Austrians took up arms; the other half crossed over to the enemy, and some even fired on us."

On the 4th the Emperor Francis had an interview with Napoleon, and obtained for the Russian army, which was greatly imperilled after its disaster, and was closely pressed by Davoust, leave to retire, on condition that it should return to Russia by stages, to be regulated by Napoleon. On the 26th the Treaty of Presburg was signed, which deprived Francis II. of Venice, the Tyrol, and Austrian Swabia; he was likewise to give up the title of Emperor. This new intervention of the Russians in Europe ended in a formidable growth of French power. The King of Naples was dethroned and replaced by Joseph; the kingdom of Italy was increased by Venice; Murat became Grand Duke of Berg; the sovereigns of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and

Baden, strengthened by the spoils of Austria, decorated with the titles of king and grand duke, formed, with the new Prince-Primate Charles of Dalberg, the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, and fifteen other sovereign princes, the Confederation of the Rhine (*Rheinbuna*). There was no longer a Russian *clientèle* in Germany. Already Napoleon's family was contracting matrimonial alliances with those of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden. The German vassals of the successor of Charles the Great, of the new Emperor of the West, could add to his army from 100,000 to 150,000 men. Haugwitz, who had been ordered to inform Napoleon of the ultimatum stipulated by the Treaty of Potsdam, found himself at Schönbrunn in the presence of a defiant and invincible conqueror; he was forced to sign a treaty imposing on Prussia the acceptance of Hanover, in exchange for Anspach and Bai-reuth, and irrevocably embroiling her with England. The coalition was therefore beaten in the field and dissolved in the cabinet. Russia, isolated by the ruin of Naples, the desertion of Austria, and the defection of Prussia, found herself almost alone on the Continent.

We all know how from this same Treaty of Schönbrunn, which appeared to attach Prussia to Napoleon, sprang a new war. The coalition was renewed between Russia, England, Sweden, and Prussia. The Prussians showed in 1806 the same precipitation as the Austrians in 1805; like them, they did not allow time for the Russians to join them; and when Alexander found himself able to undertake a second campaign, he learnt the twofold catastrophe of Jena and Auerstadt, as he had formerly learnt that of Ulm. For the second time, her principal ally being beaten, the whole weight of the war fell upon Russia. On this occasion the disaster was even greater, for the Prussian monarchy had ceased to exist. The French occupied Berlin, and took the fortresses on the Oder and the Vistula. Nothing remained to Frederic William in the north but three fortresses, Dantzic, Königsberg, and Memel, and a small body of 14,000 men under Lestocq.

These events had followed one another with a rapidity so startling that Russia found herself taken unawares. After Austerlitz she had tried to negotiate with Napoleon, and sent D'Oubril to Paris; but D'Oubril, who had consented to the evacuation of Cattaro and the Ionian Isles, and the recognition of the principle of Ottoman integrity, had been disavowed at St. Petersburg, like Haugwitz at Berlin. Russia found herself in a terrible plight; and she had in addition the prospect of a double war against Persia and Turkey. Czartoryski, Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressed a memorial to the Emperor, counselling peace. He showed

that Russia had two vulnerable points,—Poland, and the serfage of the peasants. Invasion must be avoided at all costs, for the invader would not fail to proclaim the re-establishment of Poland, and the freedom of the serfs. It was of little consequence that Germany was subject to Napoleon, if the latter would consent not to pass the Weser or even the Elbe. It was necessary to consent to the evacuation of Cattaro and the Ionian Isles, to guarantee Sicily only to the King of Naples, and to obtain some sort of an indemnity for the King of Sardinia. It would be better to secure the co-operation of Napoleon for regulating the affairs of Turkey. Only one thing was important, the safety of the empire.

But Alexander, secure of Prussia, at this moment still intact, inclined to war. He demanded a new conscription of one man in every hundred, lowered the regulation height one inch, ordered muskets even from private manufacturers and foreigners, created new regiments, summoned students and young nobles, promising them the grade of officer after six months' service, for the fight at Pratzen had made terrible havoc with the Guards. A plan of organizing militia was talked of, which would have given them 612,000 men. The priests were ordered to proclaim everywhere that war was made, "not for vain glory, but for the salvation of the country." England was asked for a loan of £6,000,000. Austria was once more appealed to. When Prussia was crushed, the 14,000 Prussians of Lestocq were sent for.

Buxhœwden had 28,000 men; another army of 60,000 men was confided to Bennigsen, a learned man of boundless energy (one of the conspirators of 1801), with a certain genius for tactics. He has, however, been reproached with indecision at the critical moment, with neglecting discipline, and not knowing how to repress pillage; the marauders did not respect even his head-quarters or his own house. These defects were, however, partially atoned for by a tenacity destined to astonish Napoleon. The old Field-marshal Kamenski, nominated Generalissimo, had concentrated all his forces on the Vistula. When his infirmities obliged him to resign his command, Bennigsen succeeded him.

Murat, Davoust, and Lannes had entered Warsaw, then a Prussian possession, and had established themselves on the Bug, forming the right of the Grand Army. Soult and Augereau crossed the Vistula at Modlin, and formed the centre; on the left Ney and Bernadotte occupied Thorn and Elburg. In the rear Mortier acted in Pomerania against the Swedes; Lefèbvre besieged Dantzic; and Jerome Bonaparte, with Vandamme, finished the conquest of Silesia. Pressed by the Grand Army,

Bennigsen was obliged to evacuate Poland, after some severe fighting, especially at Pultusk (December 26), and retired by way of Ostrolenka, leaving in the mud of Poland eighty field-pieces and nearly 10,000 men; he stopped on the Alle to cover Königsberg.

Winter had arrived: the Grand Army reposed in camp, when Bennigsen conceived the audacious project of moving his left wing, passing between the two forces of Bernadotte and Ney, crushing Bernadotte and forcing Ney into the sea; of relieving Dantzic and carrying the war into Brandenburg on the rear of Napoleon. Bernadotte, however, resisted so stubbornly at Mohrungen and Osterode, that Napoleon had time to come up, and Bennigsen himself was on the point of having his left wing turned, and seeing his lines of communication cut. An intercepted despatch warned him of the risk he ran; it was necessary to sound a retreat, and Bagration was again called on to protect it. As at Schöngraben, he covered himself with glory, and allowed himself to be sacrificed for the salvation of the army; his "incomparable regiment of Kostroma" was almost annihilated, and he himself severely wounded. During this time Bennigsen marched to Eylau and took up a position to the east of the town, on a line of heights which extended from Schloditten to Serpalen; behind his centre lay the village of Sansgarten, his front was covered by 250 pieces of cannon.

When Napoleon arrived at Eylau, which was taken on the 7th of February, he had only with him Soult, Augereau, Murat, and the Guard; Davoust, who was to form his right wing, and Ney, who was to form his left wing, and who had been delayed by his pursuit of Lestocq, were still wanting, Bennigsen, on his side, awaited Lestocq, who was to compose his right. The battle, however, began (February 8), and was one of the bloodiest of the century. A thick snow was falling, which ever and anon hid the battle-field from sight; the sky was of a livid gray; the landscape was as gloomy as the action. The battle began by a formidable cannonade, which lasted all the day. The French, sheltered by the buildings of the town of Eylau, and disposed in thin lines, suffered from it less than the Russians, who had little cover, and were ranged in compact masses. The corps of Augereau and the division of St. Hilaire, entrusted with the attack on the Russian left wing, went astray, blinded by a snow-storm; when the sky cleared, the two divisions of Augereau found themselves opposite the Russian centre, forty paces from a battery of seventy-two guns; mown down at the cannon's mouth, they lost in a few minutes 5200 men. Augereau and his two generals of division were wounded. At the same moment an

enormous mass of cavalry, uhlands, and cuirassiers dashed themselves against St. Hilaire's infantry, upsetting everything in their passage. The infantry of the Russian centre advanced almost to the cemetery of Eylau, where stood Napoleon. It was then that Murat, in his turn, assembled eighty squadrons, and led against this infantry the most frightful charge mentioned in the annals of these wars; solid squares were broken by his cuirassiers. Then the two armies continued to watch and to fire at each other. The battle made little progress till Davoust at last joined the right wing of the French army, turned the Russian left and threw it back upon the centre, and reached Sansgarten on their rear. The Prussians of Lestocq arrived in their turn at the other extremity of the line, but they were followed by Ney, who in the darkness of night, at half-past nine o'clock, began to break Bennigsen's right wing. The Russians now ran the risk of being surrounded. They had suffered cruel losses: one of their divisions, that of Count Ostermann Tolstoj, no longer counted more than 2500 men. "The general in chief," says M. Bogdanovitch, "trembled as he read the reports of the generals of divisions." He had not 30,000 men under arms; 26,000 were killed or wounded; among the latter were Barclay de Tolly, Doktourof, and seven other generals. He profited by the darkness to beat a retreat, and did not hesitate to claim as a victory what in reality had only been a glorious resistance.

The French had more right to call themselves victorious, as they remained masters of the field of battle. Unlike the Russians, some of their troops were still intact, such as Ney's corps and the Foot Guards, but they had likewise suffered terribly, and a gloomy sadness hung over the survivors. Such efforts, so much blood shed, yet such small results, so few trophies! This melancholy impression is reflected even in Napoleon's despatch, where he allows himself to describe the funereal aspect of the battlefield, the thousands of heaped-up corpses, the gunners killed on their pieces, "all thrown into relief by a background of snow." Ney shrugged his shoulders on seeing the carnage. "What a massacre," he said, "and without result!" The French suffered hunger and cold; the immense spaces, the broken roads, the marshy plains, the stoical resistance of the Russians, had disconcerted the calculations of Napoleon. Eylau gave him a foretaste of 1812; the delay of Ney a foretaste of Waterloo. Fortune took care to warn him that she would not always be punctual to her rendezvous. The effect produced on Europe was unlucky for France; in Paris the Funds fell. Bennigsen boldly ordered the *Te Deum* to be sung.

In order to confirm his victory, re-organize his army, reas-

sure France, re-establish the opinion of Europe, encourage the Polish insurrection, and to curb the ill-will of Germany and Austria, Napoleon remained a week at Eylau. He negotiated: on one side he caused Talleyrand to write to Zastrow, the Prussian foreign minister, to propose peace and his alliance; he sent Bertrand to Memel to offer to re-establish the King of Prussia, on the condition of no foreign intervention. He also tried to negotiate with Bennigsen; to which the latter made answer, "that his master had charged him to fight, and not negotiate." After some hesitation, Prussia ended by joining her fortunes to those of Russia. By the convention of Bartenstein (25th April, 1807), the two sovereigns came to terms on the following points:—

1. The re-establishment of Prussia within the limits of 1805.
2. The dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine.
3. The restitution to Austria of the Tyrol and Venice.
4. The accession of England to the coalition, and the aggrandizement of Hanover.
5. The co-operation of Sweden.
6. The restoration of the house of Orange, and indemnities to the kings of Naples and Sardinia.

This document is important; it nearly reproduces the conditions offered to Napoleon at the Congress of Prague, in 1813.

Russia and Prussia proposed then to make a more pressing appeal to Austria, Sweden, and England; but the Emperor Francis was naturally undecided, and the Archduke Charles, alleging the state of the finances and the army, strongly advised him against any new intervention. Sweden was too weak; and notwithstanding his fury against Napoleon, Gustavus III. had just been forced to treat with Mortier. The English minister showed a remarkable inability to conceive the situation; he refused to guarantee the new Russian loan of a hundred and fifty millions, and would lend himself to no maritime diversion.

Napoleon showed the greatest diplomatic activity. The Sultan Selim III. declared war against Russia; General Sebastiani, the envoy at Constantinople, put the Bosphorus in a state of defence, and repulsed the English fleet; General Gardane left for Ispahan, with a mission to cause a Persian outbreak in the Caucasus. Dantzic had capitulated, and Lefebvre's 40,000 men were therefore ready for service. Massena took 36,000 of them into Italy.

In the spring, Bennigsen, who had been reinforced by 10,000 regular troops, 6000 Cossacks, and the Imperial Guard, being now at the head of 100,000 men, took the offensive; Gortchakof commanding the right and Bagration the left. He tried, as in the preceding year, to seize Ney's division; but the latter fought, as he retired, two bloody fights, at Gutstadt and Ankendorff.

Bennigsen, again in danger of being surrounded, retired on Heilsberg. He defended himself bravely (June 10); but the French, extending their line on his right, marched on Eylau, so as to cut him off from Königsberg. The Russian generalissimo retreated; but being pressed, he had to draw up at Friedland, on the Alle.

The position he had taken up was most dangerous. All his army was enclosed in an angle of the Alle, with the steep bed of the river at their backs, which in case of misfortune left them only one means of retreat, over the three bridges of Friedland. The French vanguard arrived at two in the morning, filled the woods of Posthenen with sharpshooters, and held the Russians in check till the arrival of the Emperor. The Russian army was almost hidden in the ravine of Alle. "Where are the Russians concealed?" asked Napoleon when he came up. When he had noted their situation, he exclaimed, "It is not every day that one surprises the enemy in such a fault." He put Lannes and Victor in reserve, ordered Mortier to oppose Gortchakof on the left and to remain still, as the movement which "would be made by the right would pivot on the left." As to Ney, he was to cope on the right with Bagration, who was shut in by the angle of the river; he was to meet them "with his head down," without taking any care of his own safety. Ney led the charge with irresistible fury; the Russians were riddled by his artillery at 150 paces: he successively crushed the *chasseurs* of the Russian Guard, the Ismailovski, and the Horse Guards, burnt Friedland by shells, and cannonaded the bridges which were the only means of retreat. In a quarter of an hour the Ismailovski lost 400 men out of 520. Bagration, surrounded by the grenadiers of Moscow, had to use his sword: his lieutenants, Raievski, Ermolof, and Baggowut, wasted their strength in useless efforts. The Russian left wing was almost thrown into the river; Bagration, with the Semenovski and other troops, was hardly able to cover the defeat. On the Russian right, Gortchakof, who had advanced to attack the immovable Mortier, had only time to ford the Alle. Count Lambert retired with 29 guns by the left bank; the rest fled by the right bank, closely pursued by the cavalry. Meanwhile Murat, Davoust, and Soult, who had taken no part in the battle, arrived before Königsberg. Lestocq, with 25,000 men, tried to defend it, but on learning the disaster of Friedland he hastily evacuated it. Only one fortress now remained to Frederic William—the little town of Memel. The Russians had lost at Friedland from 15,000 to 20,000 men, besides 80 guns (June 14 1807).

Alexander, who was established at Jurburg, received a report

from Bennigsen merely announcing that he had been obliged to evacuate the banks of the Alle, and that he would wait in a more advantageous position till Lobanof Rostovski brought him reinforcements. Now, Lobanof had only a few thousand Kal-mucks, and it was to these badly-armed savages that they looked for the salvation of Russia. More explicit accounts reached Alexander from the Tzarévitch Constantine and other officers. The situation was desperate : Alexander had no longer an army. Only one man, Barclay de Tolly, proposed to continue the war ; but in order to do this it would be necessary to re-enter Russia, to penetrate into the very heart of the empire, to burn everything on the way, and only present a desert to the enemy. Alexander hoped to get off more cheaply. He wrote a severe letter to Bennigsen, and gave him powers to treat. Prince Lobanof left for the head-quarters of Napoleon, who sent in his turn the Captain de Talleyrand-Périgord. Alexander had at that time a common sentiment with Napoleon—hatred of the English. He neither pardoned them for their refusal to guarantee a Russian loan, nor for the calculated insufficiency of their diversions, nor for their mercantile selfishness.

On June 25th the interview on the raft at Tilsit took place. Alexander and Napoleon conversed for nearly two hours. The King of Prussia was not admitted to a conference on which depended the fate of his dynasty. On horseback on the shore, he pushed his steed into the stream, or sat with his eyes fixed on the fatal raft. Even the personal graces of the Queen of Prussia could not soften the severity of the treaty. It was from "respect for the Emperor of Russia, and desire to unite the two nations in a bond of eternal friendship," that Napoleon "consented" to restore to Frederic William III. Old Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, and Silesia (July 8, 1807).

These articles consummated the fall of Prussia. On the west, Napoleon deprived her of all her possessions between the Rhine and the Elbe, with Magdeburg ; he dethroned her allies of Brunswick and Cassel, and on the east confiscated all Poland. He thus broke the two wings of the Prussian eagle. On its right he established the kingdom of Westphalia ; on its left the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Dantzic was declared a free town ; the district of Belostok, part of the dismembered Black Russia, again became Russian soil. The States of the princes of Mecklenburg and Oldenburg were restored to them ; but they had to suffer the occupation of their territory for the carrying out of the continental blockade, and, like Saxony, the States of Thuringia, and all the small princes of Germany, they were forced to accede to the Confederation of the Rhine. The King

of Prussia adhered to the continental blockade. His dominions were not to be given back to him till after the complete payment of a war indemnity.

Besides the conditions relative to Prussia, the Treaty of Tilsit established : (1) Russian mediation between France and England, French mediation between England and Turkey ; (2) Alexander's recognition (likewise that of Frederic William III.) of the kings Joseph of Naples, Louis of Holland, Jerome of Westphalia, as well as the recognition of the Confederation of the Rhine, and of all States founded by Napoleon ; (3) reciprocal guarantees for the integrity of the present possessions of Russia and France.

A second treaty with secret articles stipulated that Cattaro should be restored to France ; that the Ionian Isles should be hers in perpetuity ; that if Ferdinand were deprived of Sicily, he should have no other equivalent than the Balearic Isles, or Cyprus and Candia ; that in this case Joseph should be acknowledged King of the Two Sicilies ; that an amnesty should be accorded to the Montenegrins, Herzegovinians, and other peoples who had revolted at the call of Russia ; that if Hanover were united to the kingdom of Westphalia, Prussia should receive in exchange a territory on the left bank of the Elbe, with 300,000 or 400,000 inhabitants.

A third treaty, offensive and defensive, provided that (1) an ultimatum should be addressed to England on the 1st of November, and that if it had no results war should be declared against her by Russia on the 1st of December ; (2) that Turkey should be allowed a delay of three months to make her peace with the Tzar, and that then " the two high contracting Powers should come to an understanding to withdraw all the Ottoman provinces in Europe, Constantinople and Roumelia excepted, from the yoke and tyranny of the Turks " ; (3) that Sweden should be summoned to break with England, and if she refused Denmark was to be invited to take part in the war against her, and Finland was to be annexed to Russia ; (4) that Austria should be invited to accede to the system of continental blockade at the same time as Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal.

In certain respects this peace deserved the name of the " treacherous peace " that the English agent Wilson applied to it in his disappointment. Turkey was abandoned, delivered over, by her old friend France, though it is true that Napoleon alleged in excuse the revolution which had just overthrown his friend the Sultan Selim. He acted in the same way with regard to Sweden, another old ally. He made all these sacrifices to have the right of executing his Macchiavellian designs against

Spain, whose troops fought loyally under his banners. Alexander did not make fewer sacrifices of honor and interest to the new combination. He abruptly consented to go to war with his former ally, England; he renounced the principle of the integrity of Prussia, and even accepted as spoil the province of Belostok; he did not hesitate to wrest Finland from his brother-in-law Gustavus IV.; he consented to see, under the euphemism of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, a nucleus of Poland formed on the frontier. This strange treaty might, however, if it had been loyally executed, have contented the two States. The part of Russia was more brilliant on the whole than that of Napoleon: while France was to exhaust herself in a barren war with Spain, splendid vistas opened in the East and on the Danube to the ambition of Alexander. Thanks to the French alliance, he could follow on this side the glorious traces of Sviatoslaf, of Peter the Great, and his grandmother Catherine. During some days, at least, Alexander seemed enthusiastic about his ally. They exchanged the ribbons of their orders; each decorated one of the bravest soldiers of the other army; the grenadier Lazaref received the cross of the Legion of Honor; a battalion of the Imperial Guard offered a fraternal banquet to the Preobrajenski.

INTERVIEW AT ERFURT; WARS WITH ENGLAND, SWEDEN, AUSTRIA, TURKEY, AND PERSIA.

The change in the foreign policy was to bring with it a change in the composition of the Government. Alexander separated himself from the friends of his youth—Novossiltsof, Kotchoubey, Strogonof, and Adam Czartoryski—who had been his counsellors in the preceding war. Partisans of the new policy were called to his cabinet—Roumantsof to foreign affairs, and Speranski to the Council of State. The latter did not conceal his admiration for the genius of the Emperor of the French, for the principles born of the Revolution, and embodied in the Civil Code. He seriously desired the maintenance of the French alliance; and M. Pogodine, one of the Slavophiles of our time, has not the courage to condemn this policy. "It proves, on the contrary," he says, "his perspicacity as a statesman. The conditions imposed by Napoleon I. would certainly have been more easy to bear than those imposed by Napoleon III. at Sebastopol. The destinies of Europe would have been different. Sebastopol would still have shone on the shores of the Black Sea, and the Continent would not lately have been inundated with blood by

two cruel wars." "The Eastern question," says another Slavophil (M. Oreste Müller), "had in this case been settled, and English preponderance been extinguished in the Levant."

We must recognize the fact that in 1807 Russian opinion was hostile to this peace. The aristocracy were not yet reconciled with the state of things to which the Revolution had given rise. The Empress-mother surrounded herself with French *émigrés*; her court was the centre of the English and Austrian party. It was not only the sudden abandonment of the ancient alliances that was blamed, but it was also the partial restoration of the hereditary enemy, Poland; yet the question of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw seemed secondary—"it was considered as a consequence of the subjection to Napoleon." The dismissal of Louis XVIII., who was forced to leave Mittau for England, and the attempt at Bayonne against the Bourbons of Spain, exasperated passions still further.

Savary, Napoleon's ambassador, had to bear this emotional reaction. The selection of him was by no means happy, as Savary was supposed to have been more or less concerned in the affair of the Duc d'Enghien. "Opinion ran so high against the French," says Savary, "that no furnished hotel would take me as a lodger. . . . The general reception of myself and my companions was in inverse proportion to the kindness of the Emperor Alexander. During the first six weeks of my stay here I could not get a single door opened to me. The Emperor of Russia saw all this, and wished it had been otherwise. At the moment of my arrival at St. Petersburg, prayers were publicly recited against us, and particularly against the Emperor Napoleon." The shops and libraries were full of pamphlets against France, against Napoleon, and against the French ambassador, "Nothing," continues Savary, "was equal to the irreverence with which the youthful population of Russia dared to express itself about its sovereign. For some time I was much disturbed at the consequences this licence might have in a country where revolutions in the palace were only too common." Napoleon's envoy thought it even his duty to place in Alexander's hands a correspondence lately seized, in which the writer sent letters of this kind from Prussia to his friends in the interior: "Have you no longer any Pahlens, any Zoubofs, and Bennigsens?"

Stedingk, the Swedish ambassador, also wrote to Gustavus IV.: "The discontent against the Emperor Alexander increases daily, and things are said at this moment which are frightful to hear. The partisans of the Emperor are in despair, but there is no one among them who dares to remedy the evil, or to reveal to him the full horror of the situation. A change of government

is spoken of, not only in private conversations, but in public meetings." Some echo of the public discontent did, however, reach the ears of Alexander. Admiral Mordvinof wrote to him: "Though the days of glory may be passed, those in which Russia laid down the law; though she may have lost the bright hopes which she cherished in our youth, the sons of Russia are ready to shed the last drop of their blood rather than bow ignominiously before the sword of him whose only advantage over them is that he has known how to use weakness, treachery, and incapacity." The historian Karamsin was already preparing for the Emperor his work on 'Ancient and Modern Russia.'

In general, the literature of this epoch has a very pronounced anti-French character. The national tragedies of Krioukovski and Ozérof, the patriotic odes of Joukovski, even the comedies and fables of "grandfather" Krylof; the productions of the press, represented by Glinka, Gretch, Batiouchkof, and Schichkof—all breathe hate against Napoleon; aversion for that new France which the Russians, accustomed to admire and imitate the old France of Versailles, looked on with the eyes of the *émigrés* themselves. The most impetuous of the Gallophobes of this epoch was the Count Rostopchine. About 1807 he published his new satire 'Oh, the French!' and a comedy entitled the 'News,' or the 'Living-dead,' in which he attacked the alarmists, and the exaggerated partisans of Western customs. In his 'Spoken Thoughts on the Red Staircase,' in 1807, he exclaims, "How long shall we go on imitating monkeys? . . . As soon as a Frenchman arrives who has escaped the gallows, we fly to welcome him, and he represents himself as a prince or a gentleman who has lost his fortune for faith or loyalty, when in reality he is only a lackey, a shopman, or a tax collector, or a suspended priest who has fled in fear from his country. What do they teach children to-day? To pronounce French properly, to turn their toes out, and to frizz their hair. He alone is a wit whom a Frenchman takes for his countryman. How can men love their country when they do not even know their native tongue? Is it not a shame? In every country French is taught to children, but only that they may understand it, and not in order that it may replace their native language." He continues with violent invectives against French ambition, and invokes the brave soldiers of Eylau. "Glory to thee, victorious Russian army, bearing the sword in the name of Christ! Glory to our Emperor and to our mother Russia! Salutation to you, Russian heroes, Tolstoï, Kojine, Galitsyne, Doktourof, Volkonski, Dolgorouki! Eternal peace to you in heaven, young and gallant

Galitsyne ! Triumph, Russian empire ! the enemy of the human race recoils before thee ; he cannot struggle against thy invincible strength. He came as a savage lion, thinking to devour everything ; he flies like a hungry wolf, grinding his teeth."

By a contradiction, explained by his education, it is chiefly in his correspondence, and his works written in French, that Rostopchine attacks the nation so bitterly ; it is in French that the Russian nobles, pupils of the French of the 18th century, curse France. Miss Wilmot, with an obvious intention of disparaging both nations, scoffs, about 1805, "at the absurdity of Bruin the bear, when he gambols with a monkey on his shoulders." "In the midst of this adoption of French manners, habits, and language, there is something stupidly puerile in declamation against Bonaparte and the French, when the Russians cannot dine without a French cook to make ready their repast ; when they cannot bring up their children without the help of adventurers come from Paris, under the names of tutors and governors ; in a word, when all their notions of fashion, luxury, and elegance are borrowed from France. What arrant folly !"

Such was Russian society after Tilsit. From these evil dispositions towards France, the indignation raised by the abominable attempt of England against Denmark, and the bombardment of Copenhagen in a time of peace (September 1807), only made a diversion of short duration. At one moment we might almost believe that the Peace of Tilsit had only three partisans in Russia—the Emperor, the Chancellor Roumantsof, and Speranski. Yet Alexander began to learn the worth of more than one illusion : all the acts of his ally wounded his convictions. After the exile of the kings of Sardinia and of Naples, he had to see the expulsion of the house of Braganza, the dethronement of the Bourbons of Spain, the forced flight of the Pope of Rome ; the Confederation of the Rhine, increased beyond all measure, now extended to the other side of the Elbe, and had set foot on the Baltic by way of Lübeck and Mecklenburg ; on the Vistula, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw received a formidable organization. Tolstoï, who certainly had done nothing to make himself liked at Paris, who quarrelled with Ney, and entered into relations with the Faubourg St. Germain, was not able in any way to soften the lot of Frederic William III., or to obtain the promised evacuation of the Prussian States. Scanty was the compensation for all these sacrifices. The first campaign against Sweden had been far from brilliant. The naval war with England had ruined Russian commerce. At Constantinople, Guilleminot, Napoleon's ambassador, had managed to conclude an armistice between Turkey and Russia, in virtue

of which the latter had to evacuate the Danubian principalities. There was no longer any question of the partition of the Ottoman empire, that brilliant prospect which had led astray the lively imagination of Alexander.

The famous Franco-Russian alliance was shaken. Napoleon, who had on his hands a terrible war in Spain, and who descried on the horizon another war with Austria, felt that he must give his ally some satisfaction. Then the interview at Erfurt took place. Alexander came accompanied by his brother Constantine, the ministers Tolstoï, Roumantsof, Speranski, and the French ambassador Caulaincourt; Napoleon brought with him Berthier, the diplomatists Talleyrand, Champagny, Maret, and the Russian ambassador Tolstoï. There was also another court, formed by his German vassal; the Prince-Primate of the *Rheinbund*; the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Westphalia; the Grand Dukes of Baden, Darmstadt, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg; and the sovereigns of Thuringia. Prussia was represented by Prince William, who came to plead for the interests of his brother; Austria by Baron Vincent, charged to salute the two emperors in the name of his master. The irritable self-respect of the Russians did not fail to take notice of the superior influence of the French. "I seem to see my country degraded in the person of her sovereign," says Nicholas Tourguénief with passionate exaggeration. "There was no need to know what was passing in European cabinets; you could tell at a glance which of the two emperors was master at Erfurt and in Europe." It is true that Napoleon wished to receive the Tzar in a town that was his own property, at Erfurt; it is true that it was around him that this assemblage of sovereigns specially pressed, but these appearances really answered to a superiority of power. Napoleon neglected nothing to make the young Emperor forget all that was unequal in their respective situations, but he could not undo the fact that Alexander had not been the victor at Friedland.

In turn with fêtes, banquets, balls, theatrical representations, and hunting parties, serious interests were discussed between the two sovereigns and their ministers. On the 12th of October, 1808, Champagny and Roumantsof signed the following convention, which was to remain secret:—1. The Emperors of France and Russia renewed their alliance with all solemnity, and engaged to make peace or war in common. 2. They were to communicate to each other all proposals that might be made to them. 3. They were to propose an immediate peace to England, in a manner as public and as conspicuous as possible, so as to render refusal on the part of the British Cabinet more dif-

ficult (this proposition took the form of a letter addressed to the British Government, and signed by the two emperors). 4. They were to negotiate on the base of *uti possidetis*: France was only to consent to a peace which secured Finland, Wallachia, and Moldavia to Russia; Russia to a peace which confirmed France in all her actual possessions, and to Joseph Bonaparte the crown of Spain and the Indies. 5. Russia might act immediately to obtain the Danubian provinces from Turkey, whether by peace or war; but the French and Russian plenipotentiaries had come to an agreement about the language to be held, "so as not to compromise the existing friendship between France and the Porte." 6. If Russia, by the acquisition of the Danubian provinces, or France about its Italian or Spanish affairs, found themselves exposed to a rupture with Austria, the two allies were to make war in common. Talleyrand touched on the question of a Russian marriage for Napoleon. The recall of Tolstol was demanded, and he was replaced by Prince Kourakine. Prussia obtained a remission of twenty millions of her war indemnity, and the evacuation of her territory, on condition that she should reduce her army to 42,000 men. To recapitulate: Alexander guaranteed to Napoleon the tranquillity of the Continent during his operations in Spain, while Napoleon ratified the seizure of Finland and the Danubian provinces. Napoleon accompanied his guest some way on the road from Erfürt to Weimer; they then embraced and separated. This was the last time they saw each other (September–October 1808).

The alliance concluded at Tilsit and confirmed at Erfürt was to involve Russia in three new wars—against England, against Sweden, against Austria. Besides these, the wars still continued which had begun with Turkey in 1806, and against Persia and the populations of the Caucasus, since Alexander's accession.

The war with England only presents one fact worth recording. The Russian fleet of the Archipelago, commanded by Admiral Seniavine, was forced, when it regained the ocean, to seek refuge in the Tagus, where, according to the Convention of Cintra, signed by Junot, it was obliged to surrender to Admiral Cotton. It was convoyed to England; the officers and crews were treated there with diplomatic courtesy, and instantly sent back to Russia at England's expense. Five years later Russia recovered her ships. The embargo over English ships was kept up, and Russia in a certain measure took part in the system of continental blockade.

The King of Sweden, Gustavus IV., was not quite in his right mind; his fury against Napoleon equalled his powerlessness to harm him; a great reader of the Bible, he saw in the

Emperor of the French the beast of the Apocalypse. He caused a contemptible pamphlet called the 'Nights of St. Cloud' to be translated into Swedish. After having concluded an armistice with Mortier in 1806, he had broken it at the moment of the negotiation of Tilsit, so that his last Pomeranian fortresses were taken from him. He neither knew how to live in peace with England, whom he defied, nor with Prussia, whose misfortunes he insulted, nor with his brother-in-law Alexander. He alone of the European sovereigns applauded the bombardment of Copenhagen, and he regaled Admirals Gambier and Jackson at Helsingfors. When Alexander had to make him the first overtures, relative to the peace with France and the adoption of the continental system, Gustavus IV. impertinently returned the ribbon of St. Vladimir. On the 18th of February, 1808, he signed a treaty with England. Then 60,000 Russians, under Buxhœwden, crossed the Kiïmen, which had been, since the time of Elizabeth, the boundary between the two States. A proclamation was addressed to the Finns, advising them not to resist "their friends, their protectors," and to appoint deputies for the diet which Alexander intended to assemble. The Swedish troops were dispersed, and retreated to the north; Finland was almost conquered in March 1808: Helsingfors, the impregnable Svéaborg, Abo, and the Isles of Aland fell into the hands of the Russians. Fortune seemed for one moment to hesitate when Klingspor gained two important successes over the Russians, but he was immediately after obliged to retire into the deserts of Bothnia. Another proclamation was issued to the Finnish soldiers serving in the Swedish army, inviting them to desert with arms and baggage, promising them two roubles for every gun, one rouble for a sabre, and six for a horse. During the winter the Russians fortified themselves in the Isles of Aland; and three corps, commanded by Kulner, Bagration, and Barclay de Tolly, crossed the Gulf of Bothnia on the ice, and carried the war into the Swedish country. A military revolution broke out in Stockholm (13th of March, 1809). No blood was shed, but Gustavus IV. was arrested, and confined at Drottningholm with his family. Later he was set at liberty, and travelled in Europe under the name of Colonel Gustaffson. His uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, assumed the crown under the title of Charles XIII. He signed the peace of Fredericksham, which ceded Finland as far as the Tornea. In 1810, when Christian Augustus of Holstein-Augustenburg, the prince royal elected by the States, died, Bernadotte, marshal of France, was chosen to fill his place. Napoleon had little sympathy with this proceeding; he would have preferred a Danish prince, whose accession

would have brought about a Scandinavian union. The success of the Swedish war caused scant enthusiasm in St. Petersburg. "Poor Sweden! poor Swedes!" said the people. Finland, coveted for so long, had lost its value in the eyes of the Russians; it seemed too much a gift of Napoleon. According to his promise, Alexander had convoked the Diet of Finland, and guaranteed to the "grand duchy" its privileges, its university, and its constitution.

In April, 1809, began Napoleon's war with Austria (fifth coalition). Alexander, whom the Treaty of Erfurt obliged to furnish a contingent, had done all he could to prevent this war. He had warned the Cabinet of Vienna that he had made an alliance with Napoleon, and offered, on the part of himself and his ally, to guarantee the integrity of the Austrian possessions. Forced to put a contingent under arms, he gave the command of 30,000 men to Prince Sergius Galitsyne, to act in concert with Poniatovski and Dombrovski, generals of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, against the Archduke Ferdinand. This war of the Russians against the Austrians was a comedy; they detested their Polish allies, and feared their success in Galicia above everything. In the whole campaign there were only two encounters between the Russians and Austrians: at the battle of Oulanovka there was only one killed and two wounded, and the Austrian major sent excuses to Galitsyne, saying he thought he was attacking the Poles; at the battle of Podgourjé, under Cracow, there were two killed and two wounded.

The conflicts between the Russians and Poles were much more frequent. Galitsyne allowed Sandomir to be taken by the Austrians under his very eyes, and Poniatovski in vain denounced to Alexander this "traitorous conduct." On the other hand, the Russians entered Lemberg when the Poles had already taken it, and attempted to prevent the people swearing allegiance to Napoleon. At Cracow, the Russian and Polish armies actually came to blows. The Poles were uneasy at seeing the Muscovites in Galicia, and the Russians attributed all kinds of dangerous projects to the Poles. "Our allies disturb me more than the Austrians," writes Galitsyne to his master. He complains that Poniatovski, after having taken the title of commandant of the "Warsaw troops," or of "the ninth corps of the Grand Army," appropriated that of "commandant of the Polish army." "There is no Polish army," he said; "there is only an army of Warsaw." "The Emperor of the French is at liberty to give what names he chooses to the corps which are under his orders," replied Poniatovski.

Galitsyne announced that Poniatovski had reinforced his

army with Polish soldiers, deserters from Austrian regiments, and Lithuanian nobles, subjects of Russia. In the theatres of the Gallician towns, the King of Poland was represented leaving his tomb, the Dwina and the Dnieper forming the frontiers of new Poland. Galitsyne counselled Alexander to take from the French this weapon of Polish propaganda, by proclaiming himself restorer of Poland. The Tzar refused, alleging the inconstancy of the Poles, and the necessity of preserving the Lithuanian provinces from all contagion.

At the Congress of Schönbrunn, which preceded the Treaty of Vienna, the Emperor of Russia declined to have himself represented. He did not intend to sanction the results, but by so doing he left Austria unsupported. She was obliged to cede her Illyrian provinces and all Galicia. Western Galicia (1,500,000 souls) Napoleon added to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, while he gave Eastern Galicia and a population of 400,000 to Russia (October 14, 1809). This gift was not, however, sufficient to compensate Alexander for the danger of an aggranded Poland.

The war with Turkey had already gone on for many years. In 1804 Russia had proposed to the Divan an alliance against France, but she demanded at the same time that the subjects of the Sultan professing the orthodox religion should be placed under the immediate protection of her diplomatic agents. Selim III. repelled a proposal that threatened the very integrity of his empire. He tried to make advances to France, applauded the victories of Napoleon, and after Austerlitz acknowledged his imperial title and sent an envoy to Paris with presents, in spite of the efforts of the Russian ambassador Italinski. After Jena an Ottoman ambassador left for Berlin, to strengthen the alliance with the *padishah* of the French. Ypsilanti and Morousi, hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia, who were devoted to Russia, were stripped of their dominions. This was an infraction of the Peace of Iassy with Catherine II.

About this time began the troubles of Servia. The Janissaries of this country formed a turbulent militia, like that of Egypt and Algiers, oppressed the Christian populations, entered into a contest with the Pasha of Belgrade, the *spahis*, or noble cavalry, and other Mussulmans, and even trod under foot the authority of the Sultan. They would only obey their chiefs, four in number, who were called *dakhié* or *deys*. Against these insubordinate subjects Selim III. authorized the resistance of the rayahs.

Many of the Christians had learned to bear arms in the last war of Catherine II. and Joseph II. against the Turks, and many had served with the Russian or Austrian troops. Pushed

to extremity by the murder or torture of a certain number of their *knezes*, they rose against the Janissaries and the deys ; put Tchernyi George, or George the Black, a rich pork merchant, at their head ; and expelled the Mussulmans from Belgrade and the rest of the fortresses, affecting all the time to be only executing the orders of the Sultan. When Selim wished to recall them to obedience and demanded the restitution of the strong places, they broke with the Sultan himself, and declared themselves independent. They would have been crushed by the superior forces of the neighboring pachas, if the Russians had not taken up arms in 1806, which freed the frontiers. Alexander sent them an auxiliary corps under Colonel Bala.

The Russian ambassador had protested against the deposition of Ypsilanti and Morousi, and against the violation of the Treaty of Iassy. The English ambassador had almost induced the Divan to yield on October 17, 1806, when without a declaration of war the Russian general Michelsen crossed the frontier, invaded Moldavia with 35,000 men, took Khotin and Bender, entered Bucharest, and advanced towards the Danube. The British ambassador wished to interpose his good offices, but he was not listened to, and left Constantinople with *éclat*. It was then that the English fleet under Admiral Duckworth passed the Dardanelles, burnt the Turkish vessels in the Sea of Marmora, and appeared at the entrance of the Bosphorus. The demonstration failed before the firmness of the Sultan Selim and the military preparations of the French ambassador Sebastiani. Engineer and artillery officers hastened from the French army of Dalmatia. The English vessels retraced their path, and the Turkish fleet, crossing the Dardanelles in its turn, gave battle to the Russian Admiral Seniaviné, in the waters of Tenedos. It was beaten. A short time after Selim III. was deposed in consequence of a revolt of the Janissaries, and Napoleon used his fall as a pretext for sacrificing Turkey at Tilsit.

Guilleminot, Sebastiani's successor, had received an order to aid the Russians "in everything, not officially, but effectively." In spite of the armistice concluded by his exertions, the Russian troops continued to occupy the principalities, whose administration was confined to a divan composed of Russians and Roumanian boyards. After Erfürt, the Sultan having refused to subscribe to the dismemberment of his empire, the war recommenced. The campaign of 1809 was partially successful ; the Russians conquered nearly all the fortresses of the Danube, but were defeated in Bulgaria by the Grand Vizier. In 1810 Field-marshal Kamenski reconquered Bulgaria as far as the Balkans, and gained a brilliant victory at Batynia, near Kouch-

tchouk. In 1811 his successor, Koutouzof, managed to draw the Grand Vizier to the left bank of the Danube, and crushed him at Slobodzei. The imminence of a rupture with France forced the Tzar to withdraw five divisions of the army of the Danube. A congress assembled at Bucharest in 1812: Russia renounced Moldavia and Wallachia, but kept Bessarabia, a Roumanian district, with the fortresses of Khotin and Bender; the Pruth and the Lower Danube, where Russia acquired Ismaïl and Kilia, formed the limit of the two empires. The hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia were to be restored, and all the ancient privileges of those countries confirmed. The eighth article stipulated for an amnesty in favor of the Servians, who were to remain subjects of the Sultan, but to be governed by George the Black, assisted by the *skoupchtchina* or national assembly. Turkey took no part in the wars of 1812 and 1813; she profited by them to violate the eighth article, to crush the Servian army, and to re-establish the ancient order of things. George the Black, and the greater part of the Servian voïevodes, fled to Austrian soil; others were put to death; one alone remained in the country, and managed to gain the respect and even confidence of the Turks. This was Miloch Obrénovitch. When the oppression became too intolerable, he gave the signal for a new insurrection (1815), reconquered the independence of his country, and made the Porte accept a treaty in 1817 which recognized the autonomy of Servia under the sceptre of the Sultan, with a national government composed of Miloch, the hereditary prince, and a *skoupchtchina*, but with the occupation of the principal fortresses by Ottoman garrisons. This system lasted till 1817.

At the same time as the Turkish war, hostilities began in 1806 against Persia, which wished to regain its authority over Georgia, and against the tribes of the Caucasus. Prince Titsianof, Count Goudovitch, Tormassof, and Kotliarevski all distinguished themselves in this campaign. In 1803 Titsianof had caused Maria, the Tzarina-mother of Georgia, to be transported to St. Petersburg, as she refused to recognize the legitimacy of the cession made by her eldest son to Paul I. He subdued the Chirvan, but was treacherously assassinated by the khan Hussein-Kouli, under the walls of Bakou. Glasénop punished Ali-Khan, an accomplice in the crime, by depriving him of Derbend. Persia attempted to come to the aid of the Caucasian tribes; Prince Abbas-Mirza passed the Araxes with 20,000 men, but was defeated. This laborious war prolonged itself till 1813. A more serious struggle already absorbed all the attention and forces of Russia.

GRAND DUCHY OF WARSAW : CAUSES OF THE SECOND WAR WITH NAPOLEON.

The misunderstanding between Alexander and Napoleon became more bitter day by day. The most important of the causes leading to it were the following :—1. The growth of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw ; 2. The discontent of Napoleon at the conduct of the Russians in the campaign of 1809 ; 3. The abandonment of the project of a Russian marriage, and the substitution of an Austrian marriage ; 4. The increasing rivalry of the two States at Constantinople and on the Danube ; 5. The Napoleonic encroachments of 1810 in northern Germany ; 6. Irritation produced by the continental blockade ; 7. Mistrust occasioned by the respective armaments.

At the Treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon had formed the Grand Duchy of Warsaw out of the Prussian provinces (Warsaw, Posen, and Bromberg), with a population of 2,500,000. At the Treaty of Vienna he had increased it by Western Gallicia (Cracow, Radom, Lublin, and Sandomir), inhabited by 1,500,000 people. He had reserved to himself all the means for reconstituting Poland ; he had given Dantzic to no one, and had declared it a free city ; the Illyrian provinces of Austria might in his hands soon be exchanged for the rest of Gallicia ; the treaty of 1812 with the Emperor Francis was to realize this calculation. There was no need even to take away the acquisitions of the third partitioner, Russia, for at that time Russia only possessed Lithuania and White Russia. Now we know that these provinces are not Polish. It sufficed to take back what he had himself ceded to Alexander out of the spoils of Prussia and Austria—Belostok and Western Gallicia, the latter being still in great part Little Russia. The name of Poland was not pronounced officially, but in fact she already existed. No doubt she had a stranger, the King of Saxony, for the sovereign, but the ancestors of Frederic Augustus had reigned over Poland, and it was to the house of Saxony that the patriots of the 3rd of May, 1791, had wished to secure the succession after Stanislas Poniatowski.

The Constitution of 1807, compiled by a Polish commission and approved by Napoleon, was almost that of the 3rd of May 1791. Napoleon had advised the King of Saxony to dismiss the Prussian officials, and to govern Poland with the Poles. The executive power belonged to the king, who was assisted by a council of responsible ministers with a president at their head. The legislative power was divided between the king, the senate,

and the legislative body. The senate was composed of six bishops, six palatines, and six castellans; the legislative body, of sixty deputies elected in the districts from the nobility, and forty deputies from the towns; their chief work lay in the imposition of taxes and the compilation of the laws. After the annexation of Western Gallicia, the number of members of parliament was increased. Napoleon could boast of having "raised a tribune in the midst of the silent atmosphere of the neighboring governments" (Bignon). The *Zamok*, the old royal castle in which the Parliament sat, was the centre of the Polands still disunited. Napoleon had given the Grand Duchy his Civil Code, which did not express the actual social state of the country, but on which the social state was to model itself. He had proclaimed the freedom of the serfs, while preserving to their former masters the right of property over the lands. With regard to this, the present Russian government has proceeded in a more radical fashion. Napoleon created parliamentary Poland,—a Poland whose liberty was more based on equality than in former times.

The army of the Grand Duchy was raised to 30,000 men after 1807, to 50,000 after 1809; at its head was Joseph Poniatovski, nephew of the last king, the man who was vanquished at Ziélencé, the hero of many a Napoleonic battle. Under him served Dombrowski, a soldier of the campaign of 1799; Załontchek, who had fought with the French in Egypt; and Chłopiński, the intrepid leader of the Polish legions in Spain. The sentiments which animated the army are still reflected in the recently published 'Memoirs of a Polish Officer' (which are those of General Brandt).

In a country where every peasant is born a horseman, the cavalry was always admirable; the infantry had lately been improved; the artillery had been organized by the Frenchman Bontemps and Pelletier; the fortresses of Płock, Modlin, Thorn, and Zamosc restored by Haxo and Alix. The army, where the former serf elbowed the gentleman, was a school of equality. The famous legions of the Vistula, made use of by Napoleon for his own private ends, acquired an imperishable glory in the wars of Prussia, Austria, and Russia.

The ministers of the Grand Duchy—Stanislas Potoński (president of the council), Joseph Poniatovski (war), Lubiński (justice), Matuszewicz (finance), Sobolewski (police), &c.—were upright and intelligent men. Bignon, Napoleon's representative, was full of devotion to Poland. Unfortunately he was replaced, on the eve of a supreme crisis, by the Archbishop of Malines, Abbé of Pradt, a noisy and vain character, complicated by

literary vanity. No doubt Warsaw had its parties. The Czartoryskis had with reason made up their minds, in case of need, to have recourse to Alexander's generosity ; but in 1811, when the guns of Warsaw announced the birth of the King of Rome, all thought themselves in safety under the protectorate of France. Never had the lively and witty Polish society been so brilliant. The growth of the Warsaw army, which was in reality the vanguard of the Grand Army of the Vistula, was always an object of disquietude for Alexander and anger for the Russians. The "mixed subjects"—that is, the nobles who held lands in the Grand Duchy and in Lithuania, and who passed from one service to the other—were the pretext for perpetual diplomatic intrigues. Alexander remarked bitterly that they worked "the spectre of Poland" on the uncertain frontier of Lithuania.

Napoleon had not hesitated to complain to Kourakine of the way in which the Gallician campaign had been conducted. "You were lukewarm," he said ; "you never drew the sword once."

The projected marriage with Anna Pavlovna, Alexander's sister, had met with difficulties in more than one direction. The Empress-mother, Mary of Wurtemberg, had been invested by the will of Paul, which was kept at the Assumption in the Kremlin, with absolute power to dispose of the hands of her daughters. Now, she alleged that the laws of the orthodox church did not allow marriage with a divorced man. Anna was already betrothed to the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, as her sister Catherine, perhaps with a view to a request of this nature, had been married to the Grand Duke of Oldenburg. The first marriage of Napoleon had been barren, and he might a second time repudiate his wife. The difference of religion was another barrier. Anna could not embrace Catholicism, and the idea of seeing a Russian priest and chapel at the Tuileries was repugnant to Napoleon. Alexander took little pains to press the negotiation ; he complicated it by another negotiation for a formal promise that Poland should never be re-established. Napoleon lost all patience, and, as the house of Hapsburg seemed to be ready to meet his wishes, the Austrian marriage was concluded.

Alexander felt both anger and regret. A closer alliance between France and Austria was prejudicial to the essential interests of Russia in the East and on the Danube. In 1809 Talleyrand had submitted to Napoleon a project which consisted in indemnifying Austria by putting her in possession of the Roumanian principalities and of the Slav provinces of Turkey, which would have created a permanent conflict of interests between Russia and Austria. The former, repulsed from the Danube,

would have been forced to turn towards Central Asia, towards Hindostan. In this emergency she would in her turn have found herself at perpetual war with England, and all germs of coalition against the French empire would by this means have been extinguished. In the same year Duroc laid before Napoleon another memorial, in which he showed—1, that the Russian alliance was contrary to French traditional policy; 2, that the French possessions in Italy and Dalmatia were threatened by the action of Russia in Servia and Greece; 3, that Russia only defended Prussia, because she reckoned on the use of her army if needed; 4, that she favored the Spanish enterprise, in the hope of seeing 200,000 Frenchmen perish in the Peninsula; 5, that the interest of the Napoleonic dynasty demanded that Russia should be pushed as far as possible to the East; 6, that the dismemberment of Poland had been the shame of the old dynasty, and that her re-establishment was necessary to the greatness of France and the security of Europe. Prince Kourakine managed to procure a copy of this memorial, and sent it to the Emperor Alexander (March 1809), pointing out “how dangerous it was for Russia to permit the ruin of Austria.” Alexander remembered this in the campaign of 1809.

In 1810 the *Senatus Consultum* of July pronounced the union of the whole of Holland to the French empire; that of December, the future union of three Hanseatic towns, of Oldenburg, and other German territories. It was not a simple occupation to secure the execution of the continental blockade; it was an annexation. In the *jus gentium* as understood by Napoleon, these decisions of the Senate were to replace treaties. Where were these encroachments to stop? Hamburg, Bremen; and Lübeck—free towns, whose existence was an object of interest to the commerce of the whole world, and especially to Russia—had become French. By means of Lübeck, the French empire would strengthen her hold on the Baltic, on that “Varangian Sea” where the Russians, since Peter I., disputed the preponderance of the Scandinavians. Another of these annexations, that of Oldenburg, wounded Alexander yet more deeply. He saw his sister Catherine and her husband, robbed of their crowns, fly to St. Petersburg. The wrong to his interests and his affections was yet further increased by the want of respect towards him. He had neither been consulted nor informed of the step. Like the rest of the world, Alexander heard of this conquest, in the height of peace, through the *Moniteur*. It is true that since that time many other German allies of the imperial house have been deprived of their crowns or their essential prerogatives, without any remonstrance from Russia.

Kourakine was charged to communicate with Champagny, who talked of necessity, and assured him that the Grand Duke should receive an indemnity. The Russian court sent a note to all the other cabinets, in which, while affirming the maintenance of her alliance with Napoleon, she protested against the annexation of Oldenburg. The conqueror was deeply irritated at the publicity of this note, as well as at the remarks accompanying the protest.

As to the continental blockade, although it was observed by Russia less strictly than by France, she still suffered cruelly from it. The commerce with England was stopped. In 1801 the Russian aristocracy had made a plot to re-open the sea to her hemp, her grains, and other natural productions of the country. The rouble which was worth 67 kopecks in 1807, was not worth more than 25 in 1810. In December of this same year, Alexander promulgated an edict which, with the apparent design of preventing specie from leaving the country, proscribed the importation of objects of luxury from whatever country they came, particularly of silks, ribbons, embroideries, bronzes, and porcelains: wine was heavily taxed. This chiefly struck at French commerce. The forbidden goods were ordered to be burnt. Napoleon was exasperated, and said, "I would rather have received a blow on the cheek."

During some time Kourakine, the Russian envoy at Paris, while recognizing the fact that Russia could not cope with Napoleon, advised a policy of intimidation by collecting great armaments. Accordingly five divisions of the army of the Danube were recalled; a levy of four men in every five hundred was to be raised, and the fortresses of the Dwina and the Dnieper were to be repaired. These preparations provoked those of Napoleon. Such an emulation in threatening measures naturally led to a rupture. Soon the "army of Warsaw" was put on a warlike footing, the army of occupation in Northern Germany was reinforced; Napoleon summoned some regiments from Spain, and notably the Polish legions; the army of Naples advanced towards Upper Italy, the army of Italy towards Bavaria; in the vast military establishment known as the Grand Army, and which covered the entire Continent, from Madrid to Dantzic, a movement from the West to the East was felt. The grievances of the two emperors against each other were brought forward in some lively interviews of Napoleon, first with the ambassador Kourakine, and then with the aide-de-camp Tchernichef, Alexander's envoy extraordinary. Napoleon received Tchernichef courteously, and even pinched his ear, but passionately discussed all the questions relative to Poland, to the Danubian

principalities, to Oldenburg, to the continental blockade, to the oukaze of December, to the menacing preparations of Alexander. He at once rejected the idea of giving Dantzic as an indemnity for Oldenburg. The mission of Tchernichef was unsuccessful; he even compromised himself seriously: an *employé* of the War Minister was shot for allowing himself to be bribed, and for having delivered to him the estimates of the Grand Army. It was about this period that Napoleon ordered the publication in the newspapers of a series of articles wherein he proved "that Europe found herself in train to become the prey of Russia," and spoke of "the invasion that must be checked, of the universal domination that must be extinguished." It was then that Lesur published the famous book entitled 'Of the Progress of the Russian Power,' in which we meet for the first time with the apocryphal document called the 'Will of Peter the Great.'

Napoleon recalled Caulaincourt, whom he thought too Russian, and who, being conciliatory, was much embarrassed with the part he had to play. He replaced him by Lauriston, who could not reckon on the confidence of Alexander. Everything proved that war was inevitable. Alexander, like Napoleon, only negotiated in order to gain time and finish his preparations. The rupture of the alliance was patent to all. At the court of Murat the French envoy, Durand, fought a duel with the Russian envoy Dolgorouki. Alexander suddenly disgraced Speranski, the friend of France; he sent for Stein, the great German patriot, Napoleon's mortal foe, placed by him under the ban of the Confederation. Russia hastened to conclude peace with Turkey; she negotiated with Sweden for an alliance, with England for a treaty of subsidies. Napoleon, on his side, signed two conventions with Prussia and Austria, which assured him the help of 20,000 Prussians and 30,000 Austrians in the projected expeditions. Sweden and Turkey would have been more certain allies, but the treaties of Tilsit and Erfürt had alienated them from the French; Sweden had suffered, like Russia, from the continental blockade, and the Prince Royal Bernadotte had not pardoned Napoleon for his refusal to give him Norway, and for having occupied Swedish Pomerania. On the 9th of May, 1812, Napoleon left Paris for Dresden, for the centre of his army. The ambassadors, Kourakine and Lauriston, demanded their passports.

THE "PATRIOTIC WAR:" BATTLE OF BORODINO; BURNING OF
MOSCOW: DESTRUCTION OF THE GRAND ARMY.

With the military resources of France, which then counted 130 departments, with the contingents of her Italian kingdoms, of the Confederation of the Rhine, of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and with the auxiliary forces of Prussia and Austria, Napoleon could bring a formidable army into the field. On the 1st of June the Grand Army amounted to 678,000 men, 356,000 of whom were French, and 322,000 foreigners. It included not only Belgians, Dutchmen, Hanoverians, Hanseats, Piedmontese, and Romans, then confounded under the name of Frenchmen, but also the Italian army, the Neapolitan army, the Spanish regiments, natives of Germany, Badois, Wurtembergers, Bavarians, Darmstadt Hessians, Jerome's Westphalians, soldiers of the half-French grand duchies of Berg and Frankfort, Saxons, Thuringians, and Mecklenburgers. Besides Napoleon's marshals, it had at its head Eugène, Viceroy of Italy; Murat, King of Naples; Jerome, King of Westphalia; the princes royal and heirs of nearly all the houses in Europe. The Poles alone in this war, which recalled to them that of 1612, mustered 60,000 men under their standards. Other Slavs from the Illyrian provinces, Carinthians, Dalmatians, and Croats, were led to assault the great Slav empire. It was indeed the "army of twenty nations," as it is still called by the Russian people.

Napoleon transported all these races from the West to the East by a movement similar to that of the great invasions, and swept them like a human avalanche against Russia.

When the Grand Army prepared to cross the Niemen, it was arranged thus:—To the left, before Tilsit, Macdonald with 10,000 French, and 20,000 Prussians under General York of Wartenburg; before Kovno, Napoleon with the corps of Davoust, Oudinot, Ney, the Guard commanded by Bessières, the immense reserve cavalry under Murat—in all a total of 180,000 men; before Pilyony, Eugene with 50,000 Italians and Bavarians; before Grodno, Jerome Bonaparte, with 60,000 Poles, Westphalians, Saxons, &c. We must add to these the 30,000 Austrians of Schwartzemberg, who were to fight in Galicia as mildly against the Russians as the Russians had against the Austrians in 1809. Victor guarded the Vistula and the Oder with 30,000 men, Augereau the Elbe with 50,000. Without reckoning the divisions of Macdonald, Schwartzemberg, Victor, and Augereau, it was with about 290,000 men, half of whom were French, that Napoleon marched to cross the Niemen and threaten the centre of Russia.

Alexander had collected on the Niemen 90,000 men commanded by Bagration; on the Bug, tributary of the Vistula, 60,000 men, commanded by Barclay de Tolly; those were what were called the Northern army and the army of the South. On the extreme right, Wittgenstein with 30,000 men was to oppose Macdonald almost throughout the campaign; on the extreme left, to occupy the Austrian Schwartzemberg, as harmlessly as possible, Tormassof was placed with 40,000. Later this latter army, reinforced by 50,000 men from the Danube, became formidable, and was destined, under Admiral Tchitchagof, seriously to embarrass the retreat of the French. In the rear of all these forces was a reserve of 80,000 men—Cossacks and militia (*opoltschénié*). Only a few contingents of the *opoltschénie*, brave mougiks with long beards, were to figure in the campaign, but its imposing total of 612,000 men could hardly have existed except on paper. In reality, to the 290,000 men Napoleon had mustered under his hand, the Emperor of Russia could only oppose the 150,000 of Bagration and Barclay de Tolly. He counted on the devotion of the nation. "Oh that the enemy," says a proclamation of the Tzar, "may encounter in each noble a Pojarski, in each ecclesiastic a Palitsyne, in each citizen a Minine. Rise, all of you! With the cross in your hearts and arms in your hands, no human force can prevail against you."

At the opening of the campaign the head-quarters of Alexander were at Wilna. Besides his generals, he had there his brother Constantine, his ministers Araktchéef, Balachef, Kotchoubey, and Volkonski. There were also collected refugees of all nations—Stein from among the Germans, the generals Wolzogen and Pfuhl, the Piedmontese Michaux, the Swede Armfelt, and the Italian Paulucci. They deliberated and argued much. To attack Napoleon was to furnish him with the opportunity he wished; to retire into the interior, as Barclay had advised in 1807, seemed hard and humiliating. A middle course was sought by adopting the scheme of Pfuhl—to establish an intrenched camp at Drissa, on the Dwina, and to make it a Russian Torres Vedras. The events in the Peninsula filled all minds. Pfuhl desired to act like Wellington at Torres Vedras. Others proposed a guerilla warfare like that of Spain. When they heard of the passage of the Niemen, Barclay had to fall back on the Dwina, and Bagration on the Dnieper.

Napoleon made his entry into Wilna, the ancient capital of the Lithuanian Gedimin. He had said in his second proclamation, "The second Polish war has begun!" The Diet of Warsaw had pronounced the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland, and sent a deputation to Wilna to demand the adhesion of

Lithuania, and to obtain the protection of the Emperor. We can understand with what ardor the Lithuanian nobility crowded around Napoleon. The decision of the Polish diet was solemnly accepted by the Lithuanians. "This ceremony," relates Fezensac, "took place in the cathedral of Wilna, where all the nobility had assembled together. The men were dressed in the ancient Polish costume, the women adorned with red and violet ribbons, the national colors." As to the Poles, properly so called, although Napoleon, by dispersing the army of 60,000 men among the divisions, had rendered it invisible, nothing could equal their enthusiasm; boundless hope filled all hearts. The work begun at Tilsit at the expense of Prussia, continued at Vienna at the expense of Austria, was to be finished at the expense of Russia! At last they were to taste the revenge which France had prepared for eighteen years for the faithful legions of Dombrowski! This was the splendid gift with which the Emperor was going to reward the zeal of his grumblers of the Vistula! "The young officers had recovered their confidence in the star of Napoleon," relates Brandt. "Our elders might well laugh at our enthusiasm, and call us mad and possessed; we only dreamed of battles and victories; we feared only one thing, a too great anxiety for peace on the part of the Russians. . . . We had in our ranks numerous descendants of the Lithuanians who had fought a hundred years before, under the banners of Charles XII.—Radzivils, Sapiehas, Tysenhausen, and Chodskos." However, the enormous incapacity of Pradt at Warsaw, and the somewhat reserved answers of Napoleon at Wilna,* caused a little hesitation. In Lithuania the movement could not be truly national, since the people were not Poles. Napoleon, whether to please Austria, whether to preserve the possibility of peace with Russia, or whether he was afraid to make Poland too strong, only took half-measures. He gave Lithuania an administration distinct from that of Poland; assembled a commission, which voted the creation of a Lithuanian army, formed of four regiments of infantry and five of cavalry; and spent 400,000 francs in aid of their equipment. A national guard—of infantry in the towns, of horse in the country—was to watch over the security of the convoys, and to help the French

* "If I had reigned during the partitions of Poland," replied Napoleon to the deputation from Warsaw, "I should have armed all my subjects to support you. I applaud all that you have done; I authorize the efforts that you wish to make: all that depends on me to second your resolutions I will do. But I have guaranteed to the Emperor of Austria the integrity of his States. Let Lithuania, Samogitia, Volhynia, the Ukraine, and Podolia be animated by the same spirit that I have seen in Great Poland, and Providence will crown with success the sanctity of your cause."

gendarmérie to maintain discipline. A last attempt to negotiate a peace had failed. To gain time, Alexander had sent Balachef to Wilna. Napoleon had proposed two unacceptable conditions—the abandonment of Lithuania, and the declaration of war against Great Britain. If Napoleon, instead of plunging into Russia, had contented himself with organizing and defending the ancient principality of Lithuania, no power on earth could have prevented the re-establishment of the Polish-Lithuanian State within its former limits. The destinies of France and Europe would have been changed.

The road which led to Wilna passed through a sort of natural pass, due to the configuration of the Dwina and the Dnieper, the one making an angle near Vitepsk, the other near Orcha, thereby ceasing to bar the way to the invader. There were still the raised works at Drissa on the Dwina, the *Torres Vedras* of the learned Pfühl; but the place of the camp was so badly chosen, with the river at the back, and only four bridges in case of retreat, and was so easily turned from Vitepsk, that it was resolved to abandon it. There existed in the army immense irritation against Pfühl, against the Germans, against the division of commands. The Tzar seemed out of place with the army; they remembered Austerlitz. The Russian nobles made up their minds to induce him to depart; Araktchéf himself, and Balachef, the Minister of Police, respectfully represented to him that his presence would be more useful at Smolensk, at Moscow, or at St. Petersburg, where he could convoke the orders of the State, demand sacrifices both in men and money, and keep up the patriotic enthusiasm. From that time Barclay and Bagration commanded their armies alone.

Napoleon feared to penetrate into the interior; he would have liked to gain some brilliant success not far from the Lithuanian frontier, and seize one of the two Russian armies. The vast spaces, the bad roads, the misunderstandings, the growing disorganization of the army, caused all his movements to fail. Barclay de Tolly, after having given battle at Ostrovno and Vitepsk, fell back on Smolensk; Bagration fought at Mohilef and Orcha, and in order to rejoin Barclay retreated to Smolensk. There the two Russian generals held council. Their troops were exasperated by this continual retreat, and Barclay, a good tactician, with a clear and methodical mind, did not agree with Bagration, impetuous, like a true pupil of Souvorof. The one held firmly for a retreat, in which the Russian army would become stronger and stronger, and the French army weaker and weaker, as they advanced into the interior; the other wished to act on the offensive, full of risk as it was. The army was on the

side of Bagration, and Barclay, a German of the Baltic provinces, was suspected and all but insulted. He consented to take the initiative against Murat, who had arrived at Krasnoé, and a bloody battle was fought (August 14). On the 16th, 17th, and 18th of August another desperate fight took place at Smolensk, which was burnt, and 20,000 men perished. Barclay still retired, drawing with him Bagration. In his retreat Bagration fought Ney at Valoutina; it was a lesser Eylau: 15,000 men of both armies remained on the field of battle.

Napoleon felt that he was being enticed into the interior of Russia. The Russians still retreated, laying waste all behind them. "Tell us only when the moment is come, we will set fire to our *ishas*," they said. The French lost three days at Smolensk; but the Russians on their side were astonished that the ancient fortress, which had sustained so many lengthy sieges in the 16th and 17th centuries, had only resisted Napoleon that time. The Grand Army melted before their very eyes. From the Niemen to Wilna, without every having seen the enemy, it had lost 50,000 men from sickness, desertion, and marauding; from Wilna to Mohilef nearly 100,000. Ney was reduced from 36,000 men to 22,000; Oudinot from 38,000 to 23,000; Murat from 22,000 to 14,000; the Bavarians, attacked by dysentery, from 27,000 to 13,000; the Italian division Pino from 11,000 to 5,000; the Italian Guard, the Westphalians, the Poles, the Saxons, and the Croats had not suffered less. The "ignoble and dangerous crowds of marauders" (Brandt) encumbered all the roads, pillaged the convoys and the magazines, plundered by actual force the villages and towns, not even respecting isolated officers. They had devoured Poland and Lithuania in their passage through them. At Minsk, whilst the *Te Deum* was being chanted for the deliverance of Lithuania, Cuirassiers had broken into the magazines. In this offensive march, the miseries of the retreat might be clearly foreseen. Napoleon did what he could to fill the voids which were already so sensible. He ordered Victor's army to advance into Lithuania, Augereau to pass the Elbe and the Oder, and the hundred cohorts of the national guards to make themselves ready to cross the Rhine. In the north MacDonald repulsed Wittgenstein, took Polotsk after a battle (18th of August), occupied Düna-burg, threatened to invest Riga, and disquieted St. Petersburg; and in the south Tormassof obtained some success over Reynier and Schwartzenberg.

In the Russian army, the discontent grew with the retreating movement; they always retired, now on Dorogobouge, now on Viasna: they began to murmur as much against Bagration as against Barclay. It was then that Alexander united the two

armies under the supreme command of Koutouzof. Koutouzof had on his side the reminiscences of Amstetten, Krems, and Dirnstein; it was not to him that Austerlitz was imputed. He was a true Russian of the old school, indolent and sleepy in appearance, but very judicious and very patriotic. No one understood better than he did the Russian soldier and the national character. Men needed hope above all things. His appointment excited general enthusiasm: the rumor immediately spread in the army that "Koutouzof had come to beat the French." Happy sayings raised his popularity to the skies. Passing his regiments in review, "With such soldiers," he exclaimed, "who would think of beating a retreat?" He ordered, however, a retrograde movement; but "all felt that in retiring they were marching against the French." They "recoiled," but only to reinforce themselves, to await the troops Miloradovitch was to bring them, the Cossacks that Platof was to recruit on the Don, the bearded militia which rose at the voice of the Tzar, the famous *droujina* of Moscow, promised by the Governor Rostopchine.

Koutouzof halted at Borodino. He had then 72,000 infantry 18,000 regular cavalry, 7000 Cossacks, 10,000 *opoltschénié* or militiamen, and 640 guns served by 14,000 artillerymen or pioneers; in all 121,000 men. Napoleon had only been able to concentrate 86,000 infantry, 28,000 cavalry, and 587 guns, served by 16,000 pioneers or artillerymen. This was about equal to the effective force of the Russians, but his army, now tempered by the long march of 800 leagues, was still the most admirable of modern times. On the 5th of September the French took the redoubt of Chevaradino; the 7th was the day of the great battle: this was known as the battle of Borodino among the Russians, as that of the Moskowa in the bulletins of Napoleon, though the Moskowa flows at some distance from the field of carnage.

The front of the Russian army was bounded on the right by the village of Borodino on the Kolotcha; on the centre by the Red Mountain, where rose what the French called the Great Redoubt, and the Russians the Raïevski battery, on the spot where now stands the memorial column; and on the left by three little redoubts or outworks of Bagration's, on the site of the monastery since founded by Madame Touthkof. Between the Red Mountain and Bagration's outworks ran the ravine of Semenevskoé, with the village of the same name. During the battle Napoleon remained near the redoubt of Chevardino; Koutouzof at the village of Gorki. Barclay de Tolly commanded on the right, and through Miloradovitch he occupied Borodino,

and through Doktourof, Gorki. Bagration commanded the left, and by Raïevski he occupied the Red Mountain and Semenevskoé, by Borosdine the three redoubts. Napoleon had placed Eugène, with the army of Italy and the Bavarians, opposite the great redoubt; Ney, with Junot and the Wurtembergers, opposite the three small ones; Davoust with the Poles and Saxons, and Murat with his numerous cavalry, were to turn the Russians by their left. On the extreme right Poniatovski was to clear the woods of Ooustitsa. In the rear, the division of Friant and the Guard formed an imposing reserve.

Profound silence reigned in the Russian camp on the eve of the battle; religious fervor and patriotic fury inflamed all hearts: they passed the night confessing and communicating; they put on white shirts as if for a wedding. In the morning 100,000 men were blessed on their knees, and sprinkled with holy water by their priests; the wonder-working Virgin of Vladimir was carried in procession round the front of the troops in the midst of sobs and enthusiasm; an eagle hovered over the head of Koutouzof, and a loud "hurrah" saluted this happy omen. The battle began by a frightful cannonade of 1200 guns, which was heard at 30 leagues round. Then the French, with an irresistible charge, took Borodino on one side, and the redoubts on the other; Ney and Murat crossed the ravine of Semenevskoé, and cut the Russian army nearly in two. At ten o'clock the battle seemed won, but Napoleon refused to carry out his first success by employing the reserve, and the Russian generals had time to bring up new troops in line. They recaptured the great redoubt, and Platof, the Cossack made an incursion on the rear of the Italian army; an obstinate fight took place at the outworks. At last Napoleon made his reserve troops advance; again Murat's cavalry swept the ravine; Caulaincourt's cuirassiers assaulted the great redoubt from behind, and flung themselves on it like a tempest, while Eugène of Italy scaled the ramparts. Again the Russians had lost their outworks. Then Koutouzof gave the signal to retreat, and collected his troops on Psarévo. Napoleon refused to hazard his last reserves against these desperate men, and to "have his Guard demolished." He contented himself with crushing them with artillery during the flight. The French had lost 30,000 men, the Russians 40,000; the former had 49 generals and 37 colonels killed and wounded, the Russians almost as many, and they numbered Bagration, Koutaïzof, and the two Touthkofs among their dead. Napoleon still concentrated 100,000 men under his own eye, Koutouzof only 50,000; but Napoleon's losses were irreparable at this distance: the Grand Army was

condemned to gain nothing by its victories. The novelist Tolstol uses this expression, "The beast is wounded to death." "Napoleon," says Brandt, the Pole, "had succeeded, but at what a price ! The great redoubt and its surroundings offered a spectacle which surpassed the worst horrors that could be dreamed of. The ditches, the fosses, the very interior of the outwork had disappeared beneath an artificial hill of dead and dying, six or eight men deep, heaped one upon another."

Koutouzof retired in good order, announcing to Alexander that they had made a steady resistance, but were retreating to protect Moscow. He called a council of war at Fily, on one of the hills which overhangs Moscow ; and the sight of the great and holy city extended at their feet, condemned perhaps to perish, caused inexpressible emotion to the Russian generals. The only question was this, Was it necessary to sacrifice the last army of Russia in order to save Moscow ? Barclay declared that "when it became a matter of the salvation of Russia and of Europe, Moscow was only a city like any other." Others said, like the artillery officer Grabbe, "It would be glorious to die under Moscow, but it is not a question of glory." "But," said Prince Eugène of Wurtemberg, "many hold that honor forces them to put a stop to all retrograde movements : as the tomb is the end of all earthly journeys accomplished by man, Moscow ought to be the aim, the tomb of the Russian warrior ; beyond her another world already begins." Bennigsen, Ermolof, and Ostermann were in favor of a last battle. Koutouzof listened to all, and then said, "Here my head, be it good or bad, must decide for itself," and ordered a retreat through the town. Yet he felt that Moscow was not "only a city like any other." He would not enter it, and passed the faubourgs weeping. Even for the retreat there were two alternative paths. Barclay advised that of Vladimir, which allowed St. Petersburg to be covered. Koutouzof preferred that of Riazan, by which he could place himself on the right flank of Napoleon to draw up reinforcements from the south, and to bar the way to the most fertile provinces of the empire to the French. The event proved that he was right.

Alexander, however, had only raised the *opoltchěnié* in sixteen governments : those of Moscow, Tver, Iaroslavl, Vladimir, Riazan, Toula, Kalouga, and Smolensk were to furnish 123,000 men ; St. Petersburg and Novgorod 25,000. Alexander had said to Michaux, "We will make of Russia a new Spain." The Metropolitan of Moscow and all the priests called men to arms against the "impious Frenchman, the bold Goliath," who was to be thrown to the earth by the sling of a new David.

Alexander had appointed Count Rostopchine as Governor of Moscow. This French wit was well acquainted with the nobles and the people, affected the picturesque language of the peasants, and understood, as he says, "how to throw dust in their eyes." The patriot Glinka compared him to Napoleon. His correspondence with Semen Voronzof, his proclamation of 1812, his Memoirs written in 1823, his pamphlet of the same year entitled 'The Truth about the Burning of Moscow,' may be counted amongst the most curious sources of history. "I do *everything*," he writes to the Emperor, "to gain the goodwill of *every one*. My two visits to the Mother of God at Iberia, the free access of all towards myself, the verification of the weights and measures, fifty blows with a stick applied in my presence to a sub-officer who, charged with the sale of salt, had caused the mougiks to wait too long, have won me the confidence of your devoted and faithful subjects." "I have resolved," he says, "at every disagreeable piece of news to raise doubts as to its truth; by this means I shall weaken the first impression, and before there is time to verify it others will come which need to be examined." He organized a regular system of spies to watch over the propagators of false news, the Martinists, the Freemasons, and the Liberals. He was jealous of Glinka, who nevertheless admired him, and who in the *Russian Messenger* "unchained the furies of the patriotic war." When Alexander came to Moscow and convoked the three orders at the Kremlin, Rostopchine caused *kibitkas* to be prepared to carry into Siberia any who might ask the Emperor indiscreet questions. These precautions were useless. The nobles gave their peasants, the merchants their money; the reading of the imperial manifesto was received with enthusiasm. "At first," relates Rostopchine, "they listened with the greatest attention, then they gave some signs of anger and impatience; when they came to the phrase which declared that the enemy came with 'flattery on their lips and irons in their hands,' the general indignation burst forth. They beat their heads, they tore their hair, they bit their hands, and tears of rage fell down their faces, which recalled those of the ancients. I saw one man grind his teeth." At bottom, the Government mistrusted the people, who, being serfs, might allow themselves to be tempted by the proclamations of liberty put forth by the invader. It was for this reason that Rostopchine placed 300,000 roubles at the disposal of Glinka, the popular writer. There was no need of the money, and Glinka restored the 300,000 roubles. When Alexander left the city, he gave full powers to Rostopchine.

Rostopchine invented good news; one day he posted up

"Great Victory of Ostermann," another day "Great Victory of Wittgenstein." Sensible people ended by never believing him. His bulletins had always firm hold on the people. "Fear nothing," he said : "a storm has come ; we will dissipate it ; the gain will be ground, and become meal. Only beware of drunkards and fools ; they have large ears, and whisper folly one to the other. Some believe that Napoleon comes for good, whilst he only thinks of flaying us. He makes the soldiers expect the field-marshal's staff, beggars mountains of gold, and while they are waiting he takes every one by the collar and sends him to his death. And for this reason I beg you, if any of our countrymen or foreigners begin to praise him and to promise this or that in his name, seize him, whoever he may be, and take him before the police. As to the culprit, I shall know how to make him hear reason, were he a giant." "I will answer with my head that the scoundrel does not enter Moscow. And see on what I base my prophecy. . . . If that is not enough, then I shall say, 'Forward, *droujina* of Moscow ! let us march likewise. And we shall be 100,000 soldiers. Let us take with us the image of the Mother of God, 150 guns, and we shall finish the affair together.' " After Borodino he again puts forth this proclamation, "Brothers, we are numerous, and ready to sacrifice our lives for the salvation of the country and to prevent that wretch from entering Moscow ; but you must help me. Moscow is our mother ; she has suckled us, nourished us, enriched us. In the name of the Mother of God, I invite you to the defence of the temples of the Lord, of Moscow, of Russia ! Arm yourselves in any way you can, on foot or on horseback ; take only enough bread for three days, go with the cross, preceded by the banners that you will take from the churches, and assemble at once on the three mountains. I shall be with you, and together we will exterminate the invaders. Glory in heaven for those who go there ! Eternal peace to those who die ! Punishment in the last judgment to those who draw back !"

It was necessary, however, to carry to Kazan forty Frenchmen or foreigners settled at Moscow. Domergue, the director of the French theatre at Moscow, describes their sad journey. Rostopchine made a certain Leppich or Schmidt work mysteriously at a wonderful balloon, which would cover with fire the whole French army. He removed all the archives and the treasures of the churches and palaces to Vladimir. When the Russian army left Moscow, he also quitted it, after cruelly slaying Verechtaghine, who was accused of having spread the proclamation of Napoleon. He caused the prisons to be opened ; distributed among the people the muskets of the arsenal, took

away the pumps, and ordered Voronenko to set on fire the stores of brandy, and the boats loaded with alcohol. The burning of Moscow no doubt arose from this. By his own confession it was "an event which he had prepared, but which he was far from executing." He contented himself with "inflaming the spirits of men." Already the barriers of the capital were crowded with vehicles of all sorts; every one emigrated who could leave the town.

The people who remained at Moscow steadily nursed their illusions. When the first soldiers of the Grand Army appeared they thought that it was the Swedes or English who had come to their help. The pillage of the deserted houses began, and the populace rivalled the zeal of the invaders. Napoleon arrived, and tried to quell the disorder; he appointed Mortier governor of the town. "Above all, no pillage!" he said; "you will answer for it with your head." The troops defiled through the streets of Biélii-gorod and Kitaï-gorod, singing the *Marseillaise* (Sept. 14). Napoleon ascended the Red Staircase, and established himself in the ancient palace of the Tzars. Almost immediately the fires broke out in many places. The night of the 15th-16th September was especially terrible. The Kremlin itself, with the artillery wagons of the Guard, was in danger. Napoleon had to leave it, and force his way through the flames; he almost perished on the road, and finally reached the Petrovski park. The courts-martial condemned about four hundred incendiaries, real or suspected, to death. All was over with the French conquest; only a fifth of the houses and churches remained standing. From that time it was impossible to prevent the plunder of the cellars, and of the buildings which were intact. The German allies were, according to the Muscovites, incomparably more greedy than the true Frenchmen.* They deserved the name of "The merciless army" (*bezpardonnoe voïsko*).

During the thirty-five days that the troops remained at Moscow, their disorganization was brought to a climax, and probably 10,000 or 12,000 men perished from hunger. The troops began to eat the horses. Napoleon, however, got together a *troupe* of comedians in the house of Posniakof, held concerts in the Kremlin, and promulgated the decree of Moscow about the Théâtre Français of Paris; but in spite of all this he was a prey to disquietude. The plan of a march to St. Petersburg on the approach of winter was rejected as impracticable. His attempts to open negotiations with Alexander were unsuccessful. He thought of declaring himself King of Poland, of

* See the new accounts in M. Rambaud's book called 'Français et Russes, Moscou et Sévastopol'

re-establishing the principality of Smolensk, and of dismembering Western Russia ; he studied papers relative to the attempt of 1730, to see if he could not seduce the nobles by the bait of a constitution, and dreamed of decreeing the liberty of the serfs and of raising the Tatars on the Volga. He was powerless ; without means of action ; without news ; almost blockaded in Moscow. To the south the way was barred by Koutouzof, who had reinforced himself in his camp of Taroutino ; by the battle of Vinkovo (October 18) against Murat, the road to Riazan was shut ; and by the battle of Malo-Iaroslavets (23rd-24th Oct.) that to Kalouga was to be blocked, only leaving free the road to Smolensk, which had been laid waste. Even this was no longer safe. The war of guerillas, the war of peasants, the Cossack war had begun. Gerasimus Kourine, a peasant of the village of Pavlovo, assembled 5800 men "to fight for the country and the holy temple of the Mother of God against an enemy who threatened to burn all the villages, and to take the skin off all the inhabitants."

The mougiks fell on foraging parties and marauders ; they killed them by blows with pitchforks ; they hung them. they drowned them. Wilson the Englishman relates that they buried men alive. In the single district of Borovsk, 3500 soldiers were killed or taken. The guerilla chiefs Figner, Sesslavine, Davydof, Benkendorff, and Prince Kourakine captured the convoys on the road to Smolensk. Dorokhof, with a band of 2500 men and a party of Cossacks, took Vereïa by assault. The peasant Vasilissa and Mademoiselle Nadéjda Dourova gave warlike examples to the Russian women. Cossacks already appeared disguised in Moscow.

On the 13th of October, in the first snow, Napoleon had made the ambulances and the first convoys leave Moscow. From the 18th to the 23rd, 90,000 combatants quitted Moscow. They took with them 600 guns, 2000 artillery wagons, and 50,000 non-combatants—invalids, workmen, women, and inhabitants of the towns who feared the first excesses of the Cossacks. Mortier left Moscow the last, having sprung mines under the Kremlin. The palace of Elizabeth was blown up ; the gate of the Saviour, that of the Trinity, and the tower of Ivan the Great were cracked by the explosions ; there were many gaps in the walls of the Kremlin. It was a cruel, useless revenge, which might call down horrible reprisals on the wounded who were left behind.

The only road to Smolensk was opened by the battle of Viasma (3rd November), where Ney and Eugène, cut off from Davoust by Miloradovitch, defeated 40,000 Russians. At Smolensk they found the magazines empty (November 12). It

was there that hunger and 18 degrees of cold began to decimate the remains of the Grand Army. What it suffered is eloquently described in the memoirs and accounts of Ségur, Labaume, Brandt, Fezensac, Denniée, Chambray, Fain, René Bourgeois, Domergue, Madame Fusil (actress at the French theatre at Moscow), Madame de Choiseul-Gouffier, and Wilson. A repetition here would be superfluous.

At Krasnoé Napoleon was obliged to send the Guard to rescue Davoust; Ney, who commanded the rear-guard, was forced with a body of 6000 fighting men and 6000 stragglers to give battle to 60,000 Russians (19th November), but from Smolensk to Krasnoé 26,000 stragglers and wounded, 208 cannon, and 5000 carriages fell into the hands of Koutouzof.

The old general, who had collected all these trophies almost without a blow, triumphed in his success. They brought him a French flag, where amidst the names of immortal battles might be read that of Austerlitz. "What is that?" he asked "Austerlitz! It is true it was hot work at Austerlitz. But I wash my hands of it before the whole army. They are innocent of Austerlitz." This was at the camp of the Semenovski, and one of his officers exclaimed, "Hurrah for the Saviour of Russia!" "No," said Koutouzof; "listen, my friends! It is not to me that the honor belongs, but to the Russian soldier." And, throwing his cap into the air, he cried with all his strength, "Hurrah! hurrah for the brave Russian soldier!" Then, made communicative by the joy of success, he said to his officers, "Where does the son of a dog lie this night? I know already that he will not sleep quietly at Liady: Sesslavine has given me his word of honor. Listen, gentlemen, to a pretty fable that Krylof the good story-teller has sent me. A wolf entered into a kennel and tormented the dogs. As to his entrance, he had managed that very well; but it was quite another affair to get out! All the dogs were after him, and he was driven into a corner with his hairs standing on end, and saying, 'What is the matter, my friends? What is your grievance against me? I simply came to see what you were doing, and now I am going away.' The huntsman by this time had hastened to the spot, and replied, 'No, friend Wolf, you will not impose upon us! It is true you are an old rascal with gray hair, but I am also gray, and not more stupid than you.'" And, taking off his cap and showing his gray locks, Koutouzof continued, "You shall not go as you have come, for I have set my dogs on your traces" ('Memoirs of Jirkiévitch').

The situation of the French army was critical. In the north St. Cyr, after a bloody battle at Polotsk (19th October), had

evacuated the line of the Dwina. Macdonald was therefore left without support, expecting the desertion of some of his Prussians. In the south, Schwartzenberg had retreated on Warsaw, more occupied with Poland than with the safety of Napoleon. Thus, Wittgenstein on the north, and Tchitchagof on the south, could hang on the flanks of the Grand Army; both hoped to come up with it at the passage of the Berezina, and to enclose it between themselves and Koutouzof. Koutouzof himself reckoned on this, and restrained the ardor of the most impatient of the Cossacks, and of Wilson the Englishman, who said, "What a shame to let all these ghosts roam from their graves!" They all believed that a breath would scatter what had been the Grand Army, but Koutouzof would not hazard what he had gained in a battle; he left it to time, to hunger, and to winter. The cold was to reach 26 degrees.

In spite of Koutouzof, in spite of Wittgenstein, in spite of Tchitchagof, the ice, the breaking down of the bridges, the French army crossed the Berezina near Stoudianka (26th-29th November). The world knows what a price the passage cost, but still it was a great success, a victory of the desperate. Surrounded by 140,000 Russians, these 40,000 men with the Emperor managed to cross. A third among them were Poles. They continued their journey. At Smorgoni, Napoleon quitted the army to hasten to Paris, leaving the command to Murat. It stopped at Wilna, where some months previously splendid fêtes had received the restorer of Poland, the liberator of Lithuania. The starving soldiers rushed eagerly into the houses. Suddenly the cannon sounded on three sides: it was the three Russian armies which had come up. Ney, with his 4000 "braves," protected the flight of this tumultuous crowd. After his departure, there happened in Wilna a scene more frightful, perhaps, than the passage of the Berezina. Wilna was filled with sick and wounded French; nearly every house had its guests. The Jews, who were very numerous in this town, through fear of the Russians and hatred of the French and Polish conscriptions, threw these unhappy wretches out of the windows. The Jewish women could easily kick to death the men who had taken the bridge of Friedland or the great redoubt of Borodino. The Cossacks, first to enter the town, fell furiously upon the defenceless camp-followers, on the women and the sutlers. Then a frightful carnage took place. Thirty thousand corpses were burned on piles. The remains of the army, always protected by the intrepid Ney, at last recrossed the Niemen. They left behind them 330,000 French or all dead or prisoners.

CAMPAIGNS OF GERMANY AND FRANCE: TREATIES OF PARIS AND VIENNA.

After the extinction of the Grand Army, Koutouzof and the Chancellor Roumantsof were agreed not to tempt fortune, but simply to take the eastern provinces of Prussia and Poland, to make the Vistula the frontier of Russia, and to conclude a peace with Napoleon.

"But," says M. Bogdanovitch, "they did not reflect that Napoleon could easily repair his losses, thanks to the strong concentration of France in a confined space, to the rapidity with which French conscripts were taught, to the great magazines, and the vast financial resources. We, on the contrary, had to assemble our recruits over immense spaces, and our finances were in great disorder. Consequences proved that even with the help of Prussia, then exerting all her strength, we could not make head against Napoleon in the battles of Lützen and Bautzen. What then would have happened if the Prussians, irritated at our pretensions, had allied themselves with France? Obviously Napoleon, reinforced by Prussian armies and the Polish contingents, would have reappeared on the Dwina, and, profiting by the lesson of 1812, would have acted with more precaution and perhaps with more success." Alexander, therefore, resolved to find in the nations which were said to be oppressed by Napoleon the forces necessary to vanquish him, to make the security of Russia rest on the "liberation" of the whole of Europe; and following the example of Napoleon, who had provoked a general movement from West to East against Russia, to raise the nations from East to West against France. The burning of his palace and his capital rendered him inaccessible to all proposals of peace; Stein and the other German refugees did not allow him to forget his vengeance.

Whilst the Russian troops invaded Poland, and gave battle to the remnants of the Grand Army at Elbing and Kalisch; whilst Czartoryski entreated the Tzar to re-establish Poland, under the sceptre of the Grand Duke Michael, Alexander opened negotiations with Prussia. Frederick William negotiated at once both with him and Napoleon. He disavowed York of Wartenburg, whose defection at Tauroggen had given the signal for the Germanic movement, and who raised Eastern Prussia. He sent, however, Knesebeck, disguised as a merchant, to the head-quarters of the Tzar. Alexander in his turn sent him Stein and Anslett, who induced him to sign the Treaty

of Kalisch (February 28, 1813), by which the two princes formed an offensive and defensive alliance, "for the re-establishment of the Prussian monarch within limits which may assure the tranquility of the two States." Russia furnished 150,000 men, Prussia 80,000; they were only to treat with Napoleon in concert, and Russia was to try to obtain a subsidy from England, for Prussia. It was only on the 17th of March, when Wittgenstein had made his entry into Berlin, that the King of Prussia declared war against Napoleon, and put forth proclamations "To my people! to my army!" On the 19th of March, when Blücher entered Saxony, the two princes concluded the convention of Breslau: they decided to summon all the princes and all the people of Germany to hasten to set free their common country; the princes who refused within a specified time were to be deprived of their territories. The Confederation of the Rhine was broken: a central council of government was created to administer the countries which were to be reconquered, from Saxony to Holland, to recollect the revenues assigned from that time to the allied Powers, and everywhere to organize levies.

Napoleon had displayed his ordinary activity; he had set on foot 450,000 men; his good cities of Paris, Lyons, Rome, Amsterdam, and Hamburg had made him patriotic presents of thousands of horses. The Confederation of the Rhine, with the exception of Saxony, which was at that time being invaded, prepared contingents. It was with 180,000 men and 350 guns that Napoleon reappeared on the line of the Elbe, and he might well count on crossing it, for in his strong places on the Vistula and the Oder—Dantzic, Thorn, Plock, Modlin, Kustrin, Glogau, Settin, and Stralsund—he had left garrisons amounting to nearly an equal number. The weak point of this new army was the great number of conscripts, the youth of the soldiers, and the feebleness of the cavalry. The veterans, the innumerable squadrons of Murat, were buried beneath the snows of Russia.

On the 2nd of May, at Lutzen, and on the 20th of May, at Bautzen, Napoleon gained two brilliant victories, but could not pursue the vanquished for want of cavalry. He entered Dresden and re-established his ally the King of Saxony; even Silesia was entered. In the north Davoust had recaptured Hamburg and Lübeck, which an insurrection had lost to the French; the guerillas who had shown themselves in Westphalia and Hanover had been driven back.

The King of Prussia was singularly discouraged. Never able to put aside the recollections of 1806, he remarked after Lützen, "It is just as it was at Auerstadt." "The loss of these two battles," says M. Bogdanovitch, "had loosened the bonds

of the alliance. The Prussian generals complained that their country was ravaged by the Russians as well as by the French. The ideas of Barclay de Tolly and most of the Russian leaders did not agree with those of Blücher and his officers. In proportion as the Russians increased the distance from their country, did they find it difficult to get ammunition, and even food. In all the space included between the Elbe and the Vistula there were as yet no magazines. The soldiers were badly clothed and badly shod. The habitual discipline of the troops relaxed. The condition of the Prussian army was no better." Alexander and even the King of Prussia might say to themselves that their stakes were heavy.

It was then that the Emperor Francis interfered and persuaded his son-in-law to sign the armistice of Pleswitz, of which Napoleon said, "If the allies do not really wish for peace, this truce may be fatal to us." During this time the Russian army was in fact re-organized; Prussia created its Landwehr; the Prince of Sweden became a member of the Coalition for the promise of Norway; Moreau, another Frenchman, brought his talents to the help of the allies; Dantzig, Stettin, Küstrin, and Glogau were besieged. A piece of exciting news reached Germany. Spain was lost to Napoleon, and the English threatened the Bidassoa. As to Austria, her tendency to defection showed itself more and more; after Lützen, she had sent at the same time Stadion to Alexander, and Bubna to Napoleon. She prolonged negotiations. Discontented with her attitude, Napoleon had tried in vain to approach Alexander; Caulaincourt was not received.

Austria at last transmitted to Napoleon the conditions of the allies: 1. The destruction of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and the partition of Poland between the three courts of the North; 2. The re-establishment of Prussia, as far as possible, within the limits of 1805; 3. Restitution to Austria of her Illyrian provinces; 4. Restoration of the Hanseatic towns; 5. Dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine. Napoleon manifested the most lively irritation, but nevertheless consented that a congress should assemble at Prague to discuss the conditions. He gave his instructions to Narbonne and Caulaincourt. To punish Austria's disloyalty, he determined that "not one single village" should be ceded to her; with Russia he wished for a glorious peace, but on the principle of *uti possidetis*. Pretensions so opposite could not be reconciled, and the allies increased their claims still further, by demanding that the Italian provinces should be restored Austria, and Holland abandoned. When Napoleon finally consented to sacrifice the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the Illyrian

provinces, Austria declared that it was too late, and that she had entered into the Coalition (August 15).

The allies had now three armies in Germany: that of the North, under Bernadotte, encamped on the Havel, with 130,000 men (Russians, Swedes, and Prussians); that of Silesia, under Blücher, posted on the Oder, numbering 200,000 men (Russians and Prussians); that of Bohemia, under Schwartzemberg, consisted of 130,000 Austrians and Russians, and had taken up its position in the neighborhood of Prague. Thus of the three commanders-in-chief not one was Russian. The Grand Duke Constantine, Barclay, Ostermann and Ermolof served Schwartzemberg, Sacken under Blücher, and Wintzingerode under Bernadotte. The old Koutouzof had died at Buntzlau during the summer campaign.

On the other hand, the Emperor of Russia, before whom the pale sovereigns of Austria and Prussia were eclipsed, seemed to direct the armies and the diplomacy of the Coalition. It was he who to the end was to be the firmest against Napoleon, the most convinced of the necessity of his downfall, and who, after having transported the war from Russia to Germany, would transport it from Germany to France.

To all these forces Napoleon opposed the 30,000 men of Davoust who occupied Hamburg, 70,000 under Oudinot at Wittenberg, and the 180,000 which he had concentrated under his hand from Dresden to Liegnitz, with Vandamme, St. Cyr, Ney, Macdonald, Mortier, and Murat. He fought a great battle with the army of Bohemia in the very faubourgs of Dresden (26th and 27th of August), in which the latter was forced to fall back in disorder on Bohemia, with the loss of 40,000 men and 200 guns. The allies henceforth resolved to avoid all encounters with Napoleon, and only to fight his lieutenants.

Napoleon had posted Vandamme, with 25,000 men, in the defiles of Peterswald, to bar the way to the fugitives, and in the events which followed forgot to recall him. Vandamme descended as far as Töplitz, to cut off the allies, but he came up with the Russian Guard, which made a desperate resistance; even the musicians, the drummers, and the clerks demanded muskets. Ostermann lost one arm. Vandamme, still without orders, retreated to Külm. He there found himself attacked and surrounded by forces four times as numerous as his own, and was taken with half of his *corps* (30th of August). Külm was almost entirely a Russian victory, due above all to Barclay, Ostermann, and Ermolof. It cost dear, for the Russians lost 6000 men, 2800 of whom belonged to the Guard. In his joy Alexander covered the Preobrajenski, the Ismaïlovski, the sailors, and the

chasseurs of the Guard with decorations and caused St. George's cross to be attached to their standards. At last the Coalition had gained a success. Nearly at the same time Macdonald was defeated by Blücher on the Katzbach; Oudinot at Gross-Beeren, and Ney at Dennewitz, by Bernadotte. The Cossacks threw themselves into Westphalia, and Tchernichef took Cassel and the archives of King Jerome.

From that time the three armies pressed closer to Napoleon. Bennigsen had just brought the Russian army a reinforcement of 60,000 men. The French army, reduced to 160,000 men, found itself surrounded by 300,000 allies and 1200 guns; these formed a half-circle round her, and only left free the way to the West. Then Napoleon, whose *corps d'armée* were stationed at each gate of Leipzig, so as to command all the routes, fought the celebrated "battle of nations," which lasted four days. Alexander showed great personal bravery, remaining almost under the fire of the French batteries, and hastening the arrival of reinforcements on the most threatened places. On the 16th of October the French still maintained their position, on the 17th they watched, while the allies reached their maximum of concentration. On the 18th the battle began with renewed fury: the cannonade was more terrible than that of Borodino, says Miloradovitch; it was on this day that the Saxons deserted. On the 19th the French army began to retreat towards the west, Victor and Augereau at the head; Ney, Marmont, the Guard, and Napoleon in the centre, while Lauriston, Macdonald, and Poniatovski formed the rear-guard. It was this rear-guard that was destroyed by the premature explosion of the bridges over the Elster. Macdonald saved himself by swimming; Lauriston was captured with 30,000 men and 150 guns; Poniatovski was drowned. With him perished the hope of the regeneration of Poland by the hand of Napoleon: intrepid, disinterested, and patriotic, Poniatovski did not care for the staff of a marshal of France: he wished only to remain "the chief of the Poles."

The Prussians, who detested Saxony, wished to take the town of Leipzig by assault. Alexander had to interfere, and managed to negotiate a capitulation with the remains of the French troops. As to the King of Saxony, a prisoner in his own palace, Alexander received him coldly; he refused to treat with him under the pretext that he had rejected the appeal made by the Coalition to the German princes, and had persisted in his devotion to Napoleon. Perhaps he also wished to punish the last Saxon prince who had reigned over Poland. We shall see, besides, that the schemes of Alexander with regard to this part of Europe did not allow him to hold out any hopes to the **King of Saxony.**

The battle of Leipzig was the overthrow of the French rule in Germany; there only remained, as evidence of what they had lost, 150,000 men, garrisons of the fortresses of the Vistula, the Oder, and the Elbe. Each success of the allies had been marked by the desertion of one of the peoples that had furnished its contingent to the Grand Army of 1812: after Prussia, Austria; at Leipzig the Saxons: the French had not been able to regain the Rhine except by passing over the bodies of the Bavarians at Hanau. Baden, Wurtemberg, Hesse, and Darmstadt declared their defection at nearly the same time; the sovereigns were still hesitating whether to separate themselves from Napoleon, when their people and regiments, worked upon by the German patriots, had already passed into the allied camp. Jerome Bonaparte had again quitted Cassel; Denmark found itself forced to adhere to the Coalition.

Napoleon had retired to the left bank of the Rhine. Would Alexander cross this natural frontier of revolutionary France? "Convinced," says M. Bogdanovitch, "by the experience of many years, that neither losses inflicted on Napoleon, nor treaties concluded with him, could check his insatiable ambition, Alexander would not stop at setting free the involuntary allies of France, and resolved to pursue the war till he had overthrown his enemy." The allied sovereigns found themselves reunited at Frankfort, and an immediate march to Paris was discussed. Alexander, Stein, Blücher, Gneisenau, and all the Prussians were on the side of decisive action. The Emperor Francis and Metternich only desired Napoleon to be weakened, as his downfall would expose Austria to another danger, the preponderance of Russia on the Continent. Bernadotte insisted on Napoleon's dethronement, with the ridiculous design of appropriating the crown of France, traitor as he was to her cause. England would have preferred a solid and immediate peace to a war which would exhaust her in subsidies, and augment her already enormous debt. These divergencies, these hesitations, gave Napoleon time to strengthen his position. After Hanau, in the opinion of Ney, "the allies might have counted their stages to Paris."

Napoleon had re-opened the negotiations. The relinquishment of Italy (when Murat on his side negotiated for the preservation of his kingdom of Naples), of Holland, of Germany, and of Spain, and the confinement of France between her natural boundaries of the Rhine and the Alps; such were the "Conditions of Frankfort." Napoleon sent an answer to Metternich, "that he consented to the opening of a congress at Mannheim: that the conclusion of a peace which would insure the indepen-

dence of all the nations of the earth had always been the aim of his policy." This reply seems evasive, but could the proposals of the allies have been serious? Encouraged by disloyal Frenchmen, they published the declaration of Frankfort, by which they affirmed "that they did not make war with France, but against the preponderance which Napoleon had long exercised beyond the limits of his empire." Deceitful assurance, too obvious snare, which could only take in a nation weary of war, enervated by twenty-two years of sterile victories, and at the end of its resources! During this time Alexander, with the deputies of the Helvetian Diet summoned at Frankfort, discussed the basis of a new Swiss Confederation. Holland was already raised by the partisans of the house of Orange, and entered by the Prussians. The campaign of France began.

Alexander issued at Freiburg a proclamation to his troops: "Your heriism has led you from the banks of the Oka to those of the Rhine; it will conduct you still further; we will cross the Rhine, we will penetrate to the territory of the people against whom we have sustained such a fierce and bloody struggle. Already we have saved and glorified our country; we have given back to Europe her liberty and her independence. Oh that peace and tranquillity may reign over the whole earth! that each State may prosper under its own government and its own laws! By invading our empire, the enemy has done us much harm, and has therefore been subjected to a terrible chastisement. The anger of God has overthrown him. Do not let us imitate him. The merciful God does not love cruel and inhuman men. Let us forget the evil he has wrought; let us carry to our foes, not vengeance and hate, but friend hip, and a hand extended in peace. The glory of Russia is to hurl her armed foe to the earth, but to load with benefits her disarmed enemy and the peaceful populations." He refused to receive Caulaincourt at Freiburg, declaring that he would only treat in France. "Let us spare the French negotiator the trouble of the journey," he said to Metternich. "It does not seem to me a matter of indifference to the allied sovereigns, whether the peace with France is signed on this side of the Rhine, or on the other, in the very heart of France. Such an historical event is well worth a change of quarters."

Without counting the armies of Italy and the Pyrenees, Napoleon had now a mere handful of troops, 80,000 men, spread from Nimeguen to Bâle, to resist 500,000 allies. The army of the North (Wintzingerode) invaded Holland, Belgium, and the Rhenish provinces; the army of Silesia (Plücher) crossed the Rhine between Mannheim and Coblenz, and entered Nancy;

the army of Bohemia (Schwartzenberg) passed through Switzerland, and advanced on Troyes, where the Royalists demanded the restoration of the Bourbons. Napoleon was still able to bar for some time the way to his capital. He first attacked the army of Silesia; he defeated the vanguard, the Russians of Sacken, at St. Didier, and Blucher at Brienne; but at La Rothière he encountered the formidable masses of the Silesian and Bohemian armies, and after a fierce battle (1st February, 1814) had to fall back on Troyes. After this victory had secured their junction, the two armies separated again, the one to go down the Marne, the other the Seine, with the intention of reuniting at Paris. Napoleon profited by this mistake. He threw himself on the left flank of the army of Silesia, near Champeaubert, where he dispersed the troops of Olsoufief and Poltaratski, inflicted on them a loss of 2500 men, and took the generals prisoners. At Montmirail, in spite of the heroism of Zigrote and Lapoukhine, he defeated Sacken; the Russians alone lost 2800 men and five guns (11th February). At Château Thierry, he defeated Sacken and York reunited, and again the Russians lost 1500 men and five guns. At Vauchamp it was the turn of Blücher, who lost 2000 Russians, 4000 Prussians, and fifteen guns. The army of Silesia was in terrible disorder. "The peasants, exasperated by the disorder inseparable from a retreat, and excited by exaggerated rumors of French successes, took up arms, and refused supplies. The soldiers suffered both from cold and hunger, Champagne affording no wood for bivouac fires. When the weather became milder, their shoes wore out, and the men, obliged to make forced marches with bare feet, were carried by hundreds into the hospitals of the country" (Bogdanovitch).

Whilst the army of Silesia retreated in disorder on the army of the North, Napoleon, with 50,000 soldiers full of enthusiasm, turned on that of Bohemia, crushed the Bavarians and Russians at Mormans, the Wurtembergers at Montereau, the Prussians at Méry: these Prussians made part of the army of Blucher, who had detached a corps to hang on the rear of Napoleon. This campaign made a profound impression on the allies. Castle-reagh expressed, in Alexander's presence, the opinion that peace should be made before they were driven across the Rhine. The military chiefs began to feel uneasy. Sesslavine sent news from Joigny that Napoleon had 180,000 men at Troyes. A general insurrection of the eastern provinces was expected in the rear of the allies.

It was the firmness of Alexander which maintained the Coalition, it was the military energy of Blucher which saved it.

Soon after his disasters he received reinforcements from the army of the North, and took the offensive against the marshals; then, hearing of the arrival of Napoleon at La Ferté Gaucher, he retreated in great haste, finding an unexpected refuge at Soissons, which had just been taken by the army of the North. At Craonne (March 7) and at Laon (10th to 12th March), with 100,000 men against 30,000, and with strong positions, he managed to repulse all the attacks of Napoleon. At Craonne, however, the Russian loss amounted to 5000 men, the third of their effective force. The battle of Laon cost them 4000 men. Meanwhile, De Saint Priest, a general in Alexander's service, had taken Rheims by assault, but was dislodged by Napoleon after a fierce struggle, where the *émigré* commander was badly wounded, and 4000 of his men were killed (13th March).

The Congress of Châtillon-sur-Seine was opened on the 28th of February. Russia was represented by Razoumovski and Nesselrode, Napoleon by Caulaincourt, Austria by Stadion and Metternich. The conditions proposed to Napoleon were the reduction of France to its frontiers of 1792, and the right of the allies to dispose, without reference to him, of the reconquered countries. Germany was to be a confederation of independent States, Italy to be divided into free States, Spain to be restored to Ferdinand, and Holland to the house of Orange. "Leave France smaller than I found her? Never!" said Napoleon. Alexander and the Prussians would not hear of a peace which left Napoleon on the throne. Still, however, they negotiated. Austria and England were both agreed not to push him to extremities, and many times proposed to treat. After Napoleon's great success against Blücher, Castlereagh declared for peace. "It would not be a peace," cried the Emperor of Russia; "it would be a truce which would not allow us to disarm one moment. I cannot come 400 leagues every day to your assistance. No peace, as long as Napoleon is on the throne." Napoleon, in his turn, intoxicated by his success, enjoined Caulaincourt only to treat on the bases of Frankfort—natural frontiers. After Montereau he forbade him to treat at all without authority. It was then that he addressed a letter to his father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria, trying to make him ashamed of his alliance with the "Tatars of the desert, who scarcely deserve the name of men," and tempting him by the offer of a separate and advantageous peace. He afterwards again permitted Caulaincourt to treat, but only on the bases of Frankfort. Caulaincourt likewise demanded that Eugène should be maintained in Italy, Elisa Borghese at Lucca, the sons of Louis Napoleon at Berg, and the King of Saxony at Warsaw. These conditions proved

unacceptable ; and, as fortune returned to the allies, the congress was dissolved (19th of March). The Bourbon princes were already in France ; Louis XVIII. was on the point of being proclaimed.

Alexander, tired of seeing the armies of Bohemia and Silesia fly in turn before thirty or forty thousand French, caused the allies to adopt the fatal plan of a march on Paris, which was executed in eight days. Blücher and Schwartzenberg united, with 200,000 men, were to bear down all opposition on their passage. The first act in the drama was the battle of Arcis-sur-Aube, where the Russians took six guns from Napoleon. The latter conceived a bold scheme, which perhaps might have saved him if Paris could have resisted, but which was his ruin. He threw himself on the rear of the allied army, abandoning to them the route to Paris, but reckoning on raising Eastern France, and cutting off their retreat to the Rhine. The allies, uneasy for one moment, were reassured by an intercepted letter of Napoleon's, and by the letters of the Parisian royalists, which revealed to them the weakness of the capital. "Dare all !" writes Talleyrand to them. They, in their turn, deceived Napoleon, by causing him to be followed by a troop of cavalry, continued their march, defeated Marmont and Mortier, crushed the National Guards of Pauthod (battle of La Fère-Champenoise), and arrived in sight of Paris.

Barclay de Tolly, forming the centre, first attacked the plateau of Romainville, defended by Marmont ; on his left, the Prince of Wurtemberg threatened Vincennes ; and on his right, Blücher deployed before Montmartre, which was defended by Mortier. The heights of Chaumont and those of Montmartre were taken ; Marmont and Mortier with Moncy were thrown back on the ramparts. Marmont obtained an armistice from Colonel Orlof, to treat for the capitulation of Paris. King Joseph, the Empress Marie-Louise, and all the Imperial Government had already fled to the Loire. Paris was recommended "to the generosity of the allied monarchs" ; the army could retire on the road to Orleans. Such was the battle of Paris ; it had cost, according to M. Bogdanovitch, 8400 men to the allies, and 4000 to the French (30th March).

In the morning of the 31st, Alexander received the deputies of Paris. He promised that the allied armies should behave with the utmost propriety in Paris, that the security of the capital should be confided to the National Guards, and that the inhabitants should be asked for provisions only. He made his entry between the King of Prussia and Schwartzenberg (the Emperor of Austria being absent) ; but the Parisians had only eyes for

him, the only question being, "Which is the Emperor Alexander?" The allied troops maintained a strict discipline, and were not quartered on the inhabitants. Alexander had not come as a friend of the Bourbons—the fiercest enemy of Napoleon was least bitter against the French; he intended leaving them the choice of their government. He had not favored any of the intrigues of the *émigrés*, and had scornfully remarked to Jomini, "What are the Bourbons to me?" He reproved by a witty speech the baseness of a Royalist: "We have waited for your Majesty a long while." "I should have come earlier if I had not been prevented by the bravery of your soldiers," said Alexander. He sent a detachment of the Semenovski to protect the column of the Grand Army against the attempts of the *émigré* Maubreuil. He repeated in the senate that he did not make war on France, that he was the friend of the French, and that he would protect the freedom of discussion, which tended to the establishment of liberal and lasting institutions, in accordance with the progress of the century. He yielded when Talleyrand assured him that "the republic was an impossibility, the regency and Bernadotte an intrigue, the Bourbons alone a principle." On the 2nd of April the senate proclaimed the dethronement of Napoleon; on the 11th he abdicated at Fontainebleau. Alexander had promised Caulaincourt to defend the interests of his ally at Tilsit; he chiefly contributed to secure him the sovereignty of the Isle of Elba. Count Schouvalof was ordered to accompany the fallen Emperor to this place of exile. "I confide to you," said Alexander, "a great mission; you will answer to me with your head for a single hair which falls from that of Napoleon." He confessed to Caulaincourt that the imbecile conduct of the Royalists did not seem to him less dangerous for the peace of Europe than the unreasonable wars of the Empire.

Everyone knows what the French lost by the first Treaty of Paris. On the 3rd of May, Louis XVIII. made his entry into the Louvre. He affected, even with Alexander, the lofty ceremonial of the ancient court; only gave him a chair, while he seated himself on a throne; preceded his guests, the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia, to the dining-hall, and, seated in the place of honor, caused himself to be helped before them. Alexander paid no attention to these points. Like his ancestor, Peter the Great, he inspected with interest the monuments and great institutions of the capital. It was at Vienna that the destinies of Europe were to be regulated.

At the Congress of Vienna Alexander was represented by Razoumovski, Nesselrode, Capo d'Istria, and Stackelberg; he

had confided the discussion of Polish affairs to Czartoryski and Anslett. On one point he and his ally, the King of Prussia, were agreed; the latter only asked to get rid of his Polish provinces, and Alexander desired to unite the whole of Poland under his own sceptre, and to fulfil the promise he had made to Czartoryski and to the gallant remnant of the legions of the Vistula. In exchange, Prussia demanded Saxony, whose king was to receive an indemnity elsewhere. We cannot see what interest the Restoration could have secured by sacrificing Poland to the King of Saxony, and by opposing a combination which, by establishing this prince on the left bank of the Rhine, would have given France a neighbor infinitely less dangerous than Prussia. Talleyrand, however, only used the influence that he had acquired in the congress to combat the views of Russia and Prussia, and to support the resistance of England and Austria. On the 21st of October Alexander took a decisive step: he ordered Prince Reppine, Governor of Saxony, to hand over that country to the Prussian government, and to announce its incorporation with the territories of Frederick William III. By his orders the Tzarevitch Constantine entered Poland, assembled an army of 79,000 men, and summoned Poland to the defence of the national integrity. Then Talleyrand, with the consent of Castlereagh, concocted a scheme of alliance between France, Austria, and England. This convention was signed January 3, 1815, but remained secret. Discord reigned in the Congress of Vienna; Europe was on the eve of a general war. In one way or another France would regain her place in Europe; but was it on the side of England and Austria that her interests were to be found, Razoumovski having formally proposed to establish the King of Saxony in her Rhenish provinces?

At last the storm rolled away: Alexander declared that he would content himself with only a part of Poland, and Prussia that she would be satisfied with only a third of Saxony, with 700,000 inhabitants. The other decisions of the Congress of Vienna—the organization of the Germanic Confederation, of Italy, and the kingdoms of the Low Countries—belong to general history. Nevertheless, the formation of Germany into a confederation in which the clients of Russia, the allies of the imperial house, enjoyed an independent existence, and a considerable influence on the diet, was far more advantageous to Russian power and security than the state of things resulting from the war of 1870. Poland was again divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria: this was the fourth partition. The treaties of Vienna, however, provided that “the Poles, the subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia respectively, should be given a

representation and national institutions ; whose political existence was to be regulated in the way that the government to which each belonged should judge the most suitable." Cracow was pronounced free and independent. In all these treaties Russia only gained 3,000,000 of souls (kingdom of Poland), whilst Prussia obtained 5,392,000 (Western Poland, Saxony, Swedish Pomerania, Westphalia, and the Rhenish provinces), and Austria 10,000,000 (Gallicia, Germany, and Italy). The Power which had struck hardest for the "freedom of Europe" was the most poorly recompensed.

The event which had suddenly smoothed the difficulties of the Saxo-Polish conflict, and hastened the signing of the treaties, was the news of the return of Napoleon to Paris. The bad government of the Bourbons had realized the unfavorable predictions of Alexander. The sovereigns and plenipotentiaries at Vienna did not hesitate for a moment ; Alexander was resolved to pursue the common enemy to his fall, "down to his last man and his last rouble." Bonaparte's couriers, the bearers of pacific assurances, were arrested on the French frontier, and were prevented from reaching the sovereigns. In vain did Napoleon try to sow mistrust between the allies, and to win over Alexander by sending him a copy of the convention signed between Talleyrand, England, and Austria on the subject of the Saxo-Polish affair. "The only result of this movement was to irritate Alexander a little more against the Bourbons and Talleyrand. Napoleon did not profit by it, and France suffered."* Out of the 800,000 men that the Coalition had prepared to march against France, the Russian contingent amounted to 167,000 : Barclay de Tolly, field-marshal since the battle of Paris, was commander-in-chief ; under him were Doktourof, Raievski, Sacken, Lange-ron, Sabanéef, Ermolof, Wintzingerode, and Pahlen. In spite of the news of Waterloo and the abdication of Napoleon, the Russians still invaded France. When Alexander reached Paris, he found Blücher already established there, treating it as a conquered city, exacting a tribute of a hundred millions, and preparing to blow up the bridge of Jena. Alexander was hailed as a deliverer by the inhabitants, who were terrified by the Prussian violence. He protested against the outrageous demands of the Germans, and found support in the wise policy of Wellington. Both felt that to restore the Bourbons to a greatly weakened France would be to render this unlucky dynasty still more powerless. They could not this time prevent the pillage of the museums, but the exactions of Russia and England were relatively

* Albert Sorel, '*La Traité de Paris*.'

the most moderate. There was a reason for this: these two sovereigns understood that in the regulation of European affairs, and especially of the affairs of the East, France would be an ally in the future, an obstacle to the exaggerated pretensions of either side, at once "a menace and a protection;" she was essential to the equilibrium of Europe. On the other hand, Alexander did not care to obtain for Germany the "territorial guarantees" which she demanded. "He wished," says Sybel, "to allow some danger to exist on this side, so that Germany, having need of Russia, might thus remain dependent." "A Russian diplomat," says Pertz, "avowed ingeniously that it was not the policy of Russia to give Germany secure frontiers against France." Capo d'Istria said openly to Stein that it was Russia's interest to strengthen France, so that the other Powers should not employ all their forces against Russia. If Stein used all his influence with Alexander to cause the claims of the Russian patriots to prevail, other influences were at work to oppose him. First there was the Duc de Richelieu, who had been the governor of New Russia, the founder of Odessa, and whom Alexander desired to see replace the wily Talleyrand with Louis XVIII. Then came Capo d'Istria, Pozzo di Borgo, and his Greek advisers, who, seeing the Eastern question appearing on the horizon, wished to secure for the Hellenic interest an alliance with Russia against the narrow policy of Austria and England. Last came the mystic Madame de Krüdener, who placed before Alexander the ideas of absolute justice, of greatness of soul, of forgiveness for offences, of universal brotherhood, and who in her drawing-room, one of the most brilliant in Paris, surrounded the Emperor with every one France could boast who was brilliant and seductive—Chateaubriand, Benjamin Constant, Madame Recamier, and the Duchesses de Duras and d'Escar.

It is an incontestable fact, that of all the allies Russia showed herself the least grasping. Here is the table of propositions made officially by each member of the Coalition: Russia—temporary occupation of France, war indemnity; England—the same conditions, and the return of the frontiers to those of 1790; Austria—the same, *plus* the dismantling of the fortresses of Flanders, Lorraine, and Alsace; Prussia—occupation, indemnity, return to the frontier of 1790, cession of the fortresses of Flanders, Lorraine, and Alsace. The secondary States of Germany and the Low Countries demanded the cession of Flanders, Lorraine, Alsace, and Savoy. "Such," says M. Sorel, "were the *official* propositions; the *oral* demands were quite another thing." "Look here, my dear Duke," said Alexander to Richelieu in 1818, "this is France as my allies wished to make her;

they only wanted my signature, and that I promise you they shall want always." The map that he showed the Duke presented a line of frontiers which would deprive France of Flanders, Metz, Alsace, and the east of Franche-Comté. We do not mention Carlovitz (who proposed to Stein that France should be divided into *Langué d'Oc* and *Langué d'Oïl*, after being robbed of her Flemish- and German-speaking provinces), nor the demoniacs who clamored for Burgundy and the ancient kingdom of Arles.

Richelieu had just succeeded Talleyrand as Minister of Foreign Affairs. He found himself in the presence of a collective ultimatum of the Powers, demanding the cession of Savoy, Condé, Philippeville, Marienburg, Givet, Charlemont, Landau, Fort-Joux, Fort-l'Ecluse, the demolition of Huningue, the payment of eight hundred million francs, and the occupation of the north and east for seven years. He discussed this ultimatum point by point. "The Russians," writes Gagern, "without openly opposing them, labor secretly for the modification of the articles." Richelieu ended by saving Condé, Givet, Charlemont, the forts of Joux and l'Ecluse, and obtained the reduction of the indemnity to seven hundred millions, of the occupation to five years, with the addition of this clause, that "at the end of three years the sovereigns reserved to themselves to cut short the term of occupation, if the state of France permitted it" (November 20, 1815). Alexander left Paris. In the army of occupation Champagne and Lorraine were entrusted to Russia; Voron-zof commanded 27,000 men and 84 guns; Alopeus had charge of the political affairs, and both lived at Nancy. Nicholas Tourguénief, a member of the official staff, has given us some curious details about the Russians in Lorraine.

KINGDOM OF POLAND: CONGRESSES AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE,
CARLSBAD, LAYBACH, AND VERONA.

With regard to Poland, Alexander accomplished more loyally and more completely than the two other co-partitioners, the somewhat vague obligations imposed on them by the Treaty of Vienna. After the farewells of Fontainebleau, Dombrowski, commander-in-chief of the legions of the Vistula, placed his troops at the disposal of the Emperor Alexander, from whom the Poles hoped for the restoration of their country. The Tzar assigned Posen as their place of assembly, and gave them his brother Constantine as head. On the 11th of December, 1814, the Tzarévitch addressed them a proclamation in French: "Gather around your banners; arm yourselves to defend your country

and to maintain your political existence. Whilst this august monarch prepares the happy future of your country, show yourselves ready to second his noble efforts, even at the price of your blood. The same chiefs who for twenty years have led you on the path of glory, will know how to bring you back to it. The Emperor appreciates your courage. In the midst of the disasters of a fatal war, he has watched your honor survive events for which you were not responsible. Great feats of arms have distinguished you in a struggle whose cause was often not your own. Now that your efforts are consecrated to your country, you will be invincible. . . . Thus you will reach that happy position which others may promise, but the Emperor alone can secure to you." This proclamation, by which Russia adopted all the glories of the ancient army of Warsaw, was the most magnificent of amnesties. In a letter of Alexander to Oginski, President of the Polish Senate, dated the 30th of April, 1815, he takes the title of King of Poland, and speaks of the efforts he had made to "soften the rigors of separation, and even to obtain for the Poles all possible enjoyment of their national institutions."

On the 21st of June, 1815, the cannon at Warsaw announced the restoration of Poland. As a delicate attention to Polish loyalty, the act of the King of Saxony's abdication was published, as well as the manifesto of the new King of Poland. The army, assembled in the plain of Vola, took the oath of allegiance. The warlike blazon of the kingdom was wedded to the arms of Russia. The new constitution was almost the reproduction of that of the Napoleonic grand duchy. It contained a senate and a chamber of deputies: the senate was composed of bishops, voïevodes, castellans, nominated as life members by the king; the chamber, of seventy-seven noble deputies, and fifty-one deputies of towns. The necessary qualification was property rated at fifteen roubles for the deputies, and 300 for a senator; the former must have reached the age of thirty, the latter that of thirty-five. The electors of the deputies were proprietors above the age of twenty-one, priests, professors, learned men, and artists. The diet was to meet every two years, and to sit thirty days. Laws had to be passed by both chambers, and sanctioned by the king. The constitution declared the liberty of the press, with the exception of one law which restrained its abuses. Amongst the responsible ministers, we find some men of the former *régime*. Sobolevski was Minister of Finance, Matuszevicz of the Interior, Stanislas Potoçki of Education, Vavrjevski of Justice, Viéléhorski of War. The *namiestnik*, or viceroy, was Zaïontchek, a veteran of the Napoleonic wars.

Constantine, the Emperor's brother, was commander-in-chief of the Polish army; Novossiltsof, imperial commissioner. They had thus taken the places of Poniatovski, leader of the Poles, and of Bignon, the envoy of Napoleon. The ministers formed the council of government, and, united to the principal dignitaries, they formed the general council of the kingdom. Czartoryski could not console himself for not having been chosen *namiestnik*.

Alexander's mystic notions soon, however, began to obscure his liberal ideas. The act of the Holy Alliance, which, inoffensive though it was, made such a noise in Europe, is a singular monument and a curious proof of his temper at this period. The King of Prussia signed it willingly, the Emperor of Austria without knowing why, Louis XVIII. surely with a smile; Castlereagh refused his signature "to a simple declaration of biblical principles, which would have carried England back to the epoch of the Saints, of Cromwell, and the Roundheads." Notwithstanding, Russia had then in Europe a preponderating influence, out of proportion with her real strength and the number of her army. But it was she who had given the signal for the struggle against Napoleon, and had shown the most perseverance in pursuit of the common end. Alone, she could never have crushed the man of destiny, but without her example the States of Europe would never have dreamed of arming against him. Her skilful leniency towards France finished the work begun by the war. Alexander was incontestably the head of the European areopagus. Nicholas had to commit many faults before Russia lost this place, which *prestige* and public opinion had given her.

Alexander's influence showed itself in the congresses in which the European States tried to arrange together the affairs of the Continent. The first in date after the Congress of Vienna is that of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), which regulated the relations of Europe with France; this country appeared sufficiently quiet for the occupation to cease. This was not the fault of the Court of Artois and of the "pavillon de Marsan;" but their famous secret note only made Alexander indignant. In a visit which he paid to Louis XVIII., he said, "If any of my subjects had committed a similar crime, I should have put him to death." Richelieu had gained his object, the entrance of France into the European assembly.

The second congress was that of Carlsbad (1819), where the tone of mind prevalent in Germany was discussed. The disloyalty of the German princes, who had forgotten the promises of liberty made in 1813; that of Frederick William III., who

had caused himself to be absolved from his engagements by the Prussian bishop Eylert; and the reactionary influence of Metternich on the Diet of Ratisbon, had provoked a general stir in German public opinion. The young men and University professors, the liberal writers, and the former members of the Tugenbund, demanded the promised constitutions. The ecstatic demonstrations of the German students, and the murder of Kotzebue by Maurice Sand, shook all the cabinets. It is from this moment that Alexander's character seems to change: the liberator of Europe, the champion of liberal ideas, submits in his turn to the influence of Metternich; he subscribes to measures which have for their aim to deprive Germany of the liberties which he himself had promised in 1813. The press is subjected to a rigorous *censure*; the Universities are closely watched and the liberal professors expelled; and the patriots of the war of independence, and Alexander's companions in arms, are obliged to seek refuge in the France they had despoiled.

Soon the stir in men's minds spread through Europe. Spain rose and imposed a constitution on her king; this constitution became an object of envy to the neighboring peoples; then broke out the revolutions of Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont. As champion of divine right Alexander now defended the detestable kinglets of the South, Ferdinand VII. of Spain and Ferdinand IV. of Naples, who had perjured themselves to their people. He who wished to give Poland a constitution, and to guarantee that of France, opposed to the utmost the constitutional measures of Spain and Italy. By an aberration similar to that of Paul I. he thought himself obliged to interfere in these remote regions, about questions foreign to the interests of Russia. He convoked a congress at Troppau (1820), then transferred it to Laybach, so that the King of Naples might more easily be present at it, be absolved from his constitutional oath, and provoke vengeance against his too credulous subjects. Alexander was on the point of sending an army to Naples under the command of Ermolof, the hero of Borodino and of Klm; but Austria, always uneasy at Russian interference in Italy, hastily despatched Frimont, who put an end to the Neapolitan and Piedmontese constitutions. The Russian flag thus escaped the doubtful honor of protecting, as in 1799, the bloody Neapolitan reaction, and of sanctioning the vengeance of Austria against Pellico, Pallavicini, and Maroncelli. Ermolof rejoiced at it. "There is no example," he writes, "of a general appointed to command an expedition being so delighted as I am that there is no war. It is by no means advantageous to one's reputation to appear in Italy after Souvorof and Bonaparte, who will be the admiration of future centuries."

In 1822 the Congress of Verona took place. Russia sent, like the other Powers, a threatening note to the constitutional cabinet of Madrid. The latter returned a proud answer; it was the French army which was entrusted to carry out the wishes of Europe beyond the Pyrenees.

Still graver events were at hand in the East. The Balkan peninsula, almost entirely peopled by the co-religionists of the Russians, began to move. The Ottoman yoke bore heavily on all. The Wallachians and Moldavians complained of the violations of the Treaty of Bucharest. The Servians, whose independence Alexander had guaranteed, and who had been crushed by the Porte while the eyes of Europe were turned another way, had taken up arms under Miloch Obrenvitch. The *hetairia* propagated itself in all the provinces, in all the isles of Greece; it counted already one martyr, Rigas, delivered up by the Austrians and executed by the Turks. What was Alexander to do in the presence of this awakening universe? Would he burn with something of that crusading ardor which hurried Peter the Great to the banks of the Pruth? Would he act here "according to the principles and after the heart of Catherine," as he said in his manifesto at his accession? Would Serbia find in him the liberator of 1813, or the president of the Congress of Carlsbad, the man of legitimacy at all costs, the champion of absolute monarchical rights, the theorist of the passive obedience of subjects? This seemed so impossible to the nations, that the Greeks refused to believe Capo d'Istria when he asserted that they would not be supported. Ypsilanti could not imagine that the Emperor would seriously disavow him; he crossed the Pruth, raised the Roumanian populations, and succumbed at Rymnik, which had witnessed the triumph of Souvorof. Alexander might multiply his disavowals, but the Peloponnesus rose under Kolokotroni, and the Mainotes under Mavromichalis. The war of extermination had already begun by the Mussulman riot at Constantinople. At the feast of Easter the Greek population were assaulted, and, as if the better to insult the orthodox religion, the Patriarch was seized at the altar, and hung at the doors of the church in his sacerdotal robes. The Grand Vizier amused himself for an hour by seeing his corpse illtreated by the Turkish populace, and dragged through the mud by the Jews. Three metropolitans and eight bishops were slain (1821). Russia trembled with indignation. Diébitch drew up an admirable plan of campaign, which still deserves to be studied, and which he executed in the following reign. Alexander exchanged diplomatic notes with the Porte, and allowed himself to be lulled to sleep by England and Austria, which did not desire inter-

vention. The massacres continued. Alexander occupied himself about them at Verona, at the same time as the affairs of Spain. The Russian people were astounded, and attributed to the wrath of God, irritated at the impunity accorded to the assassins of the Greek patriarch, first the terrible inundation of St. Petersburg, and soon the premature and mysterious death of Alexander.

To sum up, the grandson of Catherine had added to the empire, Finland, Poland, Bessarabia, and part of the Caucasus (Daghestan, Chirvan, Mingrelia, and Imeritia).

CHAPTER XIII.

ALEXANDER I. : INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

Early years: the triumvirate; liberal measures; the ministers; public instruction—Speranski; Council of the Empire; projected civil code; ideas of social reform—Araktchéef: political and university reaction; military colonies—Secret societies: Poland—Literary and scientific movement.

EARLY YEARS: THE TRIUMVIRATE; LIBERAL MEASURES; THE
MINISTERS; PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

IN the home affairs of the empire, the early years of Alexander's reign, succeeding to the hard rule of Paul I., had been a period of emancipation, of generous ideas, and liberal reforms. The Emperor had announced in his manifesto on his accession that he would govern "according to the principles and after the heart of Catherine II." When he managed to free himself from the guardianship of the conspirators of the 24th of March, 1801, he surrounded himself either with the ministers of his grandmother, or with new men, young like himself, who shared his great hopes and his schemes of regeneration. Like him, they brought to the regulation of affairs much inexperience, but immense good-will. Those who at that time most influenced Alexander were Prince Adam Czartoryski, Novossiltsof, Strogonof, and Kotchoubey. The first three were closely united, and were known by the name of the triumvirate. They knew Western Europe better than Russia; the English constitution was their ideal. Czartoryski, a great Polish lord, whose family had given kings to Poland, cherished a dream of the re-organization of his native country, under the sceptre of the Emperor of Russia. Guardian or *popetchitel* of the scholarly circle of Wilna, he profited by this situation to favor the teaching of the Polish language in White Russia. As Minister of Foreign Affairs, or intimate adviser of Alexander, he never lost sight of the interests of his nation, at whose head he may have hoped one day to place himself, in the capacity of viceroy or *namiestnik* of the Emperor.

The tyrannical measures of the preceding reign were re-

versed ; the Russians were again permitted to travel abroad freely, and foreigners were allowed to penetrate into Russia. European books and papers entered the country freely, the *censure* was mitigated, and new instructions ordered the doubtful passages of a book to be interpreted in the sense most favorable to the innocence of the author. The "secret expedition," another form of the secret court of police, or of the State inquisition, was abolished, and its functions handed over to the senate. Priests and deacons, gentlemen and citizens of guilds, were declared exempt from corporal punishments.

Grander designs were brought forward in the council of the young sovereign. As an introduction to the code of the empire, a sort of constitutional scheme was discussed, in which the privileges of the supreme power were defined, its obligations spoken of, and where the *rights* of subjects, and of the four orders of the State, were in question. A sort of civil list was established, under the name of "his Majesty's cabinet." The emancipation of the serfs, as in the brightest period of the reign of Catherine II., was the topic of the day. The situation of the Crown peasants, who were much more free and happy than those belonging to individuals, was assured by the resolution taken by the Emperor to make no more donations of "souls." A million of roubles were even devoted yearly to the acquisition of land with serfs for the Crown. While waiting for a more general measure, Alexander put forth the edict of February 1803, which legalized contracts of freedom voluntarily entered into between the owners and their slaves ; the individuals or the communes who thus acquired liberty while they kept their land formed in Russia a new class, the "free cultivators," who, with the ancient *odnodvortsî*, became the nucleus of a rural third estate. The German nobility of Esthonia in 1816, that of Courland in 1817, and that of Livonia in 1819, resolved to anticipate the needs of the new century, so as not to be obliged to submit to them entirely ; they took the initiative in the emancipation of Lett or Tchoud serfs, in order that they might consult their own interests in the operation. "All the serfs of these provinces," says M. Bogdanovitch, "were gradually to pass in an interval of fourteen years to the condition of free persons. It was forbidden to sell them with or without land, individually or by families, to give them away, to hire them out, or to make them slaves by any means whatever. Their right to acquire land, houses, and other property was recognized. In civil cases they were in the first two instances amenable to judges elected by themselves and partly drawn from among them. Thus they had now only civil relations with their former masters ; but as the latter had distributed no lands

among them, the serfs were kept in a burdensome state of dependence upon them." Formerly they were slaves body and soul, but possessed lands; now they were free, but forced for their livelihoods to continue to cultivate for others, as farmers or day-laborers, the soil which had belonged to their warlike ancestors.

The prohibitions of the former reigns against the sale of slaves at auctions, and the separation of the members of one family, were renewed. The abuse, however, still continued, and Nicholas Tourguénief assures us that there was a public slave-market almost under the windows of the imperial palace.

Alexander also gave evidence of his good intentions towards the *raskolniks*. "Reason and experience," says the edict, "have for a long while proved that the spiritual errors of the people, which official sermons only cause to take deeper root, cannot be cured and dispelled except by forgiveness, good examples, and tolerance. Does it become a government to employ violence and cruelty to bring back these wandering sheep to the fold of the church?" These inoffensive sects were, on the other hand, protected; Alexander visited their settlements more than once in the course of his travels. A sect of dancing *raskolniks* were allowed to celebrate their rites in the Mikhail Palace, and Prince Galitsyne, Minister of Worship, was seen honoring with his presence the absurdities of the priestess Tatarinof, and the sacred dances of her adherents.

In political institutions, two great innovations took place in 1802. The collegiate organization of the branches of the administration was set aside; the colleges of Peter the Great, which had succeeded the prikazes of the ancient Tzars, were now replaced by ministers, after the European custom. Here is a list of the first ministry of Alexander I.: War, General Vismiatinof; Marine, Admiral Mordvinof, a bold patriot and distinguished administrator; Foreign Affairs, the Chancellor Alexander Voronzof, nephew of Elizabeth's great Chancellor; Home Office, Count Kotchoubey; Justice, Derjavine, the poet; Finance Count Vassilief; Commerce, Count Roumantsof celebrated for his patronage of arts and sciences; Public Education, Count Zavadovski. The number and functions of the ministers were more than once modified. Ministers of domains, of the Crown, of general control, of roads and bridges, and of the Emperor's household, were afterwards created.

The second innovation bore upon another great institution of Peter I., the Senate, whose importance had been lessened by the formation of an imperial council, presided over by the Emperor or by an appointed minister. Ministers and the general

council lacked, however, one essential thing,—responsibility. Autocracy abdicated none of its rights. “Sire,” remarked, on one occasion, one of the councillors of Alexander, “if a minister refuse to sign an edict of your Majesty, would the edict be binding without this formality?” “Certainly,” replied Alexander; “an edict must be executed under all circumstances.”

Alexander and his young fellow-laborers undertook a vast re-organization of public education. The empire was divided into six scholastic circles. That of St. Petersburg included eight governments; that of Moscow, eleven; that of Dorpat, three (the three German provinces); that of Kharkof, sixteen (with the Caucasus and Bessarabia); that of Kazan, twelve (with Siberia); that of Wilna, six (White Russia). At the head of each circle was placed a *popetchitel*, or guardian, ordinarily a considerable personage, like Novossiltsof, Potočki, or Adam Czartoryski, charged with the protection of the schools and their general direction.

For the instruction of the clergy, ecclesiastical schools were founded, whose revenues were obtained from the exclusive sale of tapers in the churches. Above these schools were seminaries; next the ecclesiastical Academies of Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kazan, and Kief. For the laity were established parish and district schools, and gymnasia (secondary instruction); to furnish masters, the pedagogic institutes of Moscow and St. Petersburg. The Universities of Moscow, Wilna, and Dorpat were re-organized; those of Kazan and Kharkof, and, later, that of St. Petersburg, founded. There was a plan of establishing two at Tobolsk and Oustiougue. Fifteen government schools, or corps of cadets, were also founded, where the young nobles could receive a military education. The Lycée Alexander at Tzarskoé-Selo, afterwards transferred to Kamennyi-Ostrof, was built for the same purpose. From this epoch also dates the lycée of commerce, or Gymnasium Richelieu, at Odessa, and the Lazaref Institute, or school for Oriental languages.

SPERANSKI : COUNCIL OF THE EMPIRE ; SCHEME OF THE CIVIL CODE ; IDEAS OF SOCIAL REFORM.

From 1806 to 1812, the preponderating influence over Alexander was that of Speranski. The son of a village priest, educated at a seminary, then mathematical and philosophical professor at the school of Alexander Nevski, preceptor to the children of Alexis Kourakine, thanks to whom he quitted the ecclesiastical career for the civil service, he became secretary to Tro-

chtchinski, at that time chancellor of the imperial council. Later, when director of the department of the Interior under Prince Kotchoubey, Speranski succeeded to the post of Secretary of State, and began to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Emperor. The favorites of the preceding period were all imbued with English ideas; Speranski, on the contrary, loved France, had imbibed the principles of the Revolution, and entertained a deep admiration for Napoleon. These French sympathies, then shared by Alexander I., formed a fresh bond between the prince and the minister—a bond which was severed by the rupture between the Emperor and Napoleon. “Besides,” says M. Bogdanovitch, “we know the inclinations of Alexander for representative forms and constitutional governments, which could not fail to seduce the former disciple of Laharpe; but this taste resembled that of a dilettante who goes into ecstasies over a beautiful picture. Alexander had promptly convinced himself that neither the vast extent of Russia, nor the constitution of civil society, allowed this dream to be realized. He therefore deferred the execution of his utopia from day to day, but delighted to hold conversations with his friends about his projected constitution and the disadvantages of absolutism. Speranski, to please the Emperor, showed himself the ardent defender of the principles of liberty, and thereby was exposed to accusations of entertaining anarchical ideas, and scheming against the institutions consecrated by time and manners.” Hard-working, well-educated, both patriotic and humane, he would have been the man to realize all that was practicable in the utopias of Alexander.

Speranski presented a systematic plan of reforms to his sovereign. The Council of the Empire received still more extensive privileges. Composed of the chief dignitaries of the State, it became in some measure the legislative power; it had to examine all the new laws, the extraordinary measures, the relations of the ministers. It was a kind of sketch of a representative government. The Council of the Empire was divided into four departments: war, law, political economy, civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Alexander solemnly opened this parliament of officials on the 1st–13th of January, 1810. Speranski was nominated secretary of the Council of the Empire. All affairs passed through his hands: he became in a manner the Prime Minister. To his mind, the Council of the Empire being at the head of the legislation, and the ministers at the head of the administration, the Senate ought to occupy the same rank in the judicial order. As the legislative power had been re-organized by the reform of the council, and the administrative power by the reform of the ministry, so the judicial power, in its turn, ought to undergo a

complete change. The tribunals, in his opinion, ought to be partly composed of judges nominated by the monarch, partly of judges elected by the nobles. It was plain that Speranski had studied the laws of the French assemblies, the system of Siéyès and the Constitution of the year VIII. The judicial was to be followed by a financial reform. Already, by the edict of the 2nd-14th of February, 1810, the *assignats* had been recognized as part of the national debt, and were to be guaranteed by the imposition and new taxes; the budget was to be published, and a fund for the redemption of the bonds to be created. Speranski, in short, had in his mind something like the French Grand Livre and the budget of the Western States. As a minor task he had undertaken to codify the laws. To him the Code Napoléon—that legacy of the French Revolution, which had at that time been adopted by Holland, Italy, the *Bund*, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw—seemed the very model of all progressive legislation. After the interview at Erfurt, where Napoleon showed him particular attention, Speranski had been exchanging letters with the French legal writers—Locré, Legras, Dupont de Nemours, and had made them correspondents of the legislative commission of the Council of the Empire. The Code Napoléon could only suit a homogeneous nation, free from personal and feudal servitude, where every one enjoyed a certain equality before the law. Thus Speranski looked on the emancipation of the serfs as the corner-stone of his building; he dreamed of forming a middle class, of limiting the numbers of the privileged classes, and of forming an aristocracy of great families like the English peerage. As early as 1809 he had decided that persons holding University degrees should enjoy certain advantages over others, when aspiring to the degrees of the Tchin. Thus a doctor would be on a level with the eighth rank, a master of arts with the ninth, a man of master's standing who had not taken his degree with the tenth, a bachelor of arts with the twelfth.

Speranski, like Turgot, the minister of Louis XVIII., and like Stein, the Prussian reformer, had set everyone in arms against him. The nobles of the court and of the antechamber—the “sweepers of the parquets,” as Alexander called them—and the young officials who wished to owe their promotion solely to favor, were exasperated by the edict of 1809. The proprietors were alarmed at Speranski's schemes for the emancipation of the serfs; the senators were irritated by his plan of re-organization, which reduced the first order of the empire to the position of a supreme court of justice; the high aristocracy were indignant at the boldness of a man of low extraction, the son of a

village priest. The people themselves murmured at the increase of the taxes. All these injured interests leagued themselves against him. The minister was accused of despising the institutions of Muscovy, of daring to present to the Russians the Code Napoléon as a model; the country being at that time on the eve of a war with France. The ministers Balachef, Armfelt, Gourief, Count Rostopchine, and the Grand Duchess Catherine Pavlovna, the Emperor's sister, influenced Alexander against him. The historian Karamsin addressed to his sovereign his enthusiastic essay on New and Ancient Russia, in which he made himself the champion of serfage, of the old laws, and of autocracy. They went the length of denouncing Speranski as a traitor and accomplice of France. In March 1812 he suddenly vanished from the capital and went as governor to Nijni-Novgorod, but was shortly afterwards deprived of his post and subjected to a close surveillance. In 1819, when passions had calmed down, he was nominated Governor of Siberia, where he was able to render important services. In 1821 he returned to St. Petersburg, but without recovering his former position.

ARAKTCHEEF: POLITICAL AND UNIVERSITY REACTION; MILITARY COLONIES.

Another period, another *season*, had begun. The enemies of Speranski—Armfelt, Schichkof, and Rostopchine—were in places of the highest trust: but the favorite, the *vremianchtchik ex officio*, was Araktchéef, the rough "corporal of Gatchina," the instrument of Paul's tyranny, the born enemy of all new ideas and all thoughts of reform, the apostle of absolute power and passive obedience. He first gained the confidence of Alexander by his devotion to the memory of Paul; next by his punctuality, his prompt obedience, his disinterestedness and habits of work, and by the naïve admiration which he showed for the "Genius of the Emperor." He was the safest of servants, the most imperious of superiors, and the instrument best fitted for a reaction. His influence was not at first exclusive. After having conquered Napoleon, Alexander liked to think himself the liberator of nations. He had freed Germany; he spared France, and obtained for her a charter; he granted a constitution to Poland, and meant to extend its benefit to Russia. If the censorship of the press had become more severe, and forbade the 'Messenger des Lettres' (*Viestnik slovesnosti*) to criticise "his Majesty's servants," Alexander had not yet renounced all his utopias. To the French influence succeeded the Protes-

tant and English influence. The French theatres were shut and Bible Societies opened. The British and Foreign Bible Society established itself in the capital, received subscriptions amounting to 300,000 roubles, and published 500,000 volumes in fifty different languages. The Russian Bible Society, with its offshoot, the Cossack Bible Society at Tcherkask, published hundreds of thousands of copies of the holy books. At this time the influence of Madame de Krüdener, and a revival of the terrible memories of March 1801, had made Alexander a dreamy mystic. He received a deputation of Quakers, prayed and wept with them, and kissed the hand of old Allen. Notwithstanding, the first epoch of the ministry of Araktchéef was an epoch of sterility. If at present there were no reaction, everything had at least come to a standstill. The war of 1812 had interrupted the reforms which had been begun, and they were not resumed. There was an end of the Code of Speranski, and the efforts to compile another more suitable to the Russian traditions came to nothing.

The character of Alexander soon sadly changed. He grew gloomy and suspicious. His last illusions had flown, his last liberal ideas were dissipated. After the congresses of Aix-la-Chapelle and Troppau he was no longer the same man. It was at Troppau that Metternich announced to him, with calculated exaggeration, the mutiny of the Semenovski, his favorite regiment of the Guards. From that time he considered himself the dupe of his generous ideas, and the victim of universal ingratitude. He had wished to liberate Germany, and German opinion had turned against him; his pensioner, Kotzebue, had been assassinated by Maurice Sand. He had sought the sympathy of vanquished France, and at Aix-la-Chapelle a French plot had been discovered against him. He had longed to restore Poland, and Poland only desired to free herself completely, while Russia demanded an explanation from Alexander of the new danger he had created on his frontier, by the reconstruction of the Lechite kingdom. It was at this moment that the Holy Alliance of the sovereigns became an alliance against nations; at Carlsbad, at Laybach, and at Verona Alexander was already the leader of the European reaction. In the East he disavowed Ypsilanti; in Russia he owned the influence of Araktchéef and the Obscuranti. The Araktchévitchina had begun.

Remonstrated with by Archbishop Serafim, Alexander broke with the Bible Societies, and forced his old friend, Prince Galitsyne, the liberal and tolerant Minister of Public Instruction, to resign. Galitsyne was replaced by Schichkof. The censorship became daily more strict. The Jesuits, who had been ex-

pelled from St. Petersburg, were banished from the whole empire, as a punishment for their proselytism; and they really were unnecessary in Russia, for the orthodox guardians of the Russian universities could rival them in the art of stifling independent thought. The *popetchitel* of Kazan University was Magnitski, who proposed to organize the teaching in accordance with the "act of the Holy Alliance." He dismissed eleven of the professors; struck out of the list of honorary members Abbé Grégoire, a Frenchman and "a regicide"; and excluded all suspicious books from the library, notably the work of Grotius on International Law. He forbade the geological theories of Buffon and the systems of Copernicus and Newton to be taught, as contrary to the text of Scripture. The professor of history must saturate himself with the ideas of Bossuet in his 'Histoire Universelle.' The science of medicine must be a Christian science; dissection was almost entirely forbidden, as incompatible with the respect due to the dead. The professor of political economy was enjoined to insist principally on the virtues that turned material goods into spiritual possessions, "thus uniting the lower and contingent economy with the true and superior economy, and by this means forming the real science, in a politico-moral sense." Nikolski, professor of geometry, already demonstrated in the triangle the symbol of the Trinity; and in the unity, that is to say, the number *one*, the divine Unity. At Kharkof, the Professors Schad and Ossipovski, and at St. Petersburg the Professors Galitch (philosophy), Hermann and Arsenius (statistics), and Raupach (history), were expelled from the universities. They were summoned by the *popetchitel* Rounitch before a university commission. The first was accused of impiety, because he had taught the philosophy of Schelling, the others of *Maratism* and of *Robespierreism*, for having expounded the theories of Schlœtzer, the *protégé* of Catherine II., or criticised agricultural serfage, and the extent to which the issue of paper money had been carried. It was forbidden in future either to employ professors who had studied in the West, or to send thither Russian students.

The most salient feature of Araktchéef's administration, of which the initiative proceeded from the gentle Alexander, was the creation of military colonies. This system consisted of the settlement of soldiers among the peasants, in a certain number of districts. If these soldiers were married, their wives were also brought to the village; if they were not, they were married to the daughters of the peasants. A village was therefore composed: 1. Of the military settlers, the soldiers; 2. Of colonized peasants, the natives. The soldiers assisted

the peasant in his field work ; the children of both were destined for military service. The colonized districts were removed from the jurisdiction of the civil authorities, and subjected to military administration and government. The total in these military districts in the governments of Novgorod, Kharkof, Mohilef, Ekaterinoslaf, and Cherson amounted to 138 battalions and 240 squadrons. This system appeared to have certain advantages, which gained over Speranski himself. It secured, people said, regular recruits, lightened the burden on the rest of the population, raised the morals of the soldier by keeping him with his family, guaranteed him an asylum in his old age, restored to agriculture the labor of which the army had formerly deprived it, diminished for the Government the expenses of the army and for the people the cost of lodging the troops and paying requisitions, and finally created a military nation on the frontier of the empire. If the colonization was a heavy weight upon the natives, they were compensated by various advantages. The Government augmented their lots of land, secured them personal liberty like that of the Crown peasant, repaired their houses, and dowered their daughters.

The country people did not understand it thus. Subjected at their hearths to an interference more annoying than that of their former masters and their stewards, forced into a twofold servitude as laborers and as soldiers, their habits and traditions all invaded, they cursed Araktchéef's ingenious idea, which official circles extolled. Revolts broke out, and Araktchéef, blaming the gross ignorance and ingratitude of the moujik, repressed them with implacable severity.

SECRET SOCIETIES : POLAND.

Other elements of trouble fermented in Russia. We are no longer in the time of Catherine II., when the gravest social questions could be discussed with impunity, before an inattentive or indifferent nation. The noble efforts of Alexander's early years now found a decided support in public opinion. Unfortunately the sovereign and his people were at variance. Whilst a party among the nation had become enthusiastic for liberal ideas, Alexander had grown cold about them : formerly his courageous initiative was hardly appreciated ; at present it was the backsliding spirit of the Government which irritated the country. A transformation had taken place ; it was not in vain that the Russian officers had seen Paris, had dwelt on French soil. Those revolutionary principles of which under Catherine II. men had

only a glimpse across the prism of their prejudices, they had found realized in the States of the West, and had been forced to remark the coincidence of their triumph with the rapid development of a new prosperity. "From the time that the Russian armies returned to their country," writes Nicholas Tourguénief, "liberal ideas, as they were then called, began to propagate themselves in Russia. Independently of the regular troops, great masses of militiamen (*opolitchénie*) had also seen foreign places. These militiamen of various ranks recrossed the frontier, went back to their homes, and related all that they had seen in Europe. Facts had spoken louder than any human voice. This was the true propaganda." Pestel, one of the conspirators of 1825, acknowledged that "the restoration of the Bourbons had made an epoch in the history of my ideas and political convictions. I then saw that though the greater number of the institutions necessary to the well-being of a State were brought in by the Revolution, they were continued after the re-establishment of the monarchy as conducive to the public welfare, whilst formerly we all, myself among the earliest, rose against this Revolution. From this I concluded that apparently it was not so bad as we represented to ourselves, and even contained much good. I was confirmed in my idea by observing that the States in which no revolution had taken place continued to be deprived of many rights and privileges."

People not only read Montesquieu, Raynal, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, as under Catherine II., but Bignon, Lacretelle, De Tracy, and Benjamin Constant; and the eloquent voices of the French tribune found an echo in the young Russian nobility and part of the middle class. Politeness, the spirit of justice, and respect for the human person had made great progress. European culture no longer lay only on the surface, but it penetrated deeply into hearts and consciences. Many declared like Wilhelm Küchelbecker: "At the thought of all the brilliant qualities with which God has endowed the Russian people,—that people whose language, so sonorous, so rich and strong, is without a rival in Europe, whose national character is a mixture of *bonhomie*, of tenderness, of lively intelligence, and a generous disposition to pardon offences; at the thought that all this was stifled, and would wither and perhaps perish before having produced any fruit in the moral world, my heart nearly broke." To these noble souls it was absolute suffering to see despotism hold its sway through all the grades of Russian society, in all the relations of the autocrat with the nation, of the officials with those they governed, of the officials with their soldiers, and of the proprietors with the peasants. They were indignant at beholding

the Russian people alone in Europe dishonored by the serfage of the soil, and by domestic servitude, that shameful legacy of ancient Slav barbarism and the Tatar yoke, that Asiatic ignominy which continued to defile a Christian people ; at the sight of the Russian soldier, the conqueror of Napoleon, the liberator of Europe, submitting to the degradation of corporal punishment. They did not believe that the inconstant will of the most well-meaning autocrat, that the good intentions of an Alexander—that “happy accident among his family,” as he said himself to Madame de Staël—could make up for the want of laws and liberal institutions.

In spite of the watchfulness of suspicious police, freemasonry, forbidden since the time of Catherine II. and Paul, organized itself, and spread over Russia, the kingdom of Poland, and the Baltic provinces. Societies of a more warlike character, and with a definite object, whose existence for a long while remained a secret, were also constituted at certain points. It was in 1818 that the Society of Virtue, an imitation of the Germanic Tugendbund, was formed at Moscow, and reckoned among its members Prince Troubetskoï, Alexander and Nikita Mouravief, Matvei and Sergius Mouravief-Apostol, Nicholas Tourguénief, Feodor Glinka, Michael Orlof, the two brothers Fon-Vizine, Iakouchkine, Lounine, the princes Feodor Schakovskoï and Obolenski, and many others. The members of this association were not agreed as to the form of government they wished to give to Russia, some clinging to the idea of a constitutional monarchy, others to that of a republic, which Novikof had been one of the first to suggest. This society was dissolved in 1822, and gave birth to two others—the Society of the North, or of St. Petersburg, which had constitutional aims, and the Society of the South, which recruited its associates chiefly among the officers of the garrisons of the Ukraine or of Little Russia, where Colonel Pestel preached republicanism. A third and less important society, that of the United Slavs, dreamed of a confederacy of the Slav races, and tried to form ramifications in Bohemia, Servia, and Bulgaria. About 1823, the Russian societies entered into relations with the Patriotic Society of Poland, then preparing for an insurrection, and, in order to secure the help of the Poles, engaged to do all in their power to favor the restoration of the country. The most ardent members of the Russian associations were at that time Colonel Pestel and Ryleef, the one a son of a former director of posts, the other of the head of police under Catherine II. By the warmth of their republican convictions, they seemed to wish to expiate the servility of their fathers. At the period of the meetings at Kief in 1823,

Pestel had read a scheme of a republican constitution and of an equalizing code. As the chief obstacle to the realization of his projects seemed to him to be the existence of the Romanof dynasty, it was decided not to shrink from the murder of the Emperor, and the extermination of the imperial family. In the bosom of the Society of the South, a still closer and more secret association had been formed, with the end of regicide in view. They were to profit by the first opportunity that presented itself, which happened to be a review where Alexander was to inspect, in 1824, the troops of the Ukraine. An active propaganda was set on foot among the soldiers of the garrisons, and common soldiers were gained over by promising them the liberty of the peasants, and the mitigation of the military régime.

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC MOVEMENT.

The awakening of the Russian mind did not show itself in political schemes alone. In science, in letters, and in arts, the reign of Alexander was an epoch of magnificent blossom. The intellectual, like the liberal, movement had not the exotic and superficial character of the reign of Catherine. It penetrated deeply into the heart of the nation, gained in power and in extent, carried away the middle classes, and propagated itself in the most distant provinces. The impulse given in 1801 had not stopped, although the Government at once tried to quell the spirit it had excited, and Alexander, embittered and *désillusionné*, had become mistrustful of all manifestations of private thought. While the rigor of the censorship had been increased, the number of secret societies was not at all diminished, and reviews and literary journals continued to multiply.

The *Bésiéda* was now formed, the literary club at which Krylof read his fables and Derjavine his odes, and which represented classical tendencies; whilst the *Arzamas* was founded by the romantic school—Joukovski, Dachkof, Oouvarof, Pouchkine, Bloudof, and Prince Viazemski. At St. Petersburg the Society of the Friends of Science, Literature, and Arts; that of the Friends of Russian Literature at Moscow, which published an important collection of its “transactions;” that of the History of Russian Antiquities, and the Society of Patriotic Literature, at Kazan; that of the Friends of Science at Kharkof, and many others of less importance, devoted themselves to letters, archæology, and the mathematical, natural, and physical sciences. At St. Petersburg appeared the *Northern Post*, the

St. Petersburg Messenger, the *Northern Mercury*, the *Messenger of Sion*, organ of the mystic party, *The Beehive*, and *The Democrat*, in which Kropotof declaimed against the influence of French ideas and manners, and in the 'Funeral Oration of Balabas, my dog,' congratulated this worthy animal on having studied at no university, on never having occupied himself with politics, on never having read Voltaire, &c. Literary activity was, as ever, still greater at Moscow. Karamsin there edited a review entitled the *European Messenger*, Makarof the *Moscow Mercury*, Sergius Glinka the *Russian Messenger*, in which he tried to excite a national feeling, now putting the people on their guard against any foreign influence, moral or intellectual, now arming them against Napoleon, "teaching the people to sacrifice themselves to their country," and letting loose the furies of the "patriotic war." "With the victory of Russia over the invader his task ended, and the *Russian Messenger* disappeared, but his work was taken up by Gretch in his *Son of the Soil*, who continued beyond the frontier the war with Napoleon, whom he taunted as a "murderer" and an "infamous tyrant," and against his companions in arms; whom he called "brigands." "Taste beforehand," he cries to the conqueror, "the immortality which you deserve. Know from this time how posterity will curse your name! You are seated on your throne amidst thunder and flames, like Satan in the midst of hell, encircled with death, with devastation, fury, and fire." The *Invalide Russe* was founded in 1813, for the benefit of wounded or infirm soldiers. Even when the warlike fever calmed down, and men's minds were occupied with other things less hostile to French influence, this great literary movement still continued.

Almost all the writers of this period took their part in the crusade against the Gallomania and the influence of Napoleon. Some had fought in person in the war with France. Joukovski was present at Borodino; Batiouchkof had marched in the campaigns of 1807 and 1813, and had been wounded at Heilsberg; Petine was killed at Leipzig; the Princes Viazemski and Schakovskoï had served among the Cossacks; Glinka in the *opoltchénie* in which Karamsin, in spite of his age, had wished to enrol himself. Their writings bear the stamp of their patriotic passions. Krylof has written other things besides his fables, which place him not far from La Fontaine, and in his comedies 'The School for Young Ladies' and the 'Milliner's Shop' he turned the exaggerated taste for everything French into ridicule. Amongst several classical tragedies ('*Cedipus at Athens*,' '*Fingal*,' '*Polyxena*') Ozérof wrote that of '*Dmitri Donskoi*,' which recalled the struggles of Russia against the Tatars, and seemed to pre-

dict the approaching contest with another invader. The tragedy of 'Pojarski,' the hero of 1612, by Krioukovski, contains allusions of the same sort. In 1806 the poet Joukovski had sung the exploits of the Russians against Napoleon, in the 'Song of the Bard on the Graves of the Victorious Slavs,' and in 1812 in the 'Bard in the Camp of the Russian Warriors.' Rostopchine, the enemy of the French, did not even await the grand crisis to empty the vials of his wrath against them.

In general the literature of the time of Alexander marks the passage from the imitation of the ancients, or of classic French writers, to the imitation of the German or English master-pieces. The *Besieda* and the *Arzamas* formed, as it were, the head-quarters of the two rival armies, which fought in Russia the same battle as the French romantic and classic schools at Paris. Schiller, Göthe, Bürger, Byron, and Shakespeare were as fashionable as in France, because they were strange, and because they created a kind of literary scandal. If Ozârof, Batiouchkof, and Derjavine kept up the traditions of the old school Joukovski translated Schiller's 'Joan of Arc' and Byron's 'Prisoner of the Chillon,' Pouchkine contributed 'Rousslan and Loudmila,' the 'Prisoner of the Caucasus,' the 'Fountain of Bakhtchi-Seraï,' and the 'Tsiganes' (*i.e.* Gipsies), and began his romance in verse of 'Eugène Onieghine' and the drama of 'Boris Godounof' (1829).

As in France the romantic movement had been accompanied by a brilliant renaissance of historical studies, so in Russia the dramatists and novelists were inspired with a taste for national subjects by Karamsin's 'History of Russia'—a work uncritical in its method, and indiscriminating in its appreciation of historical events, but remarkable for the brilliance and eloquence of its style, as well as the charm of its narrative. Schlœtzer had just edited Nestor, the old Kievan annalist, the father of Russian history.

Science enjoyed a certain amount of protection in this reign. In 1803 the Captains Krusenstern and Lisianski, accompanied by the *savants* Tilesius of Leipzig and Horner of Hamburg, accomplished the first Russian voyage round the world, in the *Hope* (Nadédja) and the *Neva*, and opened relations with the United States and with Japan. In 1815 Captain Kotzebue had explored the Southern Ocean, and next the icy ocean to the North, and sought by Behring's Straits a communication with the Atlantic, that is, the North-west passage; others surveyed the coasts of Siberia, and it was ascertained that Asia was not joined to America, as the Englishman Burney had asserted.

In 1814 the imperial library of St. Petersburg was solemnly

thrown open to the public. It then contained 242,000 volumes and 10,000 manuscripts. The nucleus had been formed by the victories of Souvorof, who had sent to Russia the library of the kings of Poland.

In spite of the expenses of the war, the Russian cities had received some embellishments. At St. Petersburg the better-paved streets and the granite quays gave evidence of the care of the Government. Thomont built the palace of the Bourse, Rosser the new Mikhail Palace, and Montferrand began the vast and splendid cathedral of St. Isaac. St. Peter's at Rome served as a model for our Lady of Kazan, before which the bronze statues of Barclay de Tolly and Koutouzof were afterwards erected. In 1801 a statue was erected to Souvorof. Pultowa had its monument of Peter the Great's victory; Kief that of Vladimir the Baptist; Moscow those of Minine and Pojarski (1818): but the plan of raising on the Hill of Sparrows at Moscow a colossal church dedicated to the Saviour, in memory of the deliverance, failed through the inexperience of the architect. It was only carried out in another place, during the present reign.

In 1825 Alexander quitted his capital to visit the southern provinces, and intended to spend some time at Taganrog, for the benefit of his health. At the moment of his departure he appears to have been shaken by gloomy presentiments, and insisted on a requiem mass being said at the monastery of St. Alexander Nevski. In broad daylight, lighted tapers were left in his room. A frightful flood that had happened at St. Petersburg some time before was looked on by the people as a chastisement from Heaven for Russia's culpable indifference towards the Christians of the East. At Taganrog Alexander received circumstantial accounts as to the conspiracy of the Society of the South and its schemes of regicide. Cruel recollections of 1801 may have mingled with his melancholy. He thought sadly of the terrible embarrassments which he would bequeath to his successor; of his lost illusions; of his liberal sympathies of former days, which in Poland, as in Russia, had ended in a reaction; of his broken purposes and changed life. In the Crimea he was heard to repeat, "They may say what they like of me, but I have lived and will die republican." But what a singular republic is the system preserved in the memory of the people under the name of "Araktchévitchina"! On the 19th of November (1st December) the Emperor expired in the arms of the Empress Elizabeth. How would Russia celebrate what the Empress-mother Maria Feodorovna already called the "obsequies of Alexander?"

CHAPTER XIV.

NICHOLAS I. (1825-1855).

The December insurrection—Administration and reforms—Public education and literature—War with Persia (1826-1828)—First Turkish war: liberation of Greece (1826-1829)—The Russians and English in Asia—Polish insurrection (1831)—Hostility against France: the Eastern question: Revolution of 1848; intervention in Hungary—Second Turkish war: the allies in the Crimea—Awakening of Russian opinion.

THE DECEMBER INSURRECTION—ADMINISTRATION AND REFORMS
—PUBLIC EDUCATION AND LITERATURE.

By the law of primogeniture, Alexander's successor should have been Constantine, the eldest of his brothers, but in order to marry the Countess Groudsinska, afterwards created Princess Lovicz, Constantine had, in 1822, declared to Alexander his intention of renouncing the crown. The Emperor had accepted, and the Empress-mother had approved, his renunciation; and in 1823 Alexander had drawn up a manifesto which sanctioned the resolution taken by Constantine, and summoned Nicholas, Paul's third son, to the throne. This act was deposited at the *Ouspjenski Sobor* at Moscow, but was kept secret even from Nicholas himself. When, two years after, Alexander died at Taganrog, Constantine at Warsaw hastened to take the oath of allegiance to Nicholas, but Nicholas at St. Petersburg thought it his duty to swear fealty himself to Constantine, and to make others do so. It was only on the 12th—24th of December, 1825, that he received a letter from Constantine in which he repeatedly and formally declared his intention to renounce the throne. Then Nicholas published a manifesto announcing his own accession, and received the oaths of his subjects.

This contest of generosity between the two brothers, which so strongly contrasted with the ambitious habits and political revolutions of the eighteenth century, was to cost the empire dear. During these few days of interregnum, people's minds were troubled; they did not know whom to obey. The members of the secret societies profited cleverly by this perplexity of

opinion, and turned the attachment of the masses to the principle of seniority to the advantage of the revolution. The conspirators of the Society of the North had resolved to act. On the 14th-26th of December they raised some of the troops, the regiments of Moscow, the grenadiers of the navy, and the seamen of the Guard, by persuading them that the news of Constantine's resignation was false, that the Tzarévitch was prisoner in Moscow, and that the oath exacted from them was a sacrilege. The insurgent forces threw themselves on the Place du Sénat, shouting "Long live Constantine!" Some of the conspirators raised the cry of "Long live the Constitution!" but this idea was strange to the masses, and, according to the monarchical historians, the ignorant soldiers believed that Constitution was the name of Constantine's wife. Then the plotters distributed cartridges among them, and gave the signal of revolt by massacring or wounding the officers who attempted to oppose the movement. Nicholas had harangued the crowd who had taken up their position before the Winter Palace, read them the manifesto of Alexander, and had managed to disperse them. The military insurgents thus found themselves deprived of the assistance of the popular element. The other regiments of the Guard and nearly all the garrison remained faithful. The rebels, however, grouped on the Place du Sénat, refused to listen to reason. Miloradovitch, governor of the capital, tried to harangue them; but this hero of fifty-two battles was killed by a pistol-shot. The metropolitan, in his sacerdotal robes, was also shot at, and received four balls in his mitre. The Emperor had placed himself opposite the insurgents; after having exhausted all means of conciliation, he ordered the soldiers to fire on the barricades which had been hastily raised. A few rounds sufficed to scatter the crowd. Five hundred were taken prisoners, and in the night many surrendered at discretion. At seven in the morning Nicholas returned victorious to his palace.

The same night thirteen conspirators of the Society of the South were arrested. This did not check the operations of the society, nor of that of the United Slavs. The two Mouravieffs and Bestoujef-Rioumine had collected some companies, occupied Vassilkof, and marched on Kief; but at the village of Oustimovka they encountered General Geismar, who received them with a discharge of grape-shot: a cavalry charge finally put them to flight; 700 men laid down their arms, and nearly all the leaders were made prisoners.

Nicholas had accorded a disdainful pardon to Prince Troubetskoï, whom the conspirators of the capital had chosen to be head of the Government, and who had ruined everything by his

fickle policy. He showed a certain clemency to the mass of the insurgents, but a hundred and twenty-one were brought before a commission. A minute inquiry, and many confessions, enabled him to find the threads of the plot, and the traitors were punished more or less severely. Five of them—Pestel, Ryleef, Sergius Mouravief-Apostol, Bestoujef-Rioumine, and Kakovski, the assassin of Miloradovitch—were condemned to be hanged. They did honor to their cause by their courage in facing a penalty made cruel by the awkwardness of the executioners. Ryleef, the head of the Society of the North, said after his condemnation, "The zeal of my patriotism and my love of my country may have deceived me; but as my actions have been guided by no personal interest, I die without fear." Pestel, the energetic dictator of the South, had devoted all his thoughts to the safety of his Russian Code: "I am certain," said he, "that one day Russia will find in this book a refuge against violent commotions. My greatest error is, that I have wished to gather the harvest before sowing the seed." Many of their ideas were indeed premature, but some were to survive their originators, and be carried into execution by the very power which they defied. They had desired the independence of the peasants, a greater equality of rights, and more stability in the law. In spite of their faults, which they paid for with their lives, they had shown that there existed in Russia men capable of dying for liberty. They gave an impetus to the country that the thirty years' reign of Nicholas could not destroy. This abortive conspiracy was in certain respects the beginning of the regeneration. Many of the old *décembristes* were, in letters, arts, and political economy, the glory of their country, and were able to advance, as far as it was practicable, by other means, the work they had already undertaken. Nicholas, who had inaugurated his reign by conquering one revolution, was to be all his life the enemy of revolution. In Europe as in Russia he was the champion of Conservative principles. If he carried on the work of his brother Alexander, it was the Alexander of later years, without the innovating views of 1801, without his liberal sympathies, and without his humane scruples. Nicholas I., with his colossal stature, his imposing exterior, his mystic pride, his infatuation for the rôle of a pontiff-king, his iron will, his power of work, his taste for the details of government, his passion for everything military, always buckled tight in his uniform and playing his part before the people, was a formidable incarnation of autocracy. His reign was a constant protest against the movement of the world. He kept up a perpetual struggle against the living forces of humanity, against the imperceptible and invincible advance of the

mind. Nicholas was a drag upon rather than an obstacle to progress. When his power broke, under its ruins was seen a new world which had already arrived at maturity.

One of the first cares of Nicholas I. was to take up the work of codification of the Russian laws, so often sketched out by his predecessors : by Peter the Great, with the help of the Germanic laws ; by Catherine II., with her great legislative commission ; by Alexander, with the almost Napoleonic project of Speranski. Nicholas himself could only collect the materials. The Russian laws could not be definitely codified till society, regenerated by the emancipation, should have found its final constitution. In 1830 appeared the 'Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire,' which Alexis Mikhaïlovitch had begun in his *oulojénie* ; in 1838, the 'Collection of the Existing Laws,' compiled after a systematic scheme, which was provisionally to make legislation more consistent, and the tribunals more active. It was time, for 2,850,000 causes were declared to be pending, and 127,000 persons committed for trial still awaited judgment. In 1849 was published the code of penal and corrective justice. Tribunals of commerce were created, for the more prompt dispatch of commercial affairs.

Peter the Great had established a law of entail. Anne Ivanovna had suppressed it, as being opposed to Russian manners. Nicholas partially re-established it, by granting the father of the family power to make use of it if he pleased. The custom of *pravege* still existed among the Don Cossacks : it was now abolished. Merchants desirous of becoming "noble" thronged the ranks of the public service ; Nicholas, to turn their ambition into another channel, while securing them the same advantages, created a new subdivision in the class inhabiting the towns—that of the chief citizens (*bourgeois notables*), who enjoyed the following prerogatives :—Exemption from the poll-tax, conscription, and corporal punishments ; right to take part in assessment of the landed property of the town, and the right of being elected to the communal functions of the same rank as those open to the merchants of the first guilds. All might be admitted among the chief citizens (*bourgeoisie notable*) who had a certificate of secondary studies, a student's diploma, or that of a university student eligible for the degree of master of arts, or were free-born artists and had a certificate from the Academy of Fine Arts. Nicholas I. here took up one of the traditions of Catherine II., who had attempted to constitute a middle class at the same time as a nobility. He tried to regulate the mode of procedure among the assemblies of peasants in the rural communes, and to introduce the ballot by black and white balls. The autocratic Tzar

was one of the first to introduce universal suffrage into Russia. As to the vital question of emancipation, it slumbered during this reign. Nicholas contented himself with approval of the great nobles who set free their serfs. The Princess Orlof-Tchesmenski liberated 5518. The class of free cultivators increased very slowly; in 1838 it only counted 72,844 husbandmen. The edict of 1842, which had attempted to fix the conditions of these contracts of emancipation, had disquieted the nobles. The Government hastened to reassure them by affirming that there was no question of the liberation of the peasants, and by ordering the propagators of false news to be arrested, and the recall, by force if necessary, of refractory serfs to their obedience. Nicholas established his aide-de-camp, Protassof, in the court of the Holy Synod; he governed the national church in a military fashion for twenty years, and had no scruples about "dragooning" the dissenters of White Russia.

Nicholas undertook to join the Don and the Volga by means of a canal, and to improve the navigation of the Dnieper. Under this champion of immobility the first railways were created. He traced in a straight line with a ruler the railway between Moscow and St. Petersburg (130 leagues long), without permitting it to go out of its way, so as to pass through any towns of importance. A small branch joined Tzarskoé-Selo to the capital. Russia still only followed at a great distance the new European enterprises; no iron road united her to the West. The annoyances of the police, the censorship, and the custom-house dues all contributed to isolate her in Europe. Her autocrat kept the rest of Europe in a kind of political quarantine. While speaking of public works, we must mention the reconstruction in fifteen months of the Winter Palace, which was destroyed by the fire of 1837.

Nicholas created a "professorial institute"—a sort of normal school for the higher education—to recruit the ranks of public schoolmasters, and a "principal pedagogic institute" for the secondary course of instruction. His object was to remove the Russian youth from the influence of foreign masters. There were restrictions as to the employment of tutors and governesses in private houses. Their capacity and their morality (in which were included their political opinions) were to be certified by one of the universities of the empire, under the penalty of a fine of 250 roubles and of banishment. It was forbidden to send young men to study in Western universities, save in some exceptional cases, for which a special permission was required. In the Government schools, to the prejudice of foreign languages and literature, a greater development was given to the

Russian language, literature, statistics, and history, which were considered less dangerous. Other obstacles were imposed on freedom of foreign travel and residence; the term of absence attested by legal passports was fixed at five years for the nobles, and three for other Russians subjects. The University of St. Vladimir was founded at Kief, to replace that of Wilna, which was suppressed after the Polish insurrection. The scholastic reaction, the mistrust of German philosophy, went so far, that philosophy was finally forbidden to be taught in the universities, and entrusted to the care of ecclesiastics.

Nicholas bestowed his chief attention on the establishments for military education, the *corps* of cadets, and the Military Academy. He created, however, a school of law and a technological institute.

The scientific publications of the Government, and those of the Archæographical Commission, furnished, with the 'complete Collection of Russian Laws,' new materials for the study of national history. The imperial library at St. Petersburg was enriched by Pogodine's cabinet of antiquities; to the liberality of Count Roumantsof Moscow owes the museum and library which bears his name. M. Solovief began his 'History of Russia,' and Nicholas Polévoï wrote his 'History of the Russian People.'

The censorship weighed heavily on the development of the national press. Gretch and Boulgarine founded, however, in 1825, the *Northern Bee*; Biéliniski, the prince of critics, wrote successively for the *Observer*, started by Schevyref, for Kraïevski's 'Annals of my Country,' and for the *Contemporary*, founded by Panaïef and Nekrassof, which reckoned Pouchkine among its contributors. Nicholas Polévoï in the *Telegraph*, and Nadéjdine in the *Telescope*, continued the struggle—the one in the name of the romantic, the other in that of the classic school. The Slavophiles discussed in the *Muscovite* questions relative to the unity of the Slav races and the nationality of the Russian people.

This period of the nineteenth century was as fertile in Russian as in French literature. To the names of Lamartine, Victor Hugo, and Alfred de Musset correspond those of Pouchkine (the first of Russian poets, and one of the first in Europe); Lermontof, who was inspired in the 'Demon' and others of his master-pieces by the wild and sublime beauty of the Caucasus; Koltsof, who discovered a new source of poetry in the popular songs; Griboïedof, whose comedy 'Goré ot ouma' (Too Clever by Half) has remained one of the stock pièces; and Gogol, who in his play of 'Revisor' and his romance of the 'Dead Souls' has

boldly revealed the plague-spots in Russian administration and society. Soukovski translated the *Odyssey* and some fragments of Indian and Persian poems; Polévoï, in his 'Oath at the Tomb of the Saviour,' 'The Deserted One,' 'Dream and Life,' and 'Hamlet,' continued the romantic movement by imitating Schiller, Hoffmann, Walter Scott, and Shakespeare. It was no barren epoch that witnessed the appearance of Herzen under the name of 'Iskander'; of Ivan Tourguénief, who in his 'Memoirs of a Huntsman' struck the prelude to a European reputation; of the novelists Gontcharof ('A Common Story'), Gregorovitch ('The Emigrants'), Pisemski ('The Liéchi,' 'The Petersburgher'), Dostoevski ('The Poor'); and in which the Russian public could applaud the comedies of Ostrovski, and the operas of the great composer Glinka ('Life for the Tzar,' and 'Rousslan and Loudmila'). The Russian intellect, spite of all obstacles, spread its wings and tried unknown paths, created new openings for itself, and nobly gave the lie to the theories of immobility. Russia, isolated though she was from Europe, still took her place among the great European nations.

PERSIAN WAR (1826-1828)—FIRST TURKISH WAR: LIBERATION OF GREECE (1826-1829)—ENGLISH AND RUSSIANS IN ASIA.

After the Treaty of Gulistan, the Russian and Persian governments were perpetually quarrelling on the subject of the frontiers and the vassal tribes. The Shah continued to receive tribute from the khans of Karabagh and Gandja, but in his turn complained of the encroachments of Russia, and of the arrogance of Ermolof, Governor-General of the Caucasus. Soon the Russians learnt that the Mollahs were preaching on all sides a holy war, that English officers had entered the service of the Shah, and that Abbas-Mirza, Prince Royal of Persia, was ready to cross the Araxes at the head of 35,000 men, and to raise the tributary khanates. Nicholas at once despatched General Paskiévitich to join Ermolof. The Prince Royal was in full march on Tiflis, when he received a check by the heroic resistance, which lasted for six weeks, of the fortress of Choucha. The Russians had thus time to concentrate their forces. Near Elizabethtopol they defeated the Persian vanguard, 18,000 strong; on the Djéham, Paskiévitich, with less than 10,000 men, dispersed the whole royal army, 44,000 strong, and obliged the remnant to retreat beyond the Araxes (1826). By the Treaty of Teheran, England promised Persia, in a case of invasion, a body of troops, and a subsidy of five millions. Persia was

none the less invaded. Paskiévitch, appointed general-in-chief, forced in 1827 the defiles and the passage of the Araxes; captured 10,000 of the Prince Royal's men; took Erivan, the bulwark of Persia, by assault; entered Tauris, the second city of the kingdom, in triumph, and began his march to Teheran. The king, Fet-Aly-Shah, in alarm, signed the Peace of Tourk-mantchaï (10th-22nd February, 1828); he ceded to Russia the provinces of Erivan, and Nakhitchévan, paid an indemnity of 20,000,000 roubles, and promised important commercial advantages to Russian subjects. The Araxes became the frontier of the two empires, and Paskiévitch received the title of Erivanski. The peace was all but broken in 1829 by the massacre of the Russian legation at Teheran, in which the poet Griboïedof, the Russian minister, perished. Asia was always fatal to the Russian poets. Lermontof was to die a tragic death, killed in a duel in the Caucasus. The Court of Teheran disavowed the crime of the people, and, although Russia was then occupied in a war with Turkey, the Prince Royal came to St. Petersburg, to offer the most complete satisfaction. Persia became day by day more subject to Russian influence, to the great disgust of England.

With regard to Turkey, Nicholas had taken up a more decided attitude than Alexander. The enemy of revolutions sympathized with the regeneration of Greece. He made two demands of the Sultan: in concert with the other Powers, he insisted that an end should be put to the extermination of the Greeks, and in his own name he asked for satisfaction for the bloody outrages inflicted on the orthodox Christians since the massacre of Constantinople, and for the insults offered to his ambassador. On one side he, like the rest of Europe, invoked the rights of humanity; on the other, he vindicated his privileges as protector of the members of the orthodox Church, guaranteed by the treaties of Kaïrnadji and Bucharest. Sometimes he acted in unison with Europe, sometimes he stood apart from her, in order to act separately and more energetically.

In March 1826, Nicholas had presented his ultimatum to the Divan. His conditions were—1. The evacuation of the Danubian principalities (occupied by the Turks, under the pretext of the insurrection of 1821) and the re-establishment of affairs on the basis of treaties. 2. The execution of the clauses of the Treaty of Bucharest, relative to the autonomy of Servia, and the liberation of the Servian deputies who were detained in Constantinople. 3. Satisfaction on the debated points, and the despatch of an Ottoman plenipotentiary. The Porte tried to resist, but the European Powers persuaded her to yield. On

the 26th of September (8th of October) the Convention of Akkerman was concluded on the following conditions:—1. The confirmation of the Treaty of Bucharest. 2. The autonomy of Moldavia and Wallachia, under a hospodar elected for seven years in an assembly of nobles, and who could only be deposed with the consent of Russia. 3. The final cession to Russia of the disputed territories on the Asiatic frontier. 4. Seven years' delay to enable the Porte to organize Servia in accordance with the Treaty of Bucharest. 5. Fair satisfaction to the Russian subjects who were creditors of the Turkish Government. 6. Free passage for Russian vessels from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean.

The Greek question still remained. The Duke of Wellington and Count Nesselrode had come to an agreement in the St. Petersburg conferences. The Anglo-Russian protocol of the 26th of March, 1826, energetically supported by the French ambassador, was presented to the Porte by the representatives of the three Powers. Greece was to be an autonomous dependency of Turkey, was to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan, to be governed by authorities elected by herself, but over the nomination of whom the Porte was to exercise a certain influence. The Turks settled in Greece were to emigrate, and to receive an equivalent for their fixtures. The Divan rejected these propositions as "violating the passive obedience owed by subjects to their legitimate sovereign." France, England, and Russia then signed the Treaty of London (June 1827), in virtue of which they imposed their mediation on the belligerents, Turkey and Greece. The Porte, when informed of this, replied by disembarking a Turco-Egyptian army in the Morea, under the command of Ibrahim. The three Western squadrons, commanded by Admirals de Rigny, Heiden, and Codrington, received orders to hinder, even by force the prolongation of hostilities in the Peninsula. The Turkish fleet was then annihilated in the battle of Navarino (20th of October, 1827). Nicholas addressed flattering letters to the French and English admirals, with the Order of St. Alexander Nevski for M. de Rigny, and that of St. George for Codrington.

The disaster of Navarino only exasperated Sultan Mahmoud. He sent the three Powers a note in which he demanded that prior to any negotiation he should receive a formal declaration that they would renounce all interference in the affairs of Turkey and Greece, make public and solemn reparation for the insult offered to the Ottoman flag, and pay an indemnity to the Porte for the injuries which it had suffered. In the mosques a holy war was proclaimed, and a general levy. At Constantinople,

such a phantom of a national representation as we have again seen recently, was convoked.

England already regretted the destruction of the Turkish fleet, but France, in order to give the force of law to the decisions of the Powers, disembarked a body of troops in the Morea under General Maison, who expelled the Turco-Egyptians from the Peninsula. Nicholas, joining his private grievances to the claims of Europe, declared war on Turkey, and ordered Field-Marshal Wittgenstein to cross the Pruth, while Paskiévitich entered Asia Minor. In Europe the Russians occupied Wallachia and Moldavia, passed the Danube under the eyes of their Emperor, and took Brailof and Varna. In Asia they carried by assault the ancient fortress of Kars, defeated the Turks under Akhaltsykh, and captured the town after a bloody action.

England began to be uneasy, and Austria made advances to her. Charles X. openly said, "If the Emperor Nicholas attacks Austria, I will hold myself in reserve, and regulate my conduct according to circumstances; but if Austria attacks, I will instantly march against her." The Restoration hoped to find in the struggle in the East a revenge for the treaties of 1815. The "reunion" to France of the left bank of the Rhine or of Belgium was discussed in the king's council in September 1829; and the co-operation of Russia was counted on, in exchange for the aid France was giving her on the Danube. In a word, according to the expression of M. Nettement, the two Powers were then closely united, "France against the European *statu quo*, Russia against the Oriental *statu quo*."

Nicholas was therefore free for the campaign of 1829. In Asia, Paskiévitich defeated two Turkish armies and captured Erzeroum; in Europe, Diébitch, successor to Wittgenstein, defeated the Grand Vizier at Koulevtcha, near Pravady, and threw him back in disorder on the fortified camp of Shumla, after having killed 5000 men and taken forty-three guns. After the capitulation of Silistria, he blockaded Shumla, boldly crossed the Balkans, and entered Adrianople, the second city of the Ottoman empire. At sea the frigate *Mercury* fought two Turkish ships; her crew had sworn either to conquer or to blow themselves up.

At last the Porte yielded. Mahmoud had destroyed the Janissaries, and had not yet constituted a regular army. Persia refused to undertake a new war against Russia. At Adrianople the Porte concluded two treaties—one with the European Powers, and the other with Russia. In the first, she agreed to adhere to the treaty of 1817, and recognized the independence of Greece. By the second she surrendered to Russia the isles of the Danu-

bian delta in Europe, and the fortresses and districts of Anapa, Poti, Akhaltsykh, and Akhalkalaki, in Asia; she paid an indemnity of 119 million francs,* and another of 1,500,000 ducats to the Russian merchants. The immunities formerly granted to Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia were guaranteed, and the Bosphorus and Dardanelles declared free and opened to all the Powers at peace with the Porte. Russian commerce had access to the Black Sea. Thus this first alliance with France had secured the independence of Greece, and prepared for that of the Roumanians and Servians.

From 1840 to 1841 England was occupied with the famous opium war in China. The Russians had previously obtained, with less trouble, a much more advantageous footing in the Celestial Empire. By the treaty of 1827 they had acquired the right to establish at Peking a place of education, where young men might study the language and customs of China. Nicholas had carefully avoided clashing with the Court of Peking on the subject of opium; and when he heard of the prohibition, he forbade his subjects to introduce this commodity across the Russian frontier. In 1852 a new commercial treaty was made, which opened a market on the Irtych. This Western market, so called in opposition to the Eastern market of Kiakhta, afforded the Russian agents an opportunity of more closely surveying Bokhara. In spite of these cordial relations, the Russian outposts daily and noiselessly encroached on the Chinese territory; and in 1854 European was astonished to find them established on the Amour. Thus, from one end of Asia to the other, Russia and England found themselves face to face. In their attempts to push back their frontiers and to extend their influence, both hastened the inevitable moment when they would be in direct conflict.

By the acquisition of Mingrelia, Imeritia, and Georgia, the Chirvan, and the Persian and Turkish provinces, Russia had possession of the whole southern slope of the Caucasus: by the acquisition of Daghestan she had set her foot on the northern side, and thus completely surrounded the vast mountainous regions which constitute Circassia and Abkhasia. Numerous forts occupied the openings of the valleys. The warlike Tcherkesses and Abkhasians, however, bravely defended their independence. The road from Anapa to Poti was very unsafe, notwithstanding the number of fortified posts. Nicholas was sensible of the necessity of securing communications with Southern Asia by both extremities of the Caucasus and by intermediate

* £4,760,000.

passes, and of making this enormous chain the impregnable citadel from the height of which he was to rule the East. This war with the mountain tribes, fertile in surprises and ambushades, was a mingled success and failure. It took a more formidable development when Moslem fanaticism, awakened by the sectarian professors of Mirditism, embodied itself in Schamyl, the soldier priest, who gave to these rival races religious unity, and who for twenty-five years held the best Russian generals in check. In 1844, 200,000 men were posted in the Caucasus under the brave and able Voronzof. The English furtively favored the insurrection, and the seizure, in 1837, of the British schooner *Vixen*, as she was unloading arms on the coast of Abkhasia, made some noise. Bell, an Englishman, was found at the head of the Georgians in their short revolt.

Persia, where Fet-Aly-Shah, the ally of Napoleon 1., had been succeeded by his grandson Mohammed, was completely under Russian influence. In 1837 and 1838 Mohammed laid siege to Herat, which commanded one of the routes to India. The English obliged him to raise the siege by creating a diversion in the Persian Gulf. They followed up this by another in 1856, and secured the Isle of Karrack and the Port of Bushire. Three years after the siege of Herat the English themselves failed to capture Cabul.

Nicholas, in search of an opening in another direction, declared war against the Khan of Khiva, under the pretext of putting an end to the exactions and robberies practised against the caravans. In 1841 an army led by General Perovski crossed the steppes of Turkestan during a severe winter, but, after gaining some advantages over the nomad tribes, was forced to fall back on the Emba. The Russian army was almost entirely destroyed by fatigue and the severity of the climate. The intimidated Khan, however, offered satisfaction. He decreed the penalty of death against any Khivan who should dare to attempt the life or liberty of a Russian subject, and gave back 415 captives. It was clear that a serious attempt against Khiva would not be practicable till the enormous distance of 200 leagues, which separated this oasis from the Russian frontiers, should be diminished by the establishment of a line of posts, by the more complete subjection of the Turkish hordes, and by the construction of a fleet on the Sea of Aral. The expedition of 1854 was a great success; the Khan then became a kind of vassal of the Tzar, closely watched by the Russian resident.

THE POLISH INSURRECTION (1831).

Towards 1830 Russia found herself in a singular state of uneasiness. The cholera had just made its appearance; fierce revolts had broken out at Sebastopol, Novgorod, and Staraïa-Roussa. The Emperor seemed agitated by gloomy presentiments. He had been shocked by the news of the July revolution, which had expelled his ally, Charles X.; the Belgian and the Italian revolutions followed close on each other. The tri-colored flag, the flag of 1799 and 1812, floating over the French Consulate at Warsaw, hastened the explosion of the Polish Revolution.

The time was already far behind when Alexander, while opening the Diet of 1818, boasted of "those liberal institutions which had never ceased to be the object of his solicitude," and which allowed him to show to Russia herself "what he had for so long prepared for her." The time was far away when he congratulated the Polish deputies on having rejected the proposed law of divorce, and proclaimed "that, freely elected, they must freely vote."

No doubt the prosperity of the kingdom was increasing. Commerce and industry had developed, the finances were in a satisfactory state, and from the remnant of the Napoleonic legions the Grand Duke Constantine had formed an excellent army of 60,000 men. Unhappily it was very difficult for Alexander, who had become more and more autocratic in Russia, to accommodate himself in Poland to the liberty of a representative government. The Diet of 1820 had irritated him profoundly by its attack on the ministers, and its rejection of certain projects of law. He looked on these ordinary incidents of parliamentary life as an attempt to undermine his authority. He lent an ear to the counsels of Karamsin and Araktchéef. He put forth an "additional act of the constitution" which suppressed the public sittings of the Diet. After the session of 1822, the convocation of the Estates was adjourned indefinitely. The liberty of the press was restrained, and the police became more vexatious. The soldiers complained of the severity, and sometimes of the brutality, of the Grand Duke Constantine, who was full of good intentions, who loved Poland, and had given proof of it by sacrificing the crown of Russia for a Polish lady, but who could never control his impetuous and eccentric character. The officers who had served under Dombrowski, Poniatovski, and Napoleon could scarcely reconcile themselves to the Muscovite discipline. Ancient jealousies and national hate, revived by the events of

1812, were on the point of breaking out between the two peoples. Besides the Polish malcontents who grumbled at the violations of the Constitution of 1815, and were enraged at the Emperor for not having restored to the kingdom the palatinates of White Russia, there was the party which dreamed of the Constitution of the 3rd of May, 1791, or of a republic, and which desired to re-establish Poland in her ancient independence, and within her ancient limits. The secret associations of the Templars and the Patriotic Society were formed. The trial of the Russian *décembristes* had revealed an understanding between the conspirators of the two nations.

Constantine had made another mistake, that of persuading the Emperor Nicholas that the Polish army should not be employed against the Turks. He loved this army after his own fashion, and his saying has been quoted, "I detest war; it spoils an army." Victories gained in common over the ancient enemy of the two peoples might have created a bond of military fraternity between the Russian and Polish armies, given an opening to the warlike ardor of the Polish youth, and crowned with glory the union of the two crowns. Constantine's unpopularity increased in consequence of this error. Nothing, however, was as yet imperilled. When the Emperor Nicholas came to open the Diet of May 1830 in person, his presence in Warsaw excited some hopes. In spite of the reserve which the deputies had imposed on themselves, they could not refrain from rejecting the unhappy scheme of the law of divorce, from lodging complaints against the ministers, and uttering a wish for the reunion with the Lithuanian provinces. This wish could not, of course, be granted by Nicholas, without deeply wounding the patriotism and the rights of Russia. The "King of Poland" and his subjects separated with discontent on both sides; the secret societies were more active in their conspiracies, and the news from Paris found all the elements of a revolution already prepared.

On the evening of the 17th-29th of November the youths belonging to the School of the Standard-bearers revolted at the command of the Sub-Lieutenant Wysocki. They demanded cartridges: "Cartridges," cried Wysocki, "you will find them in the boxes of the Russians! Forward!" Whilst 130 of them surprised the barracks of the Russian cavalry, a handful rushed to the palace of the Belvedere, where the Tzarévitch resided. Constantine had just time to escape; the director of police and other officials fell beneath the blows of the conspirators. In a few moments all the Polish troops, the infantry, a battalion of sappers, the horse artillery, and a regiment of grenadiers, hastened to the arsenal, seized 40,000 muskets, and distributed

arms among the insurgent people. Five Polish generals, accused of treason to the national cause, were put to death. The brave General Noviński, victim of a mistaken identity, suffered the same fate. The Grand Duke, seeing the insurrection spread, decided to evacuate the town and retire to the village of Wirzba; he even sent back to Warsaw the Polish regiment of mounted sharp-shooters who had alone remained loyal.

Prince Lubeck hastened to convoke the council of administration, to which was added a certain number of influential citizens. The majority of this council considered the struggle with Russia an act of madness, and entreated the people to "end all their agitations with the night, which had covered them with her mantle." This advice was not listened to: the crowd summoned other men to the head of affairs,—the Princes Czartoryski and Ostrovski, Malakhovski, and the celebrated professor and historian Lélével. The students were organized into a crack regiment; Lélével opened a patriotic club, and published a daily paper; the patriot Chłopiński, a brave officer who had served with distinction under Napoleon, was appointed generalissimo, but Chłopiński saw no hope for Poland save in a prompt reconciliation with the Emperor. He despatched envoys to St. Petersburg, to the Grand Duke's head-quarters, and even to London and Paris, to obtain the mediation of the Western Powers. Two parties were concerned in this movement—the moderate party, who wished to mend the link that they had broken with the legal government by soliciting, at the most, a reform of the constitution and the annexation of the Lithuanian palatinates; and the party of the democrats, who insisted on the abdication of the Romanoffs, the restoration to the country of its independence, and the recovery by arms of the lost provinces. Nicholas repelled all efforts to treat which were not preceded by an immediate and unconditional submission. His proclamation deprived the insurgents of all hopes "of obtaining concessions as the price of their crimes." From that time the war party at Warsaw triumphed over the peace party. Chłopiński, disgusted with the conduct of the more advanced spirits, had resigned the post of generalissimo. He finally accepted the dictatorship, and gave himself up, without any hope of success, to organizing the defence, while continuing the negotiations. He and Lélével were particularly uncongenial: the latter was of opinion that the Poles ought to take the offensive, throw themselves into Lithuania and Volhynia, arm the peasants, and raise a levy *en masse*; declaring that when an insurrection did not spread it was certain to fail. "Well, then," exclaimed Chłopiński impatiently, "make war with your reapers yourself," and he resigned his command a second time for a subordinate post.

The Diet now assembled and appointed Prince Radzivil, a weak man, without military talents, generalissimo. His election was hailed by cries of "To Lithuania! to Lithuania!" In the session of the 13th–25th January, Count Ezerski, one of the two negotiators sent by Chłopiński to St. Petersburg, gave an account of their interview with the Emperor. The replies of Nicholas did not give more ground for hope than his proclamation of the 17th of December. He refused to parley with rebel subjects. He at once rejected the idea of despoiling Russia of the Lithuanian provinces for the benefit of Poland. He considered it a sacred duty to stifle the insurrection and punish the guilty, adding that if the nation took up arms against him Poland would be crushed by Polish guns. Then the Diet proclaimed the Romanoffs to have forfeited the throne. It hoped by this step to engage the sympathy of the Western courts, but in reality it rendered all attempts at pacific mediation impossible; the Poles having abandoned the ground of the treaties of 1815, the only ones to which European diplomacy could appeal. As to an armed intervention in the presence of the hostility of the German Powers, neither England nor France could dream of such a thing. In vain the population of Paris made energetic manifestations of its sympathies, in vain the Chambers resounded with warlike addresses; all these demonstrations had no effect. Six days after its declaration of freedom, the Polish government instituted a provisional government composed of five members: Adam Czartoryski, president; Barzikowski, Niemojewski, Morazski, and Joachim Lélével, who represented democratic tendencies in this supreme council.

The Tzarévitch had completely evacuated the kingdom; Modlin and all the other fortresses were in the hands of the rebels. To protect Warsaw on the east, they had thrown up a formidable work to cover the bridge; the Polish forces with the new levies amounted to 90,000 men, well provided with artillery. In February, 1831, an army of 120,000 Russians, under the command of Diébitch *Zabalkanski*, the hero of the Balkans, entered Poland in a severe frost, driving back the Polish detachments into Warsaw. The insurgent General Dverniéki gained an advantage at the skirmish of Stoczek. A two days' battle at Grochov, glorious for Poland (19th and 20th February), did not hinder the Russians from approaching Warsaw, and the combats of Bialolenska and of the wood of Praga (24th and 25th of February) brought them nearly up to the Praga quarter. Radzivil then resigned his office, and was succeeded by Skrzynecki. The main body of the Russian army had abandoned the bank of the Vistula, with the exception of three small corps—that of Rosen

at Dembévilkie, that of Geismas at Waver, and a third under Praga. The Polish general attacked them suddenly, and defeated Geismar at Waver and Rosen at Dembévilkie and Iganié, but did not dare to push his advantages further. An expedition directed against Volhynia by Dvernički failed completely; he was driven back into Gallicia.

The Lithuanian expedition ended in a disaster under Wilna; the Poles had to cross the Prussian frontier, and only one division, that of Dembinski, re-entered Warsaw. In the interval, Skrzynecki having attacked the right wing of the Russians at Ostrolenka on the Narev, was, after a severe fight forced back on the other side of the river (26th of May). Cholera raged in both armies, and carried off successively Diébitch and the Grand Duke Constantine.

Political divisions now as always ruined Poland. After some violent scenes, Skrzynecki was replaced by Dembinski, and then by Malekhovski. Two days' revolt made the streets run with blood, and the people committed massacres in the prisons. The moderate party took flight, and Czartoryski fled in disguise. The provisional government resigned its power into the hands of the Diet, who invested General Krukowiecki with the office of dictator. He had some of the mutineers executed, but was not able to re-establish order.

Paskievitch Erivanski, Diébitch's successor, strengthened by the benevolent help of Prussia, which had thrown open to him her arsenals and magazines of Dantzic and Königsberg, had crossed the Vistula below Warsaw, and transported the theatre of war to the left bank. He intended to attack the capital, not from the side of Praga, as Souvorof had done, but from the side of Vola and the Czysté quarter. Two semicircles of concentric intrenchments corresponded to these two quarters, but the Russians had no longer, as on the side of Praga, to overcome the obstacle of the Vistula. On the 6th of September the Russians attacked Vola, where General Sovinski, who had lost a leg at the Moskowa, and Wysocki, who began the revolution were killed. The same day Paskievitch began to cannonade Czysté and the town. The next morning Krukowiecki asked to capitulate. Paskievitch exacted the unconditional submission of the army and the people, the immediate surrender of Warsaw, the reconstruction of the bridge of Praga, and the retreat of the troops on Plock. The Diet having allowed the time fixed for a reply to pass, Paskievitch began the attack. Krukowiecki had accepted his terms, but he had been replaced in the interval by Niemoiewski. Czysté was already in flames, and the Russians were scaling the ramparts, when the Poles capitulated. "Sire,

Warsaw is at your feet," wrote Paskiévitch to the Emperor. "Order reigns at Warsaw," such was the funeral oration pronounced by official Europe over the insurrection. Twenty thousand soldiers laid down their arms at Płock, 15,000 of whom Ramorino took into Galicia.

Not only Warsaw, but Poland herself, lay at the feet of Nicholas. Partial insurrections and new plots were later to revive his resentment. At present he was happy at being able to make an example, and intimidate the European revolution. Sequestrations, confiscations, imprisonments, and banishments to Siberia served as commentaries on the amnesty. The constitution granted by Alexander was annulled; the public offices were abolished and replaced by mere commissions emanating from the public offices of Russia; the directors of these commissions formed, under the management of the *namiestnik*, the council of government. No more diets; Poland was administered by the officials of the Tzar. No more Polish army; it was lost in the imperial army. The national orders were only preserved as Russian orders, distributed among the most zealous servants of the government. The Russian systems of taxes, justice, and coinage were successively introduced into the kingdom. The ancient historical palatinates gave way to Russian provinces; the ancient divisions were modified. These governments amounted to five after 1844: Warsaw, Radom, Lublin, Płock, and Modlin. Thus were matters ordered in Poland proper.

In Lithuania and White Russia, the Polish element was more narrowly watched: the germs of nationality left by the educational policy of Czartoryski were stifled. In reply to the Lithuanian insurrection, the University of Wilna was suppressed, and the Polish language banished from the schools. In order to attach the south-west provinces more closely to Russia, Nicholas, supported by Bishop Joseph Siemaszko, abolished the *Union*. The Uniate bishops and clergy signed the act of Polotsk, by which they entreated to be admitted into the bosom of the national orthodox Church—a request that the Holy Synod hastened to gratify (1839). Part of the monks and the faithful resisted. Siemaszko, now made Metropolitan as the reward of his services, organized missions in which an amount of violence and zeal was used to destroy the Union, equal to that which the Jesuit party of the 17th century had employed to cement it. The affair of the nuns of Minsk made a special scandal. The orthodox peasants profited, however, by this revolution. In order to protect them against the ill-will of their masters who had remained Catholics or Uniates, the authorities of White Russia and Lithuania were desired to make "inventories" which

would exactly determine the amount of their rents and the sum of their dues. The "inventories" put an end to the despotism of the nobles: this was the beginning of emancipation.

ILL-FEELING AGAINST FRANCE: THE EASTERN QUESTION; REVOLUTION OF 1848; INTERVENTION IN HUNGARY.

The Polish insurrection had resulted, as to general policy, in a more intimate union between the three Powers of the North, which bound themselves by a treaty to deliver up each other's rebel subjects; and in a kind of rupture between Russia and the Western Powers, most of which had given evidence of their sympathy for the Polish cause. Nicholas I., the chief representative of European conservatism, looked on France as the hot-bed of perpetual revolutions. He wished the world to be immovable; now Paris periodically shook the soil of Europe with her "days." The Revolution of 1830 had overthrown his ally Charles X., caused Belgium and Central Italy to revolt, and the insurrection of Poland was a consequence of it. The sympathies of the French for Poland were strongly manifested; there had been some riots at Paris, and windows were broken at the Russian embassy. Fourteen addresses were successively presented in the Chambers at each new session; the proscribed Poles nowhere received a warmer welcome, and Polish schools were provided for their children. Under the French protection the European revolution and the Polish emigration had become close allies. In Hungary, in Turkey, in the Caucasus, Nicholas was everywhere to find these guests of France, these exiles. He had not waited for these acts of hostility to declare himself against the French. His relations with Louis Philippe, the July king, were a long series of frets, of annoyances, of scarcely disguised insults. In his reply to the notification of the accession of the new sovereign, he had designated the revolution which had given Louis Philippe his crown as an "event for ever to be deplored." He affected a polite impertinence towards the representatives of France, or gave them to understand that the respect he paid them was a tribute merely to their personal merit, and not to their diplomatic quality. MM. de Bourgoing, de Barante, Marshal Maison, and Casimir Périer the younger, were placed one after another in this false position.

The ill-will of Nicholas was shown by acts of a graver kind—by threatening manifestations and displays of military force, by meetings of sovereigns, which seemed ominous of the reconstitution of the Holy Alliance, by attempts at coalition, and even

by flagrant violations of treaties. Nicholas was one day to expiate cruelly the dangerous satisfaction to his pride which he derived from these vain provocations to France and the new ideas. This situation of king of kings, of head of the monarchical governments, of arbiter of Europe, which he was allowed to hold by the complaisance of Austria and Prussia, was more apparent than real, and had more *prestige* than force. Once more the so-called policy of principles was to bring misfortune to Russia.

When in December, 1832, the Egyptian army under Ibrahim, victorious at Beilan and Konieh, seemed to threaten Constantinople, Turkey appealed to the European Powers. Russia was the first to reply by sending her fleet to the Bosphorus, by disembarking 10,000 men on the coast of Asia, and causing 24,000 men to advance to the Pruth. France and England protested through Admiral Ronsin and Lord Ponsonby, and obtained the withdrawal of the Russian forces, the retreat of the Egyptian army, and the treaty of Kutaieh between the Sultan and the Khedive. All seemed to have ended quietly, when a rumor spread that Count Orlof had signed with the Porte the Treaty of Unkiar-Skélessi, which, under the appearance of an offensive and defensive alliance, established the dependence of Turkey on Russia (8th of June, 1833). Each of the two contracting parties engaged to furnish to the other the aid necessary "to secure the tranquillity of its States." This latter article might, in such a distracted country as Turkey, involve a permanent occupation by the Russian forces. By a secret article the Sultan undertook, if the Tzar were attacked, to close the Dardanelles, and to permit no foreign ships to pass through them, on any pretext whatever. England and France protested loudly. This treaty, however, was never executed.

When the war between Egypt and Turkey re-commenced, and Sultan Mahmoud was succeeded by his son Abdul-Medjid (1839), Nicholas took advantage of the lively sympathy shown by France for the Viceroy to isolate her completely from the other Powers. England, always anxious to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman empire, separated herself from France to join the Russians, and associated herself with the conspiracy, whose aim was to exclude the French from the assembly of European Powers. The Tzar saw with satisfaction the affront offered to France by the Treaty of London (15th of July, 1840), concluded between Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia; the irritation caused at Paris by the intervention of the English, Austrians, and Turks in Syria; the embarrassment into which the French were thrown by the warlike policy of Thiers' cabinet

and the imminence of a conflict, where for such a poor stake they would have a general coalition of the great Powers against them. England, which had forsaken France to defend Turkey against Egypt, soon felt the necessity of returning to her, to guarantee Constantinople against the Russian protectorate. On the occasion of the "Convention of the Straits" (13th of July, 1841) France regained her European position. Nicholas had played the singular part of protector of the Ottoman integrity; he had allied himself with the enemy and his natural rival, England; but at the price of these inconsistencies he had given himself the pleasure of humiliating the government of Louis Philippe, and of exposing him to the dangers of a general war.

During all this period he had redoubled his ill offices towards France. In 1833 he had convoked the Congress of Münchengrätz, where the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and their principal ministers, assembled. In 1835, at the manœuvres of Kalisch, he had reviewed an army of 90,000 men, in the presence of the King of Prussia, the Austrian archdukes, and a multitude of princes. On the death of Charles X. he ordered a court mourning of twenty-four days.

In 1846 troubles broke out in Austrian Galicia. The upper classes had made great preparations for a rising against Austria, and the peasants in their turn revolted against their lords. The free city of Cracow had given an asylum to the refugees, and had allowed a provisional Polish government to be installed there, which attempted to reconcile the peasants and their masters by promising to the former the abolition of slavery, and the division of all national property. Nicholas, in his character of queller of revolutions, found work here. His troops were the first to enter Cracow, where they were followed by those of Austria and Prussia. The sovereigns declared the republic of Cracow to be suppressed, and the town itself to be annexed to Austria. France and England could only protest against this violation of the treaties of 1815.

The Revolution of 1848 shook Europe with a violence which had been hitherto unfelt. Not only all Italy and Western Germany followed the movement, but the countries which till now had seemed opposed to the new ideas, and which had been the bulwark of monarchic Europe against the revolutionary spirit, caught the infection, and the excitement spread even to the frontiers of Russia. The German constitution was overthrown; the Germans called a parliament at Frankfort; the Slavs called the Congress of Prague. The Emperor Ferdinand was expelled from Vienna; at Berlin, Frederic William IV. saluted the

corpses which were displayed by the revolutionists; Hungary rose at the voice of Kossuth; even the Danubian principalities, influenced by the party of Roumanian unity, dethroned the Hospodar Bibesco in Wallachia, and the Hospodar Stourdza in Moldavia. Where would the movement stop? Plots were discovered in Russia; Poland, whose flags the Parisian workmen waved in their tumultuous processions, quivered with eagerness.

The Emperor Nicholas planted himself in the face of revolutionary Europe. He first acted in the countries nearest to him; he used his influence with the King of Prussia to prevent him from accepting the imperial crown of Germany; he protested against the events in Bucharest, and sent an army to the principalities; he seized the moment when the Hungarian insurrection had received a shock from the counter Croat insurrection, to respond to the appeal of the young Emperor Francis Joseph. In Hungary too, the Russian regiments were to encounter their old enemies of 1799, 1812, and 1831—the irreconcilable Polish legions, re-organized under Ben and Dembinski. Paskiévitch was charged to complete in the plains of Hungary his victory over Poland. He defeated the Polish-Hungarian army at many points, occupied all Transylvania, and obliged the generalissimo Georgey to sign the capitulation of Villagos in the open country (12th of August, 1849). “Hungary is at the feet of your Majesty,” writes Paskiévitch. Nicholas put it under the feet of Francis Joseph, who treated it more cruelly than Nicholas had treated Poland.

The Tzar’s intervention in the Danish question had more happy results. Nicholas obliged the Prussians to withdraw their troops from the duchies, and their support from the revolted Holsteiners. In 1852 he joined the other Powers to cause the integrity of the Danish monarch to be recognized at the Treaty of London (8th May).

At the other extremity of Europe arose a man who seemed to work with Nicholas to put an end to the European revolution. By the expedition to Rome, he extinguished the Italian republic; by the December *coup d’état*, the French republic. Nicholas, almost reconciled to the hated name of Bonaparte, and to the imminent restoration of a Napoleonic empire, remarked: “France has set an evil example; she will now set a good one. I have faith in the conduct of Louis Napoleon.” The Second Empire was to force him to expiate his hostile and mpolitic conduct towards the July monarchy and the republic of 1848. His desire for the *coup d’état* was realized to his own hurt. His power blazed for the last time when, on the 15th of May, 1852, he reviewed the Austrian army on the

slopes of Vienna, and pressed to his heart that Austrian sovereign "whose ingratitude was to astonish Europe."

SECOND TURKISH WAR ; THE ALLIES IN THE CRIMEA—AWAKENING OF RUSSIAN OPINION.

Nicholas was irritated to see his influence in the East held in check by France and Austria. In the question of the "holy places," France had just obtained a solution favorable to the pretensions of the Catholic Powers. "The Porte authorized the Latins to build an ambry in the cave of Bethlehem." After Omar Pacha's invasion of Montenegro, it was the Austrian ambassador who, without the aid of Russia, had procured the retreat of the Ottoman troops. Nicholas affected to see in these two decisions of the Porte an attempt to annul the right of protectorate over the Eastern Christians, conferred on the Russian sovereign by the treaties of Kairnadji, Bucharest, and Adrianople. Prince Menchikof was sent to Constantinople with orders to obtain a new recognition of his right, and guarantees for the future. The Porte, feeling herself supported by France—on the 20th of March a French fleet had appeared in the Greek waters—refused ; and Menchikof, after having uselessly presented his ultimatum, abruptly broke off the negotiations, and quitted Constantinople. England hesitated to take part in a quarrel in which she saw little but the question of the "holy places" and the pretensions of France : but on the 9th and 14th of January, 1853, two private interviews between Nicholas and the English ambassador, Sir Hamilton Seymour, revealed to the British minister the ultimate aim of all the Emperor's schemes. Their aim was nothing less than to wind up the bankrupt estate of the "sick man." Servia, the Principalities, and Bulgaria were to form independent States under the protection of Nicholas. As to Constantinople, if circumstances obliged him to occupy it, he would establish himself there as trustee and not as proprietor. England should in her turn be free to appropriate territories at her convenience, provided she did not stretch out her hand for Constantinople. "Now," he said, "it is as a friend and a gentleman that I speak to you : if England and myself can come to an understanding about this affair, the rest matters little to me, and I shall care very little as to what *the others* may think or do." He insisted on this latter point. "If we are only agreed, I am completely at ease about the West of Europe ; what *the others* may think at the bottom of their heart is of small importance." These "others" were first France and then Austria. Nicholas

flattered himself that he could persuade and carry away the English; but it did not enter into his calculations that Napoleonic France could ever form an alliance with the England of Waterloo, of St. Helena, and of Hudson Lowe. The imprudent confidence to Seymour rendered the strange alliance possible. England took fright, and it was now her turn to urge France to energetic measures. The invasion of the Principalities appeared to her to be the first step towards the execution of the schemes of dismemberment.

On the 3rd of July, 1853, the Russian troops crossed the Pruth, under the command of General Gortchakof. Nicholas published a proclamation, in which he announced that he did not intend to begin the war, but that he wished to have some securities on which he could rely for the Divan's strict execution of the treaties. The English and French fleets now approached the threatened points, and took up a position in Besika Bay, without crossing the Straits, which the conditions of the treaties still kept closed to ships of war. Russia, however, declared in a circular that this transaction was a threat, which was sure to cause new complications.

Austria proposed that a conference should assemble at Vienna, and delegates from the five Powers met and took part in it. Prussia had made advances to Austria. At this moment peace might have been secured. The Tzar was disposed to make certain concessions, provided his right to the protectorate was recognized; but Turkey took the initiative in war by summoning Russia to evacuate the Principalities. The Turks displayed more energy in this war on the Danube than the Russians expected. On November 30, 1853, the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinope by Admiral Nakhimof destroyed all hopes of localizing the war. The French and English fleets, which at the beginning of hostilities had entered the Bosphorus, now sailed into the Black Sea, and obliged the Russian fleet to withdraw into ports.

On the 26th of January, 1853, Napoleon III. had addressed an autograph letter to Nicholas as a last attempt at peace. Things, however, had now gone too far, and the Tzar's reply left no alternative but to make war. Meanwhile, England had published Seymour's despatches about his interview with Nicholas, and this violation of the secrecy asked by the Emperor, "speaking as a friend and a gentleman," profoundly irritated Russia. The consequences of these revelations were very serious. France, Austria, and Prussia, saw how completely Nicholas intended to sacrifice them, and were stung by his contempt for all that "the others" might think or do. On the 12th

of March, 1854, France and England assured Turkey of their support. On the 10th of April an offensive and defensive treaty of alliance was concluded. On the 20th, Austria, which was making a threatening concentration of troops on the Danube, signed with Prussia a treaty of guarantee and a treaty of alliance in case the Tzar attacked Austria or crossed the Balkans. Nicholas had found means to unite the whole of Europe against him.

The immense superiority of the navy of the allies allowed them to attack Russia in all her seas. In the Black Sea they bombarded the military port of Odessa (22nd of April, 1854), while respecting the town and the commercial port. The Russian settlements on the coast of the Caucasus—Anapa, Redout-Kale, and Soukoum-Kale—had been burned by the Russians themselves. In the Baltic the allies blockaded Cronstadt, disembarked on the isles of Aland, took the fortress of Bomarsund (16th of August 1854), and in 1855 bombarded Sveaborg. In the White Sea they attacked the fortified monastery of Solovetski. In the Sea of Okhotsk they blockaded the Siberian ports, destroyed the arsenal of Petropavlovsk, and threatened the position of the Russians on the river Amour.

The Russians, menaced by the Austrian concentration on the Danube, by the disembarkation of the French and English (first at Gallipoli and then at Varna), made a last effort to take Silistria, the siege of which (April to July) had already cost them many men. They failed. In the Dobrudscha, an expedition directed by the French had no military results, but the army was decimated by the cholera and fevers from the marshes. The Russians decided to evacuate the Principalities, which were then occupied by the Austrians, according to an agreement with Europe and the Sultan. The war on the Danube was ended; the Crimean war had begun!*

It had been finally resolved on in a council held at Varna on the 21st of July between the generals of the French, English, and Turkish armies. On the 14th of September, 500 ships landed the expeditionary troops near Eupatoria; on the 20th, the battle of the Alma opened them the way to Sebastopol. This was a thunderbolt to Russia. Since 1812 no enemy had landed on her soil; the Crimea, protected by a formidable fleet, impregnable fortresses, and a numerous army, seemed secure from all attacks. Now the army was beaten, and the Black Sea fleet, which had retreated to the harbor of Sebastopol, only served to obstruct the channel. Sebastopol itself was so badly protected

* See Camille Rousset, '*Histoire de la Guerre de Crimée*,' 2 vols. with an atlas: and M. Rambaud's '*Français et Russes, Moscou et Sevastopol*.'

and armed—at least, on the land side—that many officers still think that a bold march of the allies on Sebastopol would have made them masters of the town.

When, however, the first moment's surprise had passed, the Russians set to work. In a few days they repaired years of carelessness or official peculation. Townsfolk, soldiers, and sailors labored at the earthworks. In a very short time, thanks to their marvellous activity, the stony soil of the Chersonesus was raised in redoubts, and in ramparts crowned with fascines. The bastions of the Centre, of the Mast, of the two Redans, and of the Malakof, all afterwards so celebrated, bristled with guns taken from the navy. Fourteen or fifteen thousand sailors, all eager to avenge the ruin of the fleet, came to reinforce the garrison. Admirals Kornilof, Istomine, and Nakhimof, who were all three to die on the bastion of the Malakof, directed the defence. The allies had marched on the port of Balaclava, which they had captured. They then took up a position on the south of Sebastopol, investing at the same time both the town and the Karabelnaïa, and getting supplies by the ports of Kamiesch and Balaclava. On the northern side, the beleaguered place communicated freely, by the bridges over the great harbor, with the Russian field-army, and could continually receive reinforcements and supplies. It was less a city besieged by an army than two armies intrenched opposite each other and keeping all their communications. Many times the allies were interrupted in their labors by the field-army; and they had to give battle at Balaclava (25th October), at Inkermann (5th November), and at Eupatoria (17th February). Whilst the allies dug trenches, bored mines, and multiplied their batteries, the Russian engineers, directed by Todleben, strengthened the town fortifications, and built new ones—Transbalkan, Selinghinsk, Volhyne, and Kamschatka (White Works, Green Mamelon)—under the enemy's fire. The allies, in spite of the hardships of a severe winter, established themselves more and more firmly, braving in a corner of the Crimea all the forces of the empire of the Tzars.

On the day of the 26th of December, 1825, Nicholas had been consecrated, in the blood of conspirators, the armed apostle of the principle of authority, the exterminating angel of the counter-revolution. This position he had held for thirty years, not without glory. He had subdued the Polish, Hungarian, and Roumanian revolutions, and prevented Prussia from yielding to the seductions of the German revolution and to the appeals of disaffection in Holstein. He had, if not humiliated, at least troubled the French revolution in all its legal phases—

July royalty, republic, and empire. He had saved the Austrian empire, and hindered the creation of a democratic German empire. He stationed himself wherever the contrary principle made its appearance. People surnamed him the Don Quixote of autocracy: like Cervantes' hero, he possessed a chivalrous, generous, and disinterested spirit; but, like him too, he represented a superannuated principle in a new world. His part of chief of a chimerical Holy Alliance became more visibly an anachronism day by day. Since 1848 particularly, the "aspirations" of the people were in direct contradiction with his theories of patriarchal despotism. This opposition was apparent all through Europe. The Tzar's *prestige* began to suffer. In Russia he still contrived to sustain it: his successes in Turkey, Persia, the Caucasus, Poland, and Hungary, and the apparent deference of the European princes, permitted him to play his part of Agamemnon among kings. Russia hoped to indemnify herself for her internal submission by her external greatness. People forgot to exclaim at the interference of the police, at the fetters imposed on the press, at the intellectual isolation of Russia, and they renounced the control of government, diplomacy, war, and administration. The hard-working monarch, they thought, would foresee all, watch over all, and bring all to a happy conclusion. The men with liberal "aspirations," the discontented and critical spirits, were not listened to. In reply to the objections timidly expressed by a few, was urged the monarch's success. It seemed to justify absolute confidence and relinquishment of themselves to the Government.

The disasters in the East caused a terrible awakening. The invincible fleets of Russia were forced to take refuge in the ports, or to retreat into the harbor of Sebastopol. The army was vanquished at the Alma by the allies, at Silistria by the much-despised Turks. Fifty thousand Westerns installed under Sebastopol insulted the majesty of the empire; the allies of old had failed: Prussia was passive, Austria a traitor. The silence of the press had during thirty years favored the thefts of the *employés*: the fortresses and the armies had been ruined beforehand by administrative corruption. The nation had expected everything of the Government, and the Crimean war appeared as an immense bankruptcy of autocracy: the absolute and patriarchal monarchy handed in its schedule in face of the Anglo-French invasion. The greater men's hopes had been—the more people expected the conquest of Constantinople, the upheaval of the East, the extension of the Slav empire, the deliverance of Jerusalem—the harder and more cruel was the awakening. Then a vast movement was felt in Russia. Tongues were

unloosed, and in default of the press an immense manuscript literature was secretly distributed. The Government was pelted with unexpected charges, accusing the Emperor, the ministers, the administration, the diplomatists, the generals, every one at once. "Arise, O Russia!" said one of these anonymous pamphlets. "Devoured by enemies, ruined by slavery, shamefully oppressed by the stupidity of *tchinovniks* and spies, awaken from thy long sleep of ignorance and apathy! We have been kept long enough in serfage by the successors of the Tatar khans. Arise, and stand erect and calm, before the throne of the despot; demand of him a reckoning of the national misfortunes. Tell him boldly that his throne is not the Altar of God, and that God has not condemned us forever to be slaves. Russia, O Tzar, had confided to thee the supreme power, and thou wert to her as a god upon earth. And what hast thou done? Blinded by passion and ignorance, thou hast sought nothing but power; thou hast forgotten Russia. Thou hast consumed thy life in reviewing troops, in altering uniforms, in signing the legislative projects of ignorant charlatans. Thou hast created a despicable race of censors of the press, that thou mightst sleep in peace, and never know the wants, never hear the murmurs of thy people, never listen to the voice of truth. Truth! thou hast buried her; thou hast rolled a great stone before the door of her sepulchre, thou hast placed a strong guard round her tomb, and in the exultation of thine heart thou hast said, 'For her, no resurrection!' Now, on the third day, Truth has arisen; she has quickened herself amongst the dead. Advance, O Tzar! appear at the bar of God and of history! Thou hast mercilessly trodden Truth under thy feet, thou hast refused liberty, at the same time that thou wast enslaved by thine own passions. By thy pride and obstinacy thou hast exhausted Russia; thou hast armed the world against her. Humiliate thyself before thy brothers. Bow thy haughty forehead in the dust, implore pardon, ask counsel; throw thyself into the arms of thy people. There is no other way of salvation for thee."

More than once, towards the end of his life, the Tzar was seized with doubts, but this advocate of absolute power could not make atonement. "My successor," he said, "may do what he will: I cannot change." He could not change, he could only disappear. He was a man of another age, an anachronism in the new Europe. When, from his villa at Peterhof, he could follow the manœuvres of the enemy's fleet; when he heard raised against him the voice of the hitherto silent nation, then this proud heart bled,—the "iron Emperor" was broken. He longed to die. One day in February 1855, having already bad in-

fluenza, he went out without his great-coat, in a cold of 23° Centig. His doctor, Karrel, tried to restrain him. "You have fulfilled your duty," replied the Emperor, "let me do mine." Other imprudences aggravated his illness. He gave his last instructions to his heir, and himself dictated the despatch which he sent to all the great towns of Russia—"The Emperor is dying." On February 19th-March 3rd he died.

CHAPTER XV.

ALEXANDER II. (1855-1877).

End of the Crimean war : Treaty of Paris—The Act of the 19th of February, 1861 : judicial reforms ; local self-government—The Polish insurrection—Intellectual movement ; industrial progress ; military law—Conquests in Asia—European policy.

END OF THE CRIMEAN WAR : TREATY OF PARIS.

ALEXANDER II., born in 1819, succeeded to the throne at the age of thirty-seven, in circumstances which were as complicated within as without. "You will find the burden heavy," said his father on his death-bed. His first care was to terminate on honorable conditions the war which was exhausting Russia. At the news of the death of Nicholas, the Funds had risen on all the exchanges of Europe. This peaceful hope did not allow itself to be discouraged by the proclamation by which the new Emperor proposed to himself "to accomplish the schemes and desires of our illustrious predecessors—Peter, Catherine, Alexander the well-beloved, and our father of imperishable memory." The new sovereign knew better than anyone how little the ambitious projects of Peter and Catherine were appropriate to the circumstances in which he found himself. A conference was again opened at Vienna, between the representatives of Austria, Russia, and the two Western Powers. They could not agree as to the guarantees to be exacted from Russia. France demanded the neutralization of the Black Sea, or the limitation of the number of vessels which the Tzar might keep in it. "Before you limit our forces," Gortchakof and Titof, the representatives of Russia, might reply, "at least take Sebastopol."

The siege continued. Sardinia in her turn now sent 20,000 men to the East. Austria had engaged (2nd December, 1854) to defend the Principalities against Russia, and Prussia to defend Austria. Napoleon III. and Queen Victoria exchanged visits. Pélissier had succeeded General Canrobert (16th of May). In the night of the 22nd of May, two sorties of the Russians were repulsed. The allies encamped with a strong force on the left

bank of the Tchernaiâ, an expedition destroyed the military establishments of Kertch and Ienikale, occupied the Sea of Azof, and bombarded Taganrog, thus leaving to the Russians no base of supplies except Perekop. The Turks were in Anapa, and summoned the Circassians to revolt.

Pélissier had announced that he would take Sebastopol. On the 7th of June he took the Green Mamélon and the White Works by assault. On the 18th the French assailed the Malakof, and the English the Redan, but they were repulsed with a loss of 3000 men. On the 16th of August the Italian contingent distinguished itself at the battle of Traktir on the Tchernaiâ. The last day of Sebastopol had come: 874 guns thundered against the bastions, and against the town. The Russians displayed a stoical bravery and a reckless intrepidity. In the last twenty-eight days of the siege they lost 18,000 men by the bombardment alone; a million and a half of bullets, bombs, shells, and grenades had been thrown into the town. The French had dug fifty miles of trenches during the 336 days of the siege, and 4100 feet of mines before one bastion alone. They had pushed their lines within 100 feet of the Malakof, under "a hell fire," the noise of which was heard for more than sixty-two miles round. The Russian bastions crumbled, bomb-proof roofs were driven in, the gunners fell by hundreds, the soldiers of the reserve by thousands. Koriîlof, Istomine, and Nakhimof had fallen. The besieged had no longer time to repair the breaches made by the batteries, to charge the useless pieces, hardly to carry away the dead. In one single day 70,000 projectiles were fired into the town. It was the beginning of the end. On the 8th of September, 1855, at twelve o'clock, the allied batteries suddenly ceased to fire. The French threw themselves on the Malakof, and maintained their position against all efforts to dislodge them, and, in spite of the check of the English at the Great Redan, Sebastopol was taken. The Russians evacuated the city and the Karabelnaiâ, burning and blowing up everything in their rear, and retreated to the northern side. Meanwhile the navy had continued to threaten the coasts; it destroyed the fort of Kinburn, and the Russians blew up that of Otchakof.

Russia, however, did not yet seem ready to submit. Gortchakof announced to the army assembled at the north of the harbor of Sebastopol that "he would not voluntarily abandon this country where St. Vladimir had received baptism." Alexander too encouraged the brave troops with his presence, and wept over the ruins of the great fortress. The *Bee* newspaper officially announced to Europe "that the war was now becoming serious, and that Sebastopol being destroyed, a stronger fortress would

be built," but the fact could no longer be disguised that the country wished for peace. This war had cost 250,000 men; the banks only paid in paper, and the public refused that of the Government. England, on her side, manifested the most warlike disposition. Palmerston and the greater part of the British newspapers did not consider Russia sufficiently humiliated, but it was obvious that the war was drawing to a close. The Treaty of November 1855, between France and Sweden, only contained a simple guarantee, and no mention was made of the offensive alliance proclaimed by the Gazettes. The fall of Kars, by consoling the military vanity of Russia, made her more inclined to treat. Alexander II. declared his intention of adhering in principle to the "ultimatum of the four guarantees" presented by Count Esterhazy, and a congress met at Paris on the 25th of February, 1856. France, England, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, and Turkey appeared at it, and Russia was represented by Baron de Brünnow and Alexis Orlof. Peace was signed on the 30th of March on the following bases:—1. Russia renounced her exclusive right of protection over the Danubian principalities, and all interference with their internal affairs. 2. The free navigation of the Danube was to be effectually secured by the establishment of a commission, in which the contracting parties should be represented. Each of them should have the right to station two sloops of war at the mouth of the river. Russia consented to a rectification of frontiers which should leave Turkey and the Roumanian principalities all the Danubian delta. 3. The Black Sea was made neutral ground: her waters, open to merchant ships of all nations, were forbidden to men-of-war, whether of the Powers on the coasts or of any others. No military or maritime arsenals were to be created there. Turkey and Russia could only maintain ten light ships to watch the coasts. 4. The *hattischerif* by which the Sultan Abdul-Medjid renewed the privileges of his non-Mussulman subjects was inserted in the treaty, but with the clause that the Powers could not quote this insertion as authorizing them to interfere between the Sultan and his subjects.

By the Treaty of Paris Russia lost both the domination of the Black Sea and the protectorate of the Eastern Christians, thus annihilating the fruits of the policy of Peter I., Anne, Catherine II., and Alexander I. Thus were condemned to ruin the fleets and naval arsenals created by Potemkine, the Duc de Richelieu, the Marquis de Traversay, and Admiral Lazaref; thus the fortresses of Sebastopol, Kinburn, and Ienikale were deserted. The treaties of Kaïrnadji, Bucharest, and Adrianople were deprived of all the hopes of conquest and dominion to

which they had given rise. The imprudent policy of Nicholas had compromised the work of two centuries of successful efforts.

Russia also took part in the Convention of 1858, which organized the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and in that of 1859, which allowed them to become one State, namely Roumania, a precious relic of the great Roman colony founded by the Emperor Trajan on the Lower Danube.

THE ACT OF THE 19TH OF FEBRUARY, 1861: JUDICIAL REFORMS;
LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

In the manifesto which announced to his people the termination of the Eastern war, Alexander expressed his conviction that "by the combined efforts of the Government and the nation," government, law, and police would undergo important reforms. He understood that the disasters of the Danube and the Crimea must in a great measure be imputed to the administration, protected as it was by the silence of public opinion, the slavery of the press, and the rigor of the police and of the censorship. The events of 1855 taught the important lesson that a people in which the majority of the agricultural classes was subjected to serfage could not rival the European nations in intellectual, scientific, or industrial progress. Now, in modern warfare, success is the result of all the moral and material forces of a State. The system of governing Russia without giving the people a voice in the management of their own affairs, of conducting all public business in the routine and silence of the bureaux, was condemned. The officials, so haughty under Nicholas, bowed their heads under the public execration. The name of *tchinovnik*, once so formidable, became a term of derision and contempt; public opinion naturally associated it with everything superannuated, ridiculous, or odious. The servants of the autocracy, stooping beneath the weight of a crushing responsibility, displayed a kind of shame by hiding their pompous titles and the decorations which they had formerly flaunted with pride. It seemed as if the Conservative Russia of Nicholas I. had sunk into the earth; every one called himself a Liberal. A breath of audacious hope, of courageous enterprise, passed through the country. The movement, which in 1801 only affected the immediate surrounding of Alexander, now spread through all Russia. A thousand voices were raised in the papers, in the reviews, and in the books, all suddenly emancipated; in the drawing-rooms and in the streets, where the bewildered police forgot to spy. What had been murmured in the manuscript

literature of the last months of Nicholas was now printed freely. "The heart beats with joy," said one of the leading organs of the press, "in expectation of the social reforms which are on the point of being carried out—reforms which will give satisfaction to the minds, wishes, and hopes of the public. The ancient harmony and community of sentiment which, in all but short and exceptional periods, have always existed between the Government and the people, are completely re-established. The absence of all sentiment of caste, the feeling of a common origin, and of a fraternity which binds all classes of Russia into a single homogeneous people, will permit the easy and peaceful fulfilment, not only of those great reforms which have cost Europe centuries of bitter struggles, but of other reforms that the nations of the West, enchained by their feudal traditions and their caste prejudices, are even now in no state to accomplish." And again: "We have to fight in the name of the highest truth with egotism and the pitiful interests of the moment. We must prepare our children from their tenderest years to take part in the struggle that awaits every brave man. We must thank the war which has opened our eyes to the dark sides of our political and social organization, and it is our duty to profit by the lesson. But we ought not to suppose that the Government can of itself cure us of our faults. Russia is like a stranded ship, which the captain and the crew alone could never rescue; she can only be floated by the all-powerful reflux of the national life." Men of letters, suspected and spied upon during the preceding reign, now led public opinion. Literature took a militant and practical character; the old quarrel of the romantic and classical schools was left far behind. "It did not seem strange," says Mr. Mackenzie Wallace, "that a drama should be written to defend free trade or a poem to extol a certain form of impost, nor that political ideas should be expressed in a story, whilst the adversary replied in a comedy." The delicate questions that the Russian press feared to bring forward, and the great personages that it did not dare to attack, were left to the exiled Herten in London, with his terrible *Bell* (*Kolokol*), the dread of dishonest officials. The proscribed numbers of the *Kolokol* made their way by thousands into Russia, were laid on the table of the Emperor, and revealed to him the most secret iniquities.

In their eagerness for reform the people wished everything to be undertaken at once, but it was soon seen that all questions remained in abeyance till that of the emancipation of the peasants was settled. Whether it was a question of self-government, of education, of industrial liberty, of military service, or legal equality, it was sure to come back to social reform, where therefore they must begin.

The unfree population of Russia amounted at that time to 47,100,000 individuals, divided into 20,000,000 Crown peasants, 4,700,000 peasants of appanages, mines, factories, etc., 21,000,000 belonging to proprietors, and 1,400,000 *dvorovié*, or domestic servants. The peasants of the Crown and of the appanages might be considered as freemen, subject to the payment of a rent, or of other well-defined dues, settled by the State, which was represented either by the administration of the domain or by the department of the appanages. The Crown peasants even enjoyed a sort of local self-government. They regulated their affairs in their communes or *mirs* through an elder and an elected council. They were judged by elected tribunals—the tribunal of the village and the tribunal of the *volost* or district, which applied the peasant customs. Nothing more was needed than to give the name of freemen to men substantially free. This was done when their right to personal liberty was proclaimed, and when certain restrictions on their right to come and go, to acquire new lands, or to dispose of their goods were abolished. This was accomplished by a series of edicts, the first dating July 1858.

The case of peasants belonging to private owners, and the position of the *dvorovié*, were different. The emancipation of these 22,500,000 men was to bring about the most prodigious social change which has taken place in Europe since the French Revolution. The liberation of the peasants properly so called, which would make them owners of part of the soil which they cultivated, was an enterprise surrounded with difficulties on all sides. As to the question of personal liberty, every one was agreed, but there were dissensions as to the question of property. To elucidate this it was necessary to go back to the historic origin of Russian property, to choose between the systems and theories formulated by different schools of historians. The most authoritative of these proved that serfage was not introduced into Russia by the conquest of one race by another, for it was exactly in those provinces conquered by the Russians—in the Finnish or Tatar countries—that serfage did not exist, while its greatest development was to be found in the midst of the conquering people. Serfage had been sanctioned by a series of acts emanating from the throne; and the nearer a province was to the Muscovite centre, the more ancient and the more firmly established was serfage found to be. The northern regions, the governments of Archangel and Vologda, were exempt from it. The *krépostnoé pravo* was therefore a Muscovite institution, a creation of the Tzarian power. It took its rise in the period when, under the pressure of the Mongol yoke, Russian society

formed itself into a rigorous hierarchy, in which the sovereign of Moscow arrogated to himself absolute authority over the nobles, as the nobles did over the peasants—their subjects. The *krépostnoé pravo* sprang from the new wants of the infant State. The grant of lands to the military class, to the nobles, was the recompense for the service exacted from them; the revenues of the soil constituted their pay, and were to defray the expenses of their outfit and equipment. They were besides charged to govern and administer the lands of their domain, and to pay in the amount of the poll-tax to the prince, whose tax-gatherers they were. But the land had no value without the hands that cultivated it, the revenues of an estate diminished with the number of peasants; the noble who was deserted by his peasants was ruined, and in no condition to serve the prince. In order that military service might be secured, and that the produce of the tax might suffer no diminution, it was necessary to hinder the emigration of the peasants. The interest of the noble, as well as the interest of the State, demanded that the liberty of coming and going should be restrained, that the noble should be armed with a formidable authority over the peasant, and that the laborer should be fixed to the soil. Almost everywhere, without any intervention on the part of the legislature, the husbandman gradually became a serf. Legally free, the peasant had become a slave; legally a simple tenant for life, the noble had become in fact the owner of the land, the proprietor of the peasants. The state of things created by arbitrary power was afterwards legalized by a series of legislative acts, which one after the other restrained the liberty of the moujik and augmented the authority of the lord. Such were the *oukazes* of Feodor Ivanovitch in 1592 and 1597, of Boris Godounof in 1601, of Vassili Chouïski in 1607, of Peter the Great in 1723, and of Catherine II. for Little Russia in 1783.

The peasant, while resigning himself to this condition of affairs, had not entirely lost all sense of his rights. His ancient right to the ownership of the land he expressed after his own fashion in the proverb, "Our backs are the lord's, but the soil is our own." He forgot less easily than the Government the fact that the peasant's obligation to serve the lord was co-relative to the lord's obligation to serve the Tzar. When Peter III. in his short reign freed the nobles from the obligation of serving the State, the peasant expected that the corollary of this first edict would be a second edict, setting free the peasant from his bondage to the soil and from paying dues to the lord. Hence the troubles of 1762, the insurrection of 1773, when a false Peter III. appeared to finish the work of the deceased Emperor.

During the campaign of 1812, the peasants for a moment believed that Napoleon was bringing them liberty, and the agitation was revived during the Crimean war. Serfage was decidedly the weak point of Russia. An invader could raise against her at once a servile and a foreign war.

We have seen the efforts at emancipation under Alexander I., and the edict of Nicholas in 1842. The latter, by the *oukazes* of 1845, 1847, and 1848, had recognized the right of individuals and communes to acquire landed property. One of Nicholas's enemies has not been able to refuse him this testimony: "However hostile may have been his views of liberty, we must do him the justice to say that he never ceased through the whole of his life to cherish the idea of emancipating the serfs" ('Truth about Russia'). He had to bequeath this task to his son. A few days after the Treaty of Paris was signed, in March 1856, Alexander II., in an address to the marshal of the Moscow nobility, while guarding himself against the notion that he aimed at the instant emancipation of the serfs, invites "his faithful nobles" to seek the proper means to prepare for the execution of this measure. The Muscovite proprietors showed, however, but little enthusiasm. The Emperor had to content himself with appointing (2nd-14th January, 1857) "a chief committee for the amelioration of the condition of the peasants." He understood that such a measure could only be carried out by an energetic exercise of the imperial power. This same year the nobles of the governments of Kief, Volhynia, and Podolia, disturbed by the measures taken by Nicholas I. after the institution of the "inventories," "took," says Schnitzler, "a desperate resolution." They declared themselves ready to emancipate the peasants. Whether they thought that the bare idea of so radical a measure would alarm the Government, or whether they hoped that the emancipation would necessarily be based on the idea of a proportionate pecuniary indemnity, they furnished the Emperor with the occasion he sought to give the question a final impulse. He authorized by an edict the nobility of the three Lithuanian governments to proceed with the work of emancipation. He sent this edict and the ministerial instructions which formed its commentary to all the governors and all the marshals of the nobility throughout the provinces of the empire, "for their information," and also, adds the circular, "for your direction, in case that the nobles confided to your care should express the same intention as the three Lithuanian governments. The nobles of St. Petersburg, Nijni-Novgorod, and Orel made a reply which encouraged the Emperor.

Another encouragement came to him from the press, almost

the whole of which hailed with enthusiasm a measure "which was to open a new and glorious epoch in the national history." "All sections of the literary world," says Mr. Mackenzie Wallace (vol. ii. p. 277), "had arguments to offer in support of the foregone conclusion. The moralists declared that all prevailing vices were the product of serfage, and that moral progress was impossible in an atmosphere of slavery; the lawyers asserted that the arbitrary authority of the proprietors over the peasants had no firm legal basis; the economists explained that free labor was an indispensable condition of industrial and commercial prosperity; the philosophical historians showed that the normal historical development of the country demanded the abolition of barbarism; and the writers of the sentimental, gushing type poured forth endless effusions about brotherly love to the weak and oppressed."

Already the question was not one of giving the peasant his liberty alone. In order to prevent the peasant, now free, but detached from the soil, from falling into the hands of his ancient master, and into a state of dependence more insupportable than that of the past; to hinder the formation of an immense proletariat, more hungry and more dangerous than that which, it was said, menaced the kingdoms of the West, it was necessary to give the newly liberated men some property, to reconstitute and strengthen the Russian commune, whose strong unity and indestructible life formed the best rampart against pauperism. Many proprietors associated themselves with this movement; they trusted that the abolition of the serfage of the peasants would have as its consequence the limitation of the autocratic authority of the Tzars, and that by enfranchising their serfs they would themselves gain political liberty. The re-establishment of the ancient *douma* of the *sobor* was more than once spoken of, the kind of national parliament which under more modern forms would associate the country with the exercise of the supreme authority.

The Government, supported by the addresses of many bodies of nobility, ordered the creation of committees of landowners, charged to examine the question. Forty-six committees, composed of 1336 landowners, assembled to discuss the rights of 23,000,000 of serfs, and of 120 proprietors. The forty-six committees unanimously pronounced for the abolition of serfage without any recompense, but opinions were divided as to the distribution of lands and the conditions of indemnity. The Emperor had again to interfere. He called a chief committee, composed of twelve persons, over which he presided. This committee more than once opposed, in conjunction with some of the

provincial committees, passive resistance to the beneficent schemes of the sovereign. The Emperor went through the provinces, appealing to the conciliatory spirit and devotion of his nobility, reprimanding those who hung back, and reminding them that "reforms came better from above than from below." To subdue the resistance of the superior committee he created another, to which the old one was subordinated, and which he packed with men devoted to the new idea.

The new "imperial commission" did not content itself with elaborating the materials furnished by the provincial committees. Directly inspired by the Emperor, who sent them his paper on "the progress and issue of the peasant question," they legislated on all sides, at the risk of throwing into opposition proprietors who were well disposed, but who complained that they had never been consulted, and that the commission seemed desirous of depriving them of the merit of their sacrifices. The commission gradually gave to the reform a more and more radical character. It admitted the principle that the emancipation should not take place gradually, but that the law should insure the immediate abolition of serfdom; that the most effectual measures should be taken to prevent the re-establishment of the seigniorial authority under other forms, by the liberal organization of the rural communes; and that the peasant should become a proprietor on the payment of an indemnity. From these deliberations resulted the new law, announced by the manifesto of the 19th of February—3rd of March, 1861.

The fundamental principles of the new legislation may be summed up thus:—1. The peasants up to that time attached to the soil were to be invested with all the rights of free cultivators. 2. The peasants should obtain, *minus* the dues fixed by law, the full enjoyment of their enclosure (*dvor*), and also a certain quantity of arable land, sufficient to guarantee the accomplishment of their obligations towards the State. This "permanent enjoyment" might be exchanged for an "absolute ownership" of the enclosure and the lands, subject to a right to buy them back. 3. The lords were to concede to the peasants or to the rural communes the land actually occupied by the latter; in each district, however, a maximum and a minimum were to be fixed. On the whole there was an average of three *dessiatines* and a half for each male peasant; but it varied from one to twelve *dessiatines*, that is to say, the peasants in general received less in the Black Land, and more in the less productive zones. 4. The Government was to organize a system of loans, which would permit the peasants immediately to liberate themselves from their lords, while remaining debtors to the State. 5. The

dvorovié, who were not attached to the soil, were only to receive their personal liberty, on condition of serving their masters for two years. 6. To bring the great work of partition into seignorial lands and peasant lands, to a happy conclusion ; to regulate the amount of the dues, the conditions of repurchase, and all the questions which might arise from the execution of the law, the temporary magistracy of the *mirovye possré dniki*, or mediators of peace, was instituted, who showed themselves for the most part honest, patient, impartial, equitable, and who deserve a great part of the honor of this pacific settlement.

The peasants, freed from the seignorial authority, were organized into communes ; or rather the *commune*, the *mir*, which is the primordial and antique element of Slavo-Russian society, acquired a new force. It inherited the right of police and of surveillance, held by the lord over his subjects ; it administered and judged with more liberty the suits of the peasants. In accordance with the ancient Slav law, the land bought from the lord remained the common property of all the members of the *mir* : each peasant only held as his private property his enclosure and the land thereto pertaining. Arable lands are subject to periodical partition, more or less frequent, among the heads of families, and only possessed by them by way of usufruct. The law, which does not permit a final partition of the common land, except when two-thirds of those interested consent, will for long maintain against the destructive action of new manners and new wants this old European institution, which in our Western countries has disappeared for centuries, in France especially, and has left no trace, except so-called communal properties. The communes, freed from the lords, were grouped, as in the case of the imperial domains, into *volosts* : a *volost* tribunal received the appeal from the communal justices, and a *volost* municipality was charged to watch over the common interests of all the villages under its jurisdiction. The mayor of the commune was called *starost* ; the *volost* mayor, *starchina*. The Russian peasants were thus given a complete system of local self-government, of an absolutely rural character, for the former lord was kept absolutely apart from it. Since his ancient domain had been divided into seignorial lands and peasant lands, he ceased legally to be an inhabitant of the village. His interests being absolutely distinct from those of the peasants, he was forbidden to meddle either with them, their elections, their administration, or their justice.

The great measure of emancipation was, in fact, a settlement of accounts as to the ancient community existing between masters and peasants. It imposed sacrifice on both the inter-

ested parties. If the proprietors were forced to renounce their seignorial rights, the *obrok*, the *corvée*, and part of their lands in exchange for an indemnity, the peasant found it hard to be obliged to buy the very ground whereon his cottage stood; the soil which his ancestors had cultivated in the sweat of their brows, even the land reserved for the lord, they regarded in many places as their own property, because it had been cultivated by them from time immemorial. The partition imposed by the law seemed spoliation to them. The discontent often showed itself in an obstinate resistance to the advice of the "mediators of peace," by the refusal to acquit themselves of their legal obligations, and to enter into negotiation with the lord for the repurchase of the land. They persuaded themselves that the nobles and officials had falsified the edict of the Tzar, or that a fresh act of emancipation, the true one, was to be proclaimed. A strange ferment arose in many provinces; it was necessary to call out the soldiery, and three times the troops had to fire on the people. In the government of Kazan, 10,000 men rose at the call of the peasant Pétrof, who announced to them "the true liberty." A hundred perished, and the chief himself was taken and shot. The emancipation was none the less a beneficent and essential reform, of which the present generation will have to pay the price, while its good results will develop in future generations. The Russian peasants owe their liberty above all to the firm will of the Emperor; to the generous efforts of the Grand Duke Constantine, and of the Grand Duchess Helena, who in 1859 gave an example by emancipating her own peasants; to the enlightened patriotism of Rostovtsof, of Panine, Minister of Justice, of Nicholas Milioutine, of Prince Tcherkasski, of Iouri Samarine, members of the Imperial Commission, of Kochelef, Solovief, Ioukovski, Domotouvitch, etc.; and to a great part of the proprietors, many of whom granted their peasants more than the maximum of land fixed by law.

As a reward for their sacrifices the upper classes in Russia demanded reforms, and more political liberty. If they were refused the re-establishment of the *douma*, that is to say constitutional government, great reforms were at last accomplished in justice and in provincial administration.

In judicial affairs, the edicts from 1862 to 1865 introduced innovations sanctioned by the experience of Western States. Public accusation and defence succeeded to the written and inquisitorial procedure of former times. Criminal justice was placed in the hands of a jury; the police were deprived of the judicial *instruction*, which was given to special magistrates, the *juges d'instruction*; and district courts (*okroujnyé soudi*) were es-

established in each group of *ouiezd*i, or districts. Appeals were carried up to "palaces of justice" (*soudebnaya palaty*) similar to the French courts of appeal, but which only reversed the sentences of the first judges in cases where the law was misinterpreted and misapplied. The senate, made into a court of revision or of annulment, crowns all this organization, in which we find certain wholly French ideas. The justices of the peace constitute a separate hierarchy: the judge of peace (*mirovoy soudia*), elected by the landed proprietors of the district, sits also in a tribunal of arbitration and of ordinary police; his jurisdiction, much more extensive than in France, includes the civil cases not exceeding 500 roubles, and criminal cases where the penalty does not exceed 300 roubles, or more than a year's imprisonment. The sentence can only be appealed from when the sum involved exceeds thirty roubles in civil, and fifteen roubles or three days' imprisonment in criminal cases. In this case the appeal is taken, not as in France before the district tribunal, but before the assembly of justices of the peace for the district (*arrondissement*), or *mirovoy siëzd*, whose verdict can only be annulled by the senate.

The Russian provinces or governments (*gubernii*) are divided into *ouiezd*i or districts. In each district the law of 1864 institutes a district council, formed by deputies elected every three years, in certain fixed proportions, by the three orders of the State,—the landed proprietors, or gentlemen; the rural communes, or *mirs*; and the towns. The council assembles once a year, and is replaced in the interval between its sessions by a permanent executive committee. The functions of the district council, which occupies in the administrative hierarchy the rank immediately superior to the municipal council of the towns and to the councils of the rural *volosts*, consist in being obliged to keep the roads and bridges in repair, to watch over education and sanitary affairs, to inspect the state of the harvest, and to take measures for the prevention of famine. Above the district council (*ouiezdnoë zemstvo*) was instituted the general council (*gubernnoë zemstvo*), elected, not by the primary electors, but by the district councils of the provinces, and in which there was practically a large proportion of noble deputies, in consequence of the tendency of the peasants to avoid all public charges, more considerable in this than in the other assembly. The general council occupies itself with affairs concerning several districts, and votes the provincial budget. Such is a summary of the system of self-government with which the present reign has endowed Russia.

Corporal punishments, that blot on ancient Russia, have

been abolished in the army and the imperial tribunals. They only remain in vigor in the tribunals of the peasants, who, from their attachment to the ancient patriarchal customs, still apply some blows with a cord to delinquents. The censorship has been mitigated; the newspapers of both capitals have received the right to choose between censorship or the liberty of appearing at their own risk and peril. In this case an arrangement borrowed from the second French empire is applied: after three warnings, the paper may be suspended or suppressed. The periodical press of St. Petersburg and Moscow has developed in a surprising manner in an atmosphere of comparative liberty; on the other hand, the provincial press, even in the largest towns, such as Kief and Kazan, scarcely exists. That of Warsaw is in an exceptional situation; that of the Baltic provinces enjoys a greater freedom.

Since 1859 the table of receipts (559 million roubles), and that of State expenses (553 millions), have been given a kind of publicity. In 1860 foreigners acquired all the civil rights accorded to natives, and which are held by Russians in foreign countries. The barriers raised by Nicholas between his empire and Europe have been partially overthrown. The Jews, those at least exercising a trade, were authorized to remove from Poland and the western governments into the interior of the empire. The universities have been freed from the shackles imposed by Nicholas, the limitation of the number of students abolished, the charges of study lowered, and numerous scholarships created.

THE POLISH INSURRECTION.

Great hopes awakened in Poland at the accession of the new sovereign; they went as far as the re-establishment of the constitution, and even to the reunion of the Lithuanian provinces with the kingdom. The awaking of Italy had made that of Poland appear possible; the concessions of the Emperor of Austria to Hungary led men to expect the same from Alexander II. The interview of the three Northern sovereigns at Warsaw, in October 1860, caused a certain irritation among the people. It is necessary also to take into consideration the intrigues set on foot by the Polish committees abroad. If many Poles counted on the support of Alexander II. to help them to raise their country, others wished to emancipate her entirely from Russia. There existed, therefore, two parties in Warsaw and in the foreign committees; the one wished to take Italy as an example, the other would be content with the new lot of Hungary.

The emancipation of the peasants was in Poland, as in Russia, the question of the day, but the conditions of the question were different in Warsaw from what they were in Moscow: the personal liberty of the rustics had been decreed by Napoleon I., at the time that the Grand Duchy was created; but as they had received no property, they continued to farm the lands of the nobles, and paid their rent either in money or by *corvées*. The substitution of a fixed money payment instead of a *corvée* was the first step in the path of reform, which might be carried further by allowing the husbandman to become a proprietor, by paying annually a fixed sum towards the repurchase of the land, and putting means of credit at his disposal. The Agricultural Society, presided over by Count Andrew Zamoiski, found that it was the interest of the Polish nation to anticipate the Russian Government, and to secure to the native nobility the honor of emancipation; the Government, on the contrary, represented by M. Moukhanof, director of the Interior, decided that it was to its advantage to fetter the activity of the society, to forbid the discussion of the question of repurchase, and to confine its functions to the mutation of the *corvée* into fixed dues.

The contest between the Agricultural Society and the Government increased the agitation which already existed at Warsaw. On the 29th of November, 1860, on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the revolution of 1830, demonstrations at once national and religious took place in the streets of the capital, and portraits of Kosciuszko and Kilinski were distributed. On the 25th of February, 1861, the day of the anniversary of the battle of Grochov, the Agricultural Society held a meeting to deliberate on an address, in which the Emperor should be asked for a constitution. Tumultuous crowds gathered in the streets, singing national songs. On the 27th, on the occasion of a funeral service for the victims of the preceding insurrections, there was a new demonstration, which had to be suppressed, with the loss of five killed and ten wounded. Prince Gortchakof, Viceroy of Poland, touched by these strange manifestations, in which the disarmed people confined themselves stoically to facing the musketry without interrupting their songs, labored with Count Zamoiski for the restoration of order. The address to the Emperor circulated in Warsaw, and was covered with signatures; 100,000 persons quietly followed the obsequies of the victims of the 27th of February.

Without desiring to grant a constitution, the Emperor Alexander II. made, however, many important concessions. He decreed (edict of March 26) a council of state for the kingdom, a department of public education and of worship, elective councils

in each government and each district, and municipal councils at Warsaw and the principal cities of the kingdom. The Marquis Viélépolski, a Pole belonging to the party which hoped for the re-establishment of Poland by Russia, was named director of public worship and education.

These concessions were likely to reconcile at least the constitutional party; unhappily their effect was destroyed by the sudden dissolution of the Agricultural Society, in which the mass of the people had placed its hopes, and the demonstrations continued. On the 7th of April a crowd assembled in the square of the *Zamok* (castle of the Viceroy) to demand that the edict of dissolution should be withdrawn, but it dispersed without any result before the hostile attitude of the troops. On the 8th of April the multitude reappeared, more numerous and more violent, shouting that they wanted a *country*; a postilion, who was driving a postchaise, played on his cornet the favorite air of Dombrowski's legions, "No, Poland shall not perish." The crowd, composed in great part of women and children, presented a passive resistance and invincible *vis inertie*, on which the charges of cavalry had no effect. The troops then had recourse to their arms, and fifteen rounds of shot laid 200 dead and a large number of wounded at the feet of the statue of the Virgin. On the following days the people appeared only in mourning, in spite of the prohibition of the police. This uneasy state of things was prolonged for many months. On the 10th of October a Polish and a Lithuanian procession celebrated at Hodlevo, on the Polo-Lithuanian frontier, the four hundredth anniversary of the union of the two countries. The humanity of the Russian commandant allowed the fête to be held without the effusion of blood.

The Government still made one attempt at conciliation when the Emperor appointed Count Lambert as Viceroy, with orders to apply the reforms decreed in March 1761, but the effect of his nomination was weakened by the presence at his side of men devoted to the policy of repression. The anti-Russian party, besides, had not disarmed. On the 15th of October, on the anniversary of Kosciuszko, the people flocked to the churches of Warsaw; the military authorities caused the churches to be surrounded by detachments, without seeing that the inoffensive inhabitants, alarmed at this display, would refuse to leave the churches, and that it would be necessary to drag them out by force. In fact, after a useless blockade that lasted a day and a night, up to four in the morning, the soldiers had to force the cathedral, and carry 2000 people to the fortress. Count Lambert loudly complained to General Gerstenszweig, the military

governor. After a fierce altercation the latter blew out his brains, and Lambert was recalled.

He was succeeded by Count Lüders, who began a period of reaction, and a certain number of influential Warsoviaus were transported. The Grand Duke Constantine, made Viceroy on the 8th of June, 1862, again tried a policy of reconciliation. Viélépolski, one of the promoters of the address to the Emperor, was nominated chief of the civil power. Enthusiasts attempted the lives of Lüders, of Viélépolski, even of the Grand Duke, and violent men profited by all the errors of the Government to push things to extremity, and to turn its good intentions against it. The Poles of Warsaw committed the error of disquieting Russia about the provinces which she regarded as Russian, and an integral part of the empire; the proprietors did not content themselves with demanding, in an address to Constantine, that the government of Poland should be Polish, which was reasonable and just, but insisted that the Lithuanian palatinates should be reunited to the kingdom. The upper classes of Podolia expressed the same wish with regard to that province, to Volhynia and the Ukraine. These imprudences caused the exile of Zamoiski and the arrest of the Podolian agitators. All understanding became impossible; an exercise of authority precipitated the explosion: in the night of the 15th of January, 1863, the military government laid violent hands on the recruits.

The conscripts who had escaped from the police formed the nucleus of the rebel bands which promptly appeared at Blonié and at Siérocł. The war could no longer assume the great character of those of 1794 or of 1831; there was now no Polish army to struggle seriously with that of Russia: it was a little war of guerillas and sharpshooters, who could nowhere hold their own against the Russians, but who plunged into the thick forests of Poland, and concealed themselves there only to appear further on and harass the columns. There were no battles, only skirmishes, the most serious of which was that of Vengrov, on the 6th of February, 1863. A few chiefs made themselves names: among these were Leo Frankovski, Sigismond Padlevski, Casimir Bogdanovitch, Miélençki, the energetic Bossak-Hauke (who was one day to fall under the French flag in the fields of Burgundy), the French Rochebrune and Blankenheim, Mademoiselle Poustovoiiov, Siérakovski (ex-colonel in the Russian army, who was hanged after his check in Lithuania), the priest-soldier Maçkiévicz, Narbutt (son of the historian), Lélével (a pseudonym adopted by a Warsaw workman), and Marian Langiévicz, soon appointed dictator, but who, after the skirmishes of the 17th, 18th, and 19th of March, was driven back into Galicia, and de-

tained there by the Austrians. The secret committee of insurrection, or anonymous government of Poland, had summoned the peasants to liberty and the enjoyment of property.

The exasperated Russians treated the towns and villages concerned in the affair with great cruelty. The village of Ibiány was destroyed, and the Polish chiefs taken with arms in their hands were shot or hanged. General Mouravief in Lithuania declared that it was "useless to make prisoners." Berg in Poland, Dlotovskoi in Livonia, and Annenkof in the Ukraine, were the agents of rigorous repression. Felinski, Archbishop of Warsaw, was transported into the interior of Russia, as a punishment for having written a letter to the Emperor.

Europe was touched. On the 5th of January, 1863, the French minister Billault, in the tribune of the Corps Législatif, had blamed the "baseless hopes excited in the minds of patriots, whose powerless efforts could only bring about new evils"; he recommended the insurgents to the clemency of Alexander. Then France, England, and Austria decided to have recourse to diplomatic intervention, invited the other Powers who had signed the Treaty of Vienna to join in their efforts, and laid before the Russian government the notes of April 1863, which invited her to put an end to the periodical agitations of Poland by a policy of conciliation. On June 17 the three Powers proposed a programme with the following conditions:—1. An amnesty; 2. The establishment of a national representation; 3. The nomination of Poles to public offices; 4. The abolition of restrictions placed on Catholic worship; 5. The exclusive use of the Polish language, as the official language of the administration, of justice, and of education; 6. A regular and legal system of recruiting. This intervention of the Western Powers, which was supported by no military demonstration, was rejected by the famous note of Prince Gortchakof, Chancellor of the empire, and the idea of a European conference was likewise rejected. Europe found herself powerless, and Napoleon III. had to content himself in his speech from the throne with the declaration that the treaties of 1815 were "trampled under foot at Warsaw." The conduct of Prussia had been quite different; she had concluded with Russia the convention of the 8th of February, 1863, for the suppression of the Polish manifestations, and thus laid the foundation of that Prusso-Russian alliance which was to prove so useful to her.

This insurrection was to cost Poland dear. The last remains of her autonomy were extinguished. To-day the "kingdom" is nothing but a name, and the country has been divided into ten provinces (1866). The Russian language has replaced the

Polish in all public acts; the University of Warsaw is a Russian university; the primary, secondary, and superior education all lend their aid to the work of denationalization. Poland lost her institutions without obtaining the benefit of those of Russia—the *zemstva*, the jury, and the new tribunals. As the Government held the nobles responsible for the insurrection, it therefore markedly favored the peasants, authorizing them to “enter into full and entire possession of the lands which they held.” An *oukaze* of the 10th of December, 1865, rendered the sale of confiscated and sequestered property imperative, and Russians alone might be purchasers.

Finland, on the contrary, had all her privileges confirmed. In 1863, Alexander convoked the diet of the grand duchy, the second that had been held since the annexation to the empire. The German nobility of the Baltic provinces, more docile and more politic than that of Poland, were not disturbed. The University of Dorpat remained a German university; the Government only took measures to protect the language and religion of the empire against the propagation of the German tongue and of the Protestant religion. The bold demands of the Slavophil Iouri Samarine, in his ‘Russian Frontiers,’ and the lively polemic sustained against him by the Baltic writers Schirren, Wilhelm von Bock, Julius Eckart, and Sternberg, did not lead to any important changes in the three governments of Livonia, Courland, and Esthonia.

INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENT; MATERIAL PROGRESS; MILITARY LAW.

The Russian agitation began simultaneously with the Polish troubles. At the beginning it seemed associated with the Polish movement. The students of St. Petersburg openly sympathized with the Warsaw anniversaries; and the students of Kazan attended the funeral of Andrew Petrof, an insurgent peasant. The augmentation of the cost of study in the provincial universities, the prohibition of meetings, promenades, deputations, libraries, and students’ conferences, brought about troubles which ended in the universities of the two capitals being closed and numerous arrests being made. Then came addresses from the assemblies of nobles: that of Tver had in 1862 requested the abolition of privileges, and the convocation of a national assembly; in that of Toula a meeting of the States-general was discussed. Events in Poland soon gave the current of ideas a new direction. The *Moscow Gazette*, under M. Katkof, seized the leadership of opinion. It

awakened the national Russian sentiment against the demands of Poland, and signified to her that nothing now remained to her "but to unite her aspirations with those of Russia, and to inoculate herself with the principles which have been elaborated, and elaborate themselves in the political development of the Russian people." It provoked demonstrations in honor of Mouravief, glorified his energetic and pacific measures in Lithuania, and actually ascribed the numerous fires of 1862 to Polish emissaries. By making itself the advocate of Russian nationality, the press gained unexpected freedom, which was also exacted by M. Katkof, even from the ministers. He was the man of the new state of things, as Hertzen had been that of the liberal movement at the beginning of the reign. The attempt of Karakozof upon the life of the Emperor in the Summer Garden in 1866, made in the name of the Russian revolutionaries, and that of Berezovski at Paris in 1867, in the name of the Polish revolutionaries, show how deeply men's minds were troubled. It would be idle to insist on the changes of ministers, sometimes progressionists, sometimes reactionaries, who reflected the impressions produced by events on the mind of the Emperor. Under a government which on the whole was liberal, Russia still continued to transform herself. It will be sufficient to enumerate a few of the results.

The preceding Government had only bequeathed to Russia 218 miles of railway; to-day the Russian lines, fifty-three in number, are composed of 10,384 miles already being worked, and 1145 miles in process of construction. The railways unite nearly all the large towns of Russia in Europe: in the north they end at Helsingfors and at Vologda; in the east at Nijni-Novgorod, Saratof, Samara, with a line projected as far as Orenburg; in the south at Kichenef, Odessa, Cherson, Sebastopol, and Taganrog, with a line projected as far as Vladikavkaze. Russia is placed in communication with the West by means of the lines of St. Petersburg and Berlin, Warsaw and Berlin, Warsaw and Vienna, and Kichenef and Iassy. The Caucasian line already unites Poti on the Black Sea to Tiflis; it will be prolonged as far as Bakou on the Caspian. The Siberian railway is at present under consideration. The four seas, the great lakes, the rivers and canals of Russia, are furrowed by numerous steamboats. The telegraph and the post, of which the cost has been lowered, put the empire in rapid and regular communication with the whole world.

Trade has also greatly developed. "The people are beginning to move," writes Mr. Herbert Barry, "and many manufactories are in course of construction. The Russians are clever at all handicrafts. An Englishman, the director of a paper factory

which I was astonished to find in the middle of the Oural Mountains, told me that in England many years of apprenticeship were needed to make a good paper-worker, but that a Russian learnt as much in three months as an Englishman in three years." The branches of commerce which have prospered the most are the manufactures of cotton and silk, metallurgy, steel, &c. Numerous banks have been started, even in some of the most remote towns of the empire.

Primary education leaves more to be desired than that of any other country in Europe. Russia, with her 9 or 10 per cent. of people who can read, is below even Austria, which only reckons 29 per cent. In France the average is 77 per cent. Thanks to the efforts of the Minister of Public Instruction, and the Minister of War in his regimental schools, the average is slowly but surely rising. Primary education is more advanced in Poland because of the efforts of the Government; in the Baltic provinces and in Finland, because of the Protestant culture; in Central Russia, because of the industrial influences. In 1871 the minister Tolstoï, in his report to the Emperor, enumerates 24,000 schools attended by 875,000 scholars, and 424 superior primary schools, attended by 27,830 scholars.

On the 1st of January, 1872, there existed 126 *gymnasias* and 32 *progymnasias*, including 42,791 pupils. At this same date M. Tolstoï had issued an order to introduce or confirm the study of Greek and Latin in these establishments. On the other hand, the regulation of the 12th of May, 1873, instituted practical schools for the teaching of professions.

In 1876 the eight universities of the empire (St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kharkof, Kazan, Kief, Dorpat, New Russia or Odessa, founded in 1864, and Warsaw, founded in 1869) reckoned 5466 students and 457 free pupils. Amongst the students 1325 were scholars.

To the educational institutions for the daughters of the nobility, established by Catherine II. and developed by Maria Feodorovna, wife of Paul, were added seminaries of a kind more appropriate to the new needs, and where young girls of all classes are received. There are the female *gymnasias* and *progymnasias*,—a kind of lyceums for girls, where boarders are not admitted. The earliest of these schools were founded under the auspices of the present Empress, on the basis of the 4th section of the imperial chancery. They are 26 in number—6 at St. Petersburg, 5 at Moscow, 15 in the provinces. The Minister of Public Instruction had in his turn created, in 1871, 56 *gymnasias* and 130 *progymnasias* on the same model, attended by 23,404 pupils. Nowhere in Europe has such a vast development been

given to the scientific education of young girls, and nowhere have they been given such easy access to liberal careers, and to Government employments, posts, telegraphs, &c. In 1875, 169 lady students followed the courses of surgery and medicine in the University of St. Petersburg.

Periodical publications have enormously increased since the Crimean war. There exist at present about 472 newspapers, of which 377 are in the Russian language. At St. Petersburg are published the *Golos*, which has the largest circulation; the *Gazette de St. Petersbourg*; the *Gazette de la Bourse*, which sympathized with France in the war of 1870; the *Monde Russe*, which has had some military discussion with the *Invalides*; and the *New Era*, devoted to Slav interests: at Moscow the *Gazette de Moscou*, which has not ceased to belong to the university, has passed into the editorship of M. Katkof. Amongst the reviews which are of general interest, we may enumerate the *Messenger d'Europe* of M. Stasioulévitch, the *Messenger Russe* of M. Katkof, the *Citoyen*, the *Annales de la Patrie*, and the *Diélo* (Action), an advanced organ. Others have a specially historic character; such are the *Archive Russe* of M. Barténief, the *Antiquité Russe*, the *Russe Ancienne et Nouvelle*, and the *Recueil de la Société Imperiale d'Histoire Russe*, started in 1867.

The present time is remarkable for its literary activity. We can only quote names: in the novels of manners, MM. Tourguénief, Pisemski, Dostoiévski, Gontcharof, Melnikof, Stebnitski, Boborikine, Madame Krestovski, and the Little Russian Marko-Vovtchok; in historical novels, MM. Alexis Tolstoï ('Le Prince Sérébrannyi, ou Ivan le Terrible'), Leo Tolstoï ('La Guerre et la Paix,' a study of the Napoleonic wars), and Sahlias ('Les Compagnons de Pougatchef'); in satirical novels, the dreaded Chtchedrine; in play writing, MM. Ostrovski, Potiékhine, and Solohoup; and for historical dramas, Meï, A. Tolstoï ('La Mort d'Ivan le Terrible'), and Averkief ('Vassili l'Aveugle').

Among the historians must be cited Pogodine ('Russia up to the Invasion of the Tatars'), Kostomarof ('Historical Monographs and Researches,' 'History of the Fall of Poland,' 'History of Russia in Biographies'), Solovief ('History of Russia from the most ancient Times,' twenty-six volumes, as far as Catherine II.), Ilovaïski ('The Origins of Russian History,' 'The Diet of Grodno'), Oustriélof ('History of Peter the Great'), Zabiéline ('Private Life of the Tzars, the Tzarinas, and the Russian People'), Bogdanovitch ('History of Alexander I.,' and the 'History of the War in the East'), Milioutine ('Campaign of 1799'), Galitsyne ('Universal Military History'),

Pekarski ('Science and Literature under Peter the Great'), Pypine ('Progress of Ideas under Alexander I.'), Kovalevski, Korff, and Popof ('Epoch of Alexander I.'). MM. Sreznevski, Afanasief, Rybnikof, Kiriéevski, Bezsonof, Hilferding, Oreste Miller, and Bouslaief have collected or illustrated precious monuments of popular literature.

The artistic movement likewise took more breadth and variety. The composers Tchaïkovski, Siérof, Dorgomyjski, and Rubinstein; the landscape-painter Aïvazovski; the portrait-painters Tropinine, Kharlamof, and Zarenko; the painters of history, Makhovski, Semigradski, Gay, and Flavitski; the painters of *genre*, or of battles, Sterenberg, Verechtchaghine, Repine, &c.; and the sculptors Antakolski, Kamenski, and Piménef, have acquired a European reputation. In 1862 M. Mikiéchine unveiled the monument of Novgorod, and in 1874 the statue of Catherine II., at St. Petersburg, surrounded by the great men of her time. At Moscow the magnificent Church of the Saviour, projected by Alexander I., is being finished after the plan of M. Tonn.

The tradition of the great scientific voyages has been continued by Baer, Middendorff, Maximovitch, Lütke, Helmersen, Schrenk, and Schmidt. Ethnography and philology can count some illustrious names: Castren, Sjøegren, Schiefner, Bethlinjk, Dorn, Kunik, Lerch, Wiedmann, Radlow, Kanikof, Brosset, Storch, and Kœppen. In natural science we must mention Brandt, Gappert, Borchtchof, Ovsiannikof, Kokcharof, &c.; in physics, Jacobi, Kuppfer, Kæmtz, and Lenz; in chemistry, Engelhardt, Fritzsche, and Chichkof; in astronomy, Savitch and Strube; in mathematics, Ostrogradski, Bouniakovski, Somof, Tchebychef, Forsch, and Maievski. The Geographical Society has rendered immense services; MM. Sossnovski, Kostenko, Fedchenzo, and Prjévalski have explored Central Asia.

At last Russia has been able to invite learned Europe to her international gatherings—to the Ethnographical Congress of Moscow in 1867, the Statistical Congress of St. Petersburg in 1872, the archæological meetings of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kief, and Kazan (1869–1877), and the Congress of Orientalists of St. Petersburg in 1876.

The novel situation in which Europe has been placed by the development of the Prussian military power has obliged the empire of the Tzars to reform its military system also. This has been provided for by the law of 1873, which orders that all Russian subjects, without distinction of condition or nationality, shall be forced to submit to the conscription. Now it is impossible to call out every year 676,000 men, reckoning from the class of 1874; hardly a third of this number march under the

standards. The educated conscript can, if the lot falls on him, obtain in four ways a reduction of his six years' term of service. If he has received the superior education, he only serves six months; if he has received the secondary course of instruction at the gymnasia, eighteen months; if he has passed through the primary superior schools, three years; if through the primary school, four years. This law has, therefore, the character of a law of social equality, and offers, besides, a premium on education. The time can be abridged still further by voluntarily forestalling the conscription. The Russian army is divided into the regular army, the reserve troops, and the irregular corps. It comprises 1,200,000 men, a number which Peter the Great had never dreamed of. In 1867 Russia adhered to the Convention of Geneva for the relief of the wounded.

CONQUEST IN ASIA—EUROPEAN POLICY.

The power of Russia continues to extend in Asia. The Crimean war had lent new strength to the Circassian insurrection; but the seizure of Vedeni, the fortified residence of Schamyl, in 1858, was a mortal blow to his rule. In 1859, he was besieged in his castle of Gounib, and was forced to surrender to Prince Bariatinski, the pacifier of the Caucasus. The emigration of the mountaineers, encouraged by England from hostile feelings to Russia, rendered the latter on the contrary the service of relieving the country of the most turbulent elements, and of making room for colonization. The conquest was secured by numerous fortresses and strategic routes, like that from Vladikavkaze to Tiflis. The Russian element, especially in the north of the Caucasus and in the towns, has struck deeper roots.

Turkestan is a sandy region traversed by the Syr Daria and the Amou-Daria (the Jaxartes and Oxus of the ancients) on their way to empty themselves into the Sea of Aral. These two rivers take their rise in the chain of the Bolor Mountains, on the other slope of which flow the Kashgar and the Jarkent, tributaries of the Tarim, which runs in its turn into Lake Lob.

To the north of the Jaxartes are the encampments of the Kirghiz; on the banks of the Caspian wander tribes of Turkomans. On the Upper Jaxartes the khanate of Khokand is situated, with its capital Khokand, and the principal towns of Turkestan, containing the tomb of Achmet-Yasavi, the Mussulman Apostle of Turkestan, Tashkent, Tchemkent, Khodjend, *Alexandria Heskata*, or the last *Alexandria* founded by Alexander the Great; on the Upper Oxus, the khanate of Balkh, capital

Balkh (the ancient Bactria, the cradle of our race), the khanate of Samarcand (residence of the famous Tamerlane), and the khanate of Bokhara; on the Lower Oxus, the khanate of Khiva, situated in a fertile oasis, in the midst of sandy deserts; on the Kashgar, the khanate of Kashgar, including also Yarkand (40,000 souls), a powerful State founded in 1864 by the bold and able Yakoub Khan. All these States lie on the commercial route to India and China; and the English have always looked uneasily on the progress of the Russians in these regions.

The Russian rule in Turkestan was founded by the submission of the Kirghiz under Nicholas I., and the fall of their Khan Khazimof in 1844. To protect these new subjects, it has been necessary since 1853 to enter upon a war with the khanate of Khokand, a war signalized by the capture of Ak-Masjid by Colonel Perovski, who gave it his name. In 1860 Colonel Kolpakovski, with 800 men, defeated a Khokandian army of 15,000 men in the defile of Urzun-Agatch; in 1864, Colonel Verevkine left Orenburg and seized Turkestan, whilst Colonel Tchernaiëf left Siberia and subdued Aulié-Ata. The two columns took Tchemkent by assault, and the year following Tashkent, a town with a population of 100,000 souls, surrendered to 2000 Russians.

The Bokharians on their side intervened in the civil wars of Khokand, and ended by entering into conflict with the Russians. Their Emir, whose *prestige* throughout Central Asia was great, was vanquished in spite of the frantic attempts of the Mollahs to raise a holy war, in two battles—that of Irdjar in 1866, which brought about the conquest of Samarcand, and that of Zera-Buleh in 1868, which led to the treaty of the 5th of July. By this treaty, the Emir of Bokhara ceded to the Russians the khanate of Samarcand, and paid an indemnity of two millions. Bokhara itself would have been annexed, if the Russian generals had not feared to weaken their conquests by extending them. Khokand, on whose throne the Russians established their *protégé* Khudayar, became a vassal State.

In the interval (1867) Alexander II. had created the government of Turkestan, at whose head he placed a governor-general, a sort of vice-emperor, whose pomp and magnificence are likely to give to the natives a high idea of his sovereign the White Tzar.

The Khan of Khiva, in the midst of the deserts which girdled his States, braved the power of the Russians, who had been repulsed by the climate in 1839. He reduced their merchants to slavery, and in 1870 and in 1871 sent help to the Kirghiz. In 1872 Colonel Markozof quitted the Caucasus to chastise the Khan, but thirst and privations decimated his little troop, and

obliged them to retreat. In 1873, three columns advanced on Khiva, from three different sides: Markozof from the shores of the Caspian, General Verevkine from Orenburg, and Kaufmann, general-in-chief, from Tashkent. The first was obliged to retreat; the third suffered greatly, but ended by entering Khiva, which Verevkine, however, had already reached. The vanquished Khan acknowledged himself vassal of the White Tzar; the portion of his States on the right bank of the Oxus was annexed; the navigation of the river was reserved exclusively to the Russians; extensive commercial privileges were secured to their merchants; their quarrels with the natives were to be judged by the nearest Russian authority; a council of government, composed of Khivian dignitaries and Russian officers, was to assist the Khan. A contribution of 2,200,000 roubles exhausted his remaining resources: it was a disguised annexation. Only the fear of a conflict with England, a consequence which was averted by the mission of Count Schouvalof to London, prevented the reduction of Khiva to the condition of a Russian province.

The Russian policy, like that of the English in Hindostan, avoided public annexations, and allowed the situations created by its victories to ripen. Khudayar, Khan of Khokand, had been forced in 1873 and 1874 to fight his revolted subjects, who were exasperated by his submission to the "infidels." In 1875 another and more general revolt took place; and abandoned even by his two sons, who joined the insurgents, he quitted his capital with his harem and his treasures, and established himself at Orenburg. Khokand was annexed. It is a State sixty leagues long by thirty broad, and wonderfully fertile. The difficulties of the Khan of Khiva with his subjects, who despised him for his submissiveness, were not less. Deprived of part of the tribute that he collected from the Turkomans (declared Russian subjects in 1875), he entreated the following year to be allowed to exchange his domains for a pension; the reply was not given immediately, but it is only a question of time.

The Kirghiz and the Turkomans being subdued, Khokand and Samarcand annexed, Khiva and Bokhara reduced to the condition of vassals, only one prince of these nations made head against the Russians, and this was Yakoub Khan of Kashgar, the *protégé* of the English, who had persuaded the Sultan of Constantinople to grant him the title of Emir. With his army of 40,000 men, disciplined by Polish or Anglo-Indian officers, with his arsenals and his foundries, he prepared to defend the passes of the mountains. In 1870 the Russians had anticipated him by occupying the Chinese province of Khuldja, whence the rebellious Mussulmans had expelled the troops of the Celestial Empire, and which Yakoub coveted. Russia offered to hand it

over to China, which did not care about it, and meanwhile it was administered by the Russians. Their policy created last year (1876) an unexpected difficulty for Yakoub; an invasion of Kashgar by the Chinese troops is imminent (1877,) if it is not already accomplished. Yakoub Khan died this year (1877), leaving to his successor a situation which is gravely compromised.

In these countries, for centuries devastated and dishonored by Mussulman fanaticism, by wars between the khans, and by traffic in slaves, the Russians appear as the soldiers of civilization, and bring with them a more humane and equitable rule.* Following on the banks of the Ovus and Jaxartes the traces of Alexander the Great, they complete the revenge of the Iranian race against the Touranian peoples who invaded, with Genghis Khan, semi-Greek Bactria, and ruined the ancient Macedonian colonies. They do not conquer; they only colonize. "All these enterprises," says M. Cucheval-Clarigny, "will profit civilization at the same time that they consolidate the Russian power; but the chief strength of the latter lies in the qualities which make the Russian soldier the most admirable instrument of conquest and colonization. Docile as well as brave, easily contented, supporting without complaint all fatigues and privations, and ready for everything, the Russian soldier constructs roads, clears canals, and re-establishes the ancient aqueducts. He makes the bricks with which he builds the forts, and the barracks which he inhabits; he fabricates his own cartridges and projectiles; he is a mason, a metal-founder, or carpenter, according to the need of the hour, and the day after he is dismissed he contentedly follows the plough. With such instruments at her disposal, the Russian power will never give way: a few years will suffice to render final the conquest of any land on which she has set her foot.

At the other extremity of Asia, General Mouravief signed in 1858 with the Court of Peking the Treaty of Aïgoun, which secured to Russia all the right bank of the river Amour, a territory of 1278 square miles, which now forms the province of the Amour and the maritime province. Japan had already ceded the southern part of the island of Saghalian. The steamboats of the Amour Company already plough the waters of the river, and place Russia in direct communication with San Francisco and the Pacific Isles.

By the treaty of 1867 Russia sold to the United States her American possessions, thus drawing closer the bonds which unite her to the great republic.

* The kindly character of Russian colonization "in the Circassian manner" has been described by Mr. Schuyler.—TRANSLATOR.

The European policy of Russia during this period offers results which are more debatable than her Asiatic policy. In 1856 Prince Alexander Gortchakof succeeded old Count Nesselrode as Chancellor of the Empire. In one of his earliest circulars he thus characterized the attitude imposed on Russia by the consequences of the Eastern war: "Russia does not sulk, she collects her forces." At the Conferences of Paris there had been a visible *rapprochement* between this country and France, which had already grown cold to her old ally, Austria. Russia allowed Italy to emancipate herself, while drawing her own conclusions about the emancipation of the Christians in the East. After having protested against the dispossession of the Italian princes, she ended by recognizing the new kingdom. She applauded the French occupation of Syria, which she would have even wished to be more important and more prolonged. France in her turn favored the demands of the Roumanians, Servians, and Montenegrins against Turkey, and received graciously the observations of Prince Gortchakof on the "wretched and precarious situation" of the Christians of Bosnia, the Herzegovina and Bulgaria.

The diplomatic demonstrations of France in 1863, *à-propos* of Polish affairs, destroyed the growing intimacy of the two States, and threw Russia into the Prussian alliance. To maintain this the Russian Chancellor made irreparable sacrifices to Bismark. In 1864 Russia allowed Denmark to be crushed, when she lost the duchies of the Elbe. In 1866 she permitted Prussia not only to expel Austria from the Germanic Confederation, but to dethrone the reigning houses of Hanover, Nassau, and Cassel, more or less related to the imperial house of Russia. Those of Darmstadt, Baden, and Wurtemberg, which had given empresses to Russia, were subordinated, so as to constitute Germany, formerly inoffensive, into a formidable military Power, which holds on the Baltic, the Vistula, and the Danube interests diametrically opposed to those of Russia.

It will be remembered that Bestoujef-Rioumine, the Chancellor of Elizabeth, finding the Prussia of Frederick II. too powerful, and the annexation of Silesia disquieting for Russia, fought the Seven Years' War to "diminish the forces" of the ambitious neighbor. Did not Alexander I. dare all the power of Napoleon for the sake of Oldenburg and the Hanseatic towns? Already in 1867, in the new Germany, an agitation was begun about the so-called German provinces of Russia. The demands of the Baltic writers found an echo in the public meetings and in the Berlin press, and M. Kattner dedicated to the German army his book on the 'Mission of Prussia in the East.' Russia had hoped for the support of new Germany in its Eastern

policy, "but," wrote M. Benedetti, "any conflict in the East would put the German Chancellor in the power of Russia, and he will try to prevent it. This was proved in the Græco-Turkish difference last year. Russia is a card in his game for events that may take place on the Rhine, and he holds it to be necessary not to invert the rôles, not to become himself a card in the game of St. Petersburg."

In June 1870 the sovereigns of Prussia and Russia had an interview at Ems; on the 9th of July Prince Gortchakof said to the English ambassador "that Russia did not feel at all alarmed at the power of Prussia." This confidence was to be put to a new proof. In July 1870 the Franco-German war broke out, which was to end by overthrowing the European equilibrium, for the benefit of Prussia. The menacing attitude of Russia forced Austria to maintain her neutrality, and this neutrality carried with it that of Italy. Russian diplomacy weighed in the same manner upon Denmark, whose royal house had given in 1866 a princess in marriage to the Tzarévitch. France found herself isolated in Europe. Russia not only prevented the formation of "the league of neutrals," but by diplomatic means discouraged the collective intervention of Europe. On the 3rd of September the Emperor, on hearing of his uncle's victory at Sedan, drank his health, and broke the glass to give his toast more solemnity. No doubt he counselled his uncle to be moderate, "but," says M. Sorel, "this intimate and sympathetic exchange of private letters did not for **one** moment alter the friendship of the two sovereigns. The King of Prussia received the observations of his nephew without impatience; and the Tzar, although his observations never had any effect, was never affronted by the refusals of his uncle."

The nation did not contemplate the fall of France and the overthrow of Europe with the same eyes as the Government. "The public sentiment towards France," writes the representative of the United States, "is perhaps still more friendly since the recent successes of Prussia. The officers of the army are, it is said, almost unanimous in the desire for a war against Prussia. I know many occasions on which toasts have been drunk to the ruin of the Germans and of *Fritz*. The journals daily publish articles showing the danger which will result to Europe from the growth and consolidation of a military Power like that of Northern Germany. The last victories of Prussia have called attention to the vulnerable points of Russia, in case of a complete victory of Prussia; these are two—Poland, and the Baltic provinces." Subscriptions were everywhere made for the benefit of the wounded French, and the news of the smallest successes of France excited public joy.

The mission of M. Thiers at St. Petersburg, in September 1870, had no results; and this check caused his efforts in Austria, Italy, and England to remain fruitless. He had only received soft words in Russia, amongst others the remark that "the former enemy of France would do more for her than her former ally, England." In reality, the Russian policy, while serving Prussia, intended to cajole France, so as to attain with more certainty the end of its efforts, the revision of the Treaty of 1856. On the 29th of October Prince Gortchakof, in a circular addressed to the Powers signing the treaty, declared that events had "placed the imperial cabinet under the necessity of examining the consequences which might follow for the political position of Russia." He demanded the revision of article 2, which imposed a limitation on her maritime forces in the Black Sea. A conference was held in London, and Russia insisted that the French Government should be represented there. This was an indirect opportunity offered to the new republic to submit her quarrel with Prussia to the examination of the Powers. On the 13th of March, 1871, the French ambassadors in London set the signature of France to the revision of the Treaty of 1856, but in the interval his country had been forced to submit to the harsh terms of the Peace of Frankfort. The restoration of the German empire had been recognized by Russia on the 24th of January, 1871, and the Tzar had granted to the generals of the victorious army the highest marks of distinction. The princes Frederick William and Frederick Charles already bore the title of Russian field-m Marshals.

After the fall of France, the Emperors of Russia and Germany, dragging with them the Emperor of Austria, undertook to constitute what is called the alliance of the three emperors for the regulation of the affairs of the East and West. The Congress of Berlin in 1872, the journey of the Emperor William to St. Petersburg in 1873, and frequent interviews between the heads of the State, made the good understanding between them obvious to the eyes of Europe.

The Russians were well aware of all that Prussia had gained by this alliance of ten years with Russia. The profits secured to the latter were less visible. Prussia had acquired provinces and kingdoms, fortified harbors, a formidable army, and was mistress of the situation; Russia had obtained the erasure of the article which limited her forces on the Black Sea.

The new war in the East is not yet a matter of history. We have yet to wait for the *dénouement*.* A few years will allow

many great events to be related with certainty : the rising in the Herzegovina, the massacres of Bulgaria, the taking up arms and defeat of Servia, the rapid dethronement of two Sultans, the first attempt at an Ottoman constitution, the weakness of European diplomacy in the Conference of Constantinople, the entrance of the Russians into the ancient Principalities and their alliance with Roumania and Montenegro, the passage of the Danube by the Grand Duke Nicholas, the brilliant surprise of the defiles of the Balkan by General Gourko, the bloody battles round Plevna, the vicissitudes of the war in Asia, and, lastly, the victory of Shipka, the occupation of Adrianople, and the march of the Russians, with Skobélef at their head, on Gallipoli and Constantinople.

Russia, sketched out by Rurik, dispersed after Iaroslaf the Great, re-united by the dynasty of the Ivans, Europeanized by Peter the Great and Catherine II., delivered from serfage by Alexander II., now enters into a new phase of her history. The wars of to-day have their consequences, not only upon the external relations of peoples, but also upon their internal development. The foreign policy of Russia, in spite of all changes, has never allowed itself to be turned from the three aims which she has followed since Ivan the Great—the conclusion of the duel with the Polo-Lithuanian State for the hegemony of the Slav world ; the struggle with her Western neighbors to secure the freedom of the Baltic and the Black Sea ; and the revenge for the Tatar yoke, whether taken on the Turanians of Central Asia or those of Constantinople. In the interior a new path has been opened to her by the civilizing reforms of the eighteenth century, and by the emancipating reforms of the present reign. After having conquered her place among the European States, she has to secure her rank among free nations. Here is a tradition which deserves following. May Russia in her liberal schemes display even more logic, resolution, and prudence than in her diplomacy ! We have related the history of the Russian State ; the history of the Russian people is now beginning. With the Russian State France has been often at strife ; her sympathies with Russia are growing since she has found in *her* a nation.

OBSERVATIONS.

In spelling the Russian names I have adhered to the rational orthography, of which the first example was given by Schnitzler. Thus the Russian *k* (the Greek *kappa*) has been rendered by *k*, the letter *x* (aspirated *k*, the Greek *khi*) by *kh*, and the letter *u* by *ch*. The *bi* or dumb *i* has been rendered by the French *y*, and the other Russian *i* by *i*. The letters *tch* and *chtch* have been kept to express the *tchèrve* and the *chtcha*. The Russian vowel *y*, pronounced *ou*, is translated by the French diphthong *ou*, not by the German *u*.

I have sought to relieve the Russian names of their redundant *s* (the Germans employ seven letters, *s c h t s c h*, to express the single Russian *chtcha*), and of the *ff* and the double *w*, which give them such a repulsive appearance. Only in a few names, sanctioned by usage, I have conformed to the usual orthography; instead of *Chouvalof* and *Chakovskoi*, diplomacy and literature have familiarized *Schouvalof* and *Schakovskoi*.

In the same way I write *Moscow* and *Moskova*, instead of *Moskva*, which designates both the river and the town.

I have tried to reproduce the orthography of the Russian names, though not their pronunciation, which is still more fantastic than in English. We print *Orel*, *Potemkine*, but they must be pronounced *Ariol*, *Patiomkine*.

The terminations in *vitch* and *vna* indicate filiation: *Peter Alexiévitch*, Peter son of Alexis; *Elizabeth Pétrouva*, Elizabeth daughter of Peter.

The Russian calendar has not adopted the Gregorian reform; it is, therefore, behind it, and for every date it is necessary to indicate whether it is after the old or new style. For important dates, both styles are generally given. In the eighteenth century the Russian style is eleven days behind ours: in the nineteenth century it is twelve days. Thus the date of the death of Catherine II. has been given as 6th-17th of November, a difference of eleven days, since the event happened in the eighteenth

century. But we say the revolution of the 14th-26th of December, 1825, as we are speaking of the nineteenth century.

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The Translator has retained the orthography of M. Rambaud where it appeared to her to convey to English ears the correct pronunciation. A list of variations in the spelling of ethnographic names will be found in the Preface.

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TABLE OF MEASURES, WEIGHTS, &c.

*(Abridged from Mr. Murray's 'Handbook of Russia.')**Length.*

1 dium	= 1 inch.
12 dium	= 1 foot.
1 vershok	= 1.75 inch.
16 vershoks	= 1 arshin, or 28 inches English
3 arshins	= 1 sajen, or fathom.
500 sajens	= 1 verst = 2-3 of a mile.
2400 sajens square	= 2.86 acres.

Money.

1 grivna	= 10 kopeks.
100 kopeks	= 1 rouble.
1 rouble	= 32 pence, or from 25 <i>d.</i> to 38 <i>d.</i>
One English sovereign is worth about 7.50 roubles.	

Capacity.

8 shtofs = 1 vedro = 3.25 gallons wine measure.

Dry Measure.

1 garnets	= 0.34 peck.
8 garnets	= 1 chetverik = 0.68 bushel.
8 chetveriks	= 1 chetvert = 5.46 bushels

Weight.

96 zolotniks	= 1 funt = 14.43 oz.
40 pounds	= 1 pùd = 36.08 lbs.
10 pùds	= 1 berkovets = 360.80 lbs.

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